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The Modern Review

V. 49

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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
पुस्तकालय

विषय संख्या
पुस्तक संख्या
आगत पंजिका संख्या
पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का निशान लगाना वर्जित है। कृपया १५ दिन से अधिक समय तक पुस्तक अपने पास न रखें।

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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My School

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

[In course of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore's talks with students in Moscow reproduced elsewhere in this number, Maria Steinhaus asked him : I have heard that yesterday you spoke about your educational work in India, and I would like to know how your school has combined its life work with its surroundings." The Poet replied :]

YOU ought to know one thing that I am by nature a poet. From my very young days, my only vocation was to express my ideas in verses, give shape to my dreams in my poems.

What was it that impelled me to take up this work for which I am not naturally fit ?

When I was young, as usual, I was sent to school. Some of you may have read from the translation of my autobiography about the misadventure I had when I began my career as a student in a school. It was a terribly miserable life, which became absolutely intolerable to me. At that time I did not have the capacity to analyse the reason why I suffered, but then when I grew up, it became quite clear to me what it was that hurt me so deeply to be compelled to attend my class in that school where my parents sent me.

I have my natural love for life, for nature, and for my surroundings where I have my dear ones ; and to be snatched away from these natural surroundings with which I had all my inner deeper life of relationship, and to send me an exile, to the school, to the class with its bare white walls, its stare of dead eyes, frightened me every day. When I was once inside these walls, I did not feel natural. It was absolutely a fragment torn away from life and this gave me intense misery because I was uprooted from my own world and sent to surroundings which were dead and unsympathetic, disharmonious and monotonously dull.

It could not be possible for the mind of a child to be able to receive anything in those cheerless surroundings, in the environment of dead routine. And the teachers were like living gramophones, repeating the same lessons day by day in a most dull manner. My mind refused to accept anything from my teacher. With all my heart and soul I seem to have repudiated all that was put before me. And then there were some teachers who were utterly unsympathetic and did not understand at all the sensitive soul of a young boy and tried to punish him for the mistakes he made. Such t[illegible] in their stupidity did not know [illegible] teach, how to impart education to [illegible] mind. And because they failed, they [illegible]ished their victim.

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And this was how I suffered for thirteen years of my life.

And then I left school when I was thirteen and in spite of all the pressure exerted on me by my elders, I refused to go to my studies in that school.

Since then I have been educating myself and that process is still being carried on. And whatever I have learned, I have learned outside the classes. And I believe that was a fortunate event in my life—that avoiding the schoolmaster when I was still young. And whatever I have done in later life, if I have shown any special gift or originality, I feel certain it was owing to the fact that I was not drilled into a kind of respectable education, which generally all good boys, good students, have to submit to.

And it went on like that. I took to my own work. I retired in a solitary place near the Ganges and a great part of my life I lived in a house-boat, writing my poems, stories and plays; dreaming my dreams.

I went on till I gradually became known to my own countrymen and claims were made on me from all parts of my country for writings and for various kinds of help. But I kept to my solitude for the greater part of my days. It is very difficult for me to say what it was, how the call came to me to go out of my isolation of literary life and be among my fellow-beings and share their life and help them in their living.

And it is also a surprise to me how I had the courage to take upon myself to start an educational institution for our children, for I had no experience in this line at all. But I had confidence in myself. I knew that I had very profound sympathy for children, and about my knowledge of their psychology I was very certain. I felt that I could help them more than the ordinary teachers who had the delusion to think that they had proper training for their work.

I selected a beautiful place, far away from the contamination of town life, for I myself, in my young days, was brought up in that town in the heart of India, Calcutta, and all the time I had a sort of homesickness for some distant lane s[illegible]e, where my heart, my soul, could ha[illegible]rue emancipation. Though I h[illegible] experience of the outer-world, I had in[illegible]y heart great longing to go away from my enclosure of those walls and from that huge, stony-hearted step-mother, Calcutta. I knew that the mind has its hunger for the ministrations of nature, mother-nature, and so I selected this spot where the sky is unobstructed to the verge of the horizon. There the mind could have its fearless freedom to create its own dreams and the seasons could come with all their colours and movements and beauty into the very heart of the human dwelling.

And there I got a few children around me and I taught them. I was their companion. I sang to them. I composed some musical pieces, some operas and plays, and they took part in those plays. I recited to them our epics and this was the beginning of this school. I had only about five or six students at that time.

People did not have any confidence in a poet and they had a right to doubt my confidence in bringing up the children and truly educating them in their orthodox fashion. And so I had very few students to begin with.

My idea was that education should be a part of life itself and must not be detached from it and be made into something abstract. And so when I brought these children around me, I allowed them to live a complete life. They had perfect freedom to do what they wished, as much liberty as was possible for me to give them. And in all their activities I tried to put before them something which would be interesting to them. I tried to arouse their interests in all things, in nature's beauty and the surrounding villages and also in literature, through play-acting, through listening to music in a natural manner, not through merely class teaching.

They knew when I was employed in writing some drama and they took an intense interest as it went on and developed, and in the process of their rehearsal they got through a great deal more of reading of literature than they could through grammar and class-teaching. And this was my method, I knew the children's mind. Their sub-conscious mind is more active than the conscious one, and therefore the important thing is to surround them with all kinds of activities which could stimulate their minds and gradually arouse their interests.

I had musical evenings—not merely music classes, and those boys who at first did not have any special love of music, would, out

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of curiosity, listen to our songs outside of the room, and gradually they too were drawn into the room and their taste for music developed. I had some of the very great artists of our land and while they went on with their work, the boys could watch them and saw day by day how those works developed.

An atmosphere was created and what was important, this atmosphere had provided the students with a natural impulse to live in harmony with it. In the beginning it was easier to feel this, when I had only a few students; I was then almost their only companion and teacher and it was truly the golden age of our school. I know that the boys who had then the privilege of attending that institution look back on those days with much love and longing. But as the number grew, and it became more and more expensive for me to carry on the school in my own way. In the first place, we in our country have the tradition that it is the teacher who has the responsibility to give education to those who come to him to be taught, and in our country there were students who used to have free tuition, also their lodging free in their teacher's house. It was the teachers who acknowledged their own responsibility. They had the privilege of being educated, and they owed it to society that they should help their students and in return should not claim anything in the shape of fees or remuneration.

And this was our custom from the olden days and I began like that. Free tuition, lodging and boarding and all necessities of life, I supplied to my students out of my own poor resources. But you can imagine with the modern condition of life it was not possible to continue like this, because now you have to get the help of teachers whose salaries are high and there are other expenses which daily seem to increase. I find it impossible now to keep that idea in the heart of this institution that teaching should be a duty of the teacher to impart to the students and that it should not have the atmosphere of a shop where you can buy commodities with money. I was compelled to give up this idea and now gradually it has taken the shape of the ordinary school.

Only I tried my best to have some aspect in the school which they did not have in their orthodox schools. The teachers shared the common life with the boys. it was a community life. In the sports and festivals the teachers and the students fully co-operated with each other. It was not like a cage in which the birds are fed from the outside, but it was like a nest which students themselves co-operated in building up with their own life, with their love, with their daily work and their plays.

I believe that we still have this true to a great extent. It is difficult owing to the fact that my colleagues with whom I have to work are brought up in a different manner, not having the same chance as I had to play truant when they were young and give up their school-days. They have their own ideas about education, and it is difficult wholly to get rid of them. And so something alien to the central ideal does creep into this institution through those who are there to help me. I had in the beginning to struggle very hard with my teachers, not with the students, as very often happens in other schools. But I had to take sides with the boys when they were punished for no fault of their own, but that of their teachers. I had to be firm and defend the boys, which offended my teachers. I remember one day a new teacher came and when he found that some of the boys were doing their lessons up on the tree, he was furious because of this want of discipline on their part. I had then to protect the boys from the schoolmaster. I told him that when these boys grew up to his age they will not have the great privilege of climbing up to the trees to do their lessons. They would become more respectable and keep away from mother-nature.

But I believe that the atmosphere has been created and it is going on. Now it has grown. The number of the students is increasing year by year, which is not always an advantage. But it cannot be helped.

Another aspect which is of later growth is that the number of girls has been increasing. The co-education system is quite a new thing in India. But it has been working perfectly. We have had no cause for complaint. And very often the boys and girls go out together on excursions; the boys help the girls in bringing fuel and fetching water and the girls cook the dinners for the boys and everything is managed by mutual help. That is a great education in itself.

There is another factor which I consider to be impor[illegible] always try to get from outside of I[illegible] people [illegible] Europe and from the Far East, lectu[illegible], wh[illegible] come to the school

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to teach and also to share the simple life of the school with our students. This is another factor creating the atmosphere of this place. Our boys are very natural in their relationship with those foreigners, guests and visitors. My idea is that the mind should find its freedom in every respect, and I am sure that our children have through their early training freedom from the barriers of country and race and creeds and prejudices. And it is always difficult to get rid of those when we grow up and even it is sedulously cultivated in our school-books and also by the people who wish the boys to be proud of their own exploits and running down other countries. And this is really clinging to certain prejudices which are considered nationalistic. And with the help of these visitors I have tried my best to make the minds of our boys more hospitable to the guests who come to us and I think I have been successful.

Then there are other activities. We have in the neighbouring villages some primitive people who need our help and we have started some night-schools and our boys go there and teach them. Then you have the village work in connection with our institutions and those boys who have the opportunity to study the conditions of our village life and to know how to help them efficiently through scientific and up-to-date methods of cultivation and of fighting diseases. To impart not merely academic information, but how to live a complete life is, according to me, the purpose of education.

The only thing I have not been able to provide our boys with is science, owing to the enormous expense it would entail, which in a poor country like ours, is difficult to meet. I have not yet been able to arrange for it. Our students and I hope that some day it will be possible for me to fill up that deficiency.

This is the idea which I have in my mind and in spite of my lack of means, my poor resources, I have done something. Those who have been able to visit our institution can tell you how we have been helping the villages. It is not only for providing needed relief to the villages but also for the educational value of the work itself that children should be trained in the heart of such activities. The villages are the cradles of life and if we cannot give it what is due to it, then we commit suicide. Modern civilization is doing it, depriving the villages of life-stuff and draining away everything from the villages to the pampered towns. Because I belive in this, I have brought my students around this village work which we have started in order to give them the proper training for helping the villagers. I think this is, in short, the idea which I have in mind in my school.

Rabindranath Tagore in Russia

CENTRAL PEASANTS' HOUSE, MOSCOW

THE Poet and his party visited the Central Peasants' House, Moscow on September 16, 1930 at 9 P. M. These houses, which are used also as clubs, are scattered all over the country, in cities, towns, and villages. They carry on a great deal of cultural, social and educational work among the peasant masses. In these houses are organized lectures on various agricultural and social topics, groups are formed to do away with illiteracy, and special classes are held to impart to the peasants practical knowledge of efficient scientific methods of working the land. Each of these houses has a museum of nat[illegible] story, of the origin and growth of re[illegible] agriculture and of social welfar[illegible] consultation bureaux are also established in these houses on a variety of subjects, such as agriculture, taxation, etc.

Peasants arriving in town are put up temporarily at these houses (for the period of one night to three weeks) at a very low charge (25 kopeks per night*). They are aided by the consultation bureaux to solve all their difficulties connected with their village life. By means of these peasant houses the Soviet Government is carrying on a tremendous amount of work among the widest strata of the one-time illiterate peasants, transforming their life into one of rich civic responsibility with a new social order as its basis.

On his arrival at the Central Peasants' House Rabindranath Tagore was received in

* One kopek is equivalent to about one pice.

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the main club-room by the superintendent of the house, the House Council, and some one hundred and fifty peasants who were boarding there at the time, representatives from the nearest and the far-distant points of the Soviet Union.

The small meeting of welcome that followed was opened by the superintendent who explained to the peasants that the poet had come to visit them in order personally to meet them and to learn about them. The superintendent welcomed the poet on behalf of the assembled peasants, and hoped that this first meeting between the great Indian poet and the Soviet peasants would lay the foundation for a still deeper contact between the peasant masses of both countries.

In his brief reply the poet underlined the importance and significance of the strenuous work being carried on by the peasants and workers of the Soviet Republic in the building up of a new life, a new humanity. He expressed his admiration for the great spirit of goodwill which inspired this new effort, this great undertaking which demanded the utmost self-sacrifice and self-denial of the Soviet population.

A number of questions were then put to the poet, and he answered them to the full satisfaction of his audience.

Q. What is the position of the national policy in India to-day and what is the reason for the strife between Hindus and Mussalmans ?

A. I find from personal observations that this strife has been going on for the past twenty-five years only, before this period there being, as far as I can recall—and I have lived for many years in villages—no such animosity and enmity between them. I am certain that this strife has been made possible by the overwhelming ignorance and illiteracy of the Indian peasants. These feelings of religious hostility can, in my opinion, be liquidated only by the introduction of mass education. The possibility of educating the masses, unfortunately, does not exist to-day in India. Your country is the only one, similarly circumstanced, which has this possibility.

Q. Have you written about the peasants in your works, and what are your views regarding the future of the Indian peasants ?

A. Not only have I written about peasants but I am working among them, endeavouring, as far as I can, to educate them. I am not only educating children and the Indian youth in my schools, but also carrying on this work in the surrounding villages. This work is, of course, of a modest nature in comparison with the gigantic educational work that is being carried on in the Soviet Union.

Q. What is your opinion of the collectivization that is being expanded in this country ?

A. I realize the great importance of this work (collectivization) that is being carried out by the peasants, but I cannot answer this question as, unfortunately, I know very little about it. My lack of knowledge of how this problem is being solved in the Soviet Union is one of the chief reasons of my visit to your country.

Q. What is known in India concerning our collectivization and about the work of our country generally ?

A. Unfortunately, very little, as the existing press in India as well as in other countries is reticent and untrustworthy about all facts concerning your country.

Q. Had you heard before of the existence of the Peasants' Houses and of their work ?

A: No, only since my coming to Moscow have I learned of the existence of these welfare centres for the peasants.

Now I would like to hear from the peasants at this meeting of their own opinion about collectivization and its full significance for the agricultural population.

Answer : (By a young peasant, thirty-two years of age, from Ukraine ; name : Semenchiko, living in Kherson).

I am working on a collective farm which was organized two years ago. Our collective farm consists of big gardens from which we supply canning plants with vegetables and huge wheat-fields. We have an eight-hour working day and each fifth day is a holiday. (The five-day week has been now introduced throughout the country and works under the name of "the uninterrupted working week").

The average crop is twice as large as that of any of the neighbouring individual peasants. Almost from the very beginning of the existence of our collective farm we had 150 individual farms merged into this common unit. In the spring of 1929 some 50 per cent of the collectivists left us, due to an incorrect understanding and appliance of Comrade Stalin's directive letter (Stalin, the General Secretary of the All-Union

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Communist Party) who pointed out that the fundamental principle of collectivization was *social voluntary participation in the organization of these collective farms.* This basic principle was not correctly understood in a number of rural areas and due to its inadequate and wrong appliance and resultant bureaucratic mistakes, many peasants withdrew from the collective farms. But now, after the supplementary explanations and the high courageous effort of the remaining collectivists, over 25 per cent of those that had left have returned. And to-day, we are stronger than ever. We are building new living houses for our members, a new dining-hall and a school.

On this same question further information was advanced by a peasant woman from Siberia. She had been the member of a commune farm for ten years. She asked the poet to bear in mind when he wrote about the collective farms, the intimate connection that they have with the women's movement of which the farms are the most important centres. She explained how the woman of to-day is more self-confident and expressive than her sisters of even a decade ago and how, therefore, in the great work of winning the individual peasants to collectivization, they have to influence actively the backward section of the women-folk who did much to prevent the successful carrying out of the collectivization plan. She said: "Now we have specially organized brigades of women collectivists which travel from one part of the country to the other, working among the women, rousing them up, and pointing out to them in detail the economic and cultural advantages of collectivization. In order to lighten the strenuous life of the women collectivists in their farm work and with a view to making their status truly equal to that of their men comrades there are in every collective farm a nursery and kindergarten, and a communal kitchen."

A farm-labourer of the great world-renowned state farm (Sovkhoz) "Gigant" also described how the collectivist idea is being realized in Russia. He said: "This farm embraces 100,000 hectares* of farm land. Last year, we had 3,000 workers. This year that figure will slightly decrease, although the output per man will increase. This is due to the introduction of the more advanced methods of agriculture, such as scientific manuring and the use of tractors and other machinery. We have now more than 300 tractors. We also have the eight-hour working day. Those of us working longer, of course, receive overtime allowances. During the winter months when there is insufficient work for all the workers, some two-thirds of them are permitted to leave the farm to seek work in the cities (building, road-mending, etc.). During their period of work in the towns they will receive one-third of their summer wage from the farm and their families will continue to reside in the rooms given them at the farm."

Tagore. I should like to know the opinion of some of the individual peasants who are here, regarding the collective farm and on the whole, the views of anyone here present concerning the principle of private property and whether they regret their surrender of their individual farm holdings.

(Mr. Eskukoff suggested counting the members of the different groups of people present at the meeting. Upon counting it was found that the great majority of those present were peasants. Further it was also found that about 50 per cent of them were members of collective farms or labourers of state farms).

Answer. (A brief period ensued before the peasants got up to reply to this question. A number of them confessed that they entertained orthodox views on this subject, as the subject was not clear to their minds; still more of them were shy and embarrassed.*

*One hectare is equal to 2.471 acres, *i.e.*, about 7½ Bengal *bighas*.

* In a Bengali letter to Mr. Prasanta Mahalanobis, published in *Prabasi* for *Paush* 1337 B.S., Rabindranath Tagore gives the reasons which, in his opinion, prevented the peasants from giving a clear and straightforward answer to this question, and in course of the argument, he gives us some idea of his own notion about property. A translation of this portion of his letter is given below:

"It was easy to understand, he writes, that their reason for not answering the question lay in a trait of the human character. Attachment to one's own property is something instinctive with men, and beyond the reach of mere argument. Owning property is one of the forms which our striving for self-expression might take. Those who have a higher means for this at hand do not care for property; they can afford to give away their all. But for the common man, his property is the symbol of his own individuality, and to deprive him of this is to take away from him his only means of self-realization. Had property been a means of earning a livelihood alone and not also a channel of self-expression it would have been easy to persuade people that a livelihood could be better secured by giving it up. Neither intelligence nor acquired skills, which

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Eventually, a peasant from the Bashkir Republic spoke up).

He said that he was still an individual farmer but that in a short time he would enter the neighbouring collective farm. He pointed out his reasons for this desire. The collective method of land exploitation, he said, yielded a far better and a higher ratio of crop than the individual system. "But," he went on, "for the better cultivation of the land, we need machinery. We individuals cannot afford to purchase machines. Further, even if we owned machines, we could not cultivate the small strips of land that each individual peasant owns. Only through the collectivization of these small plots into huge collective farms can we really begin to build a new order of social existence."

A woman peasant from the Tambov region (some 150 miles south of Moscow) then took the floor and said: "There can be no doubt of the superiority of life in collective farms to that outside them, and I do not think any one regrets this change of conditions." Several other peasants who spoke confirmed this opinion. Someone from the audience cried out—"How can we regret changing from our former small, dirty huts to our present large, sanitary, hygienic collectivist houses?"

Tagore. I had the pleasure of meeting yesterday Mr. Karakhan, who said that he was particularly proud of the work done by the Soviet Government and the Soviet social organizations in the sphere of the emancipation of women and the education and upbringing of children. In my conversation with him, I expressed my doubts regarding the future of family life and even of its existence. I should like to hear what your opinions are upon this matter and whether you believe that family life will continue to exist under the collectivist social system.

Answer. (The young Ukrainian Semenchiko, who spoke before, replied)—"What I will tell you will prove whether family life is being destroyed or not under the new social regime. When my father was alive, he used to work six months of the year in the cities and for the remaining six months (in summer) I was sent with my brothers and sisters to work as shepherds for the wealthy peasants, and therefore we seldom saw our father. Now, I see my son everyday after he returns from the kindergarten, and we are the best of friends."

Another peasant, a woman, also spoke, stating it as her opinion that the introduction of creches and kindergartens has really brought husband and wife to a better understanding and mutual feeling. This develops in them a true responsibility and appreciation of their duty as parents.

A young Caucasian woman who had been living, excepting for the last four years, in a small village in the Caucasian mountains, rose up and spoke with great pathos and understanding. Addressing the interpreter she said:—"Tell the great poet, Rabindranath Tagore, that we women living in the Soviet Union, and particularly in the Trans-Caucasian Republics, consider that we are really free and happy only since the October Revolution. The dark days of the past before 1917 have now become distant. We are building up a new life in which we are participating, fully conscious of our duties and responsibilities, and we are prepared to go to the extreme length of self-denial for the ideal we cherish in our hearts. Let the great poet know that the various peoples and nationalities of the Soviet Union wish him to convey to the people of India their warmest greetings and sympathy in their dark hour."

Tagore. Our people are still ignorant, our women are helpless, they need the light

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are some of the higher instruments of self-expression, can by force or fraud be taken away from an individual; property can. And it is for this reason that there is so much cruelty and deception and endless strife in human society over the division and enjoyment of property. I do not think that there is any way out of this except by a middle path--which, so to say, is that private property should be permitted to remain but that the limits of its strictly individual enjoyment should be fixed. Any surplus beyond this limit should be available for public utilization. Thus alone could the love of property be saved from being turned into avarice, cruelty or deception. The Soviet Government has tried to solve this problem by refusing to admit its existence, and there is no end of violence to secure this object. But it is not within anybody's powers to say that there should be no distinctiveness among men; the utmost that can be said is that there should be no selfishness. In other words, everybody should have something which he may call his own, but all the rest should be for others. The question can only be solved by recognizing both the self and the society at large. To refuse to admit either can only launch us into a war with the realities of human nature. In the West, they put too implicit a faith in mere force. This does well enough in fields where force is necessary, but everywhere else it leads only to disaster. And any attempt to bring two conflicting truths together by mere physical force can, sooner or later, only drive them more widely asunder.—Ed., *M. R.*

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of the new age in order to find their place in the world of humanity.

Answer. (The same woman from Caucasus) I would leave my home, my children, all that I have, in order to work amongst your people and to help them !

Tagore. Who is that Mongolian young man on the left ?

The Interpreter. He is the son of a collective farmer in the Kirghizian Republic, and he has come to Moscow to study in the Higher Textile Industrial Technicum. In three years time he will become an engineer and return to his Republic to work on a big plant built since the Revolution.

The Superintendent of the Central Peasants' House in closing this meeting said :

"The visit of the poet to the Soviet Union is of the greatest importance. The coming of such an eminent personage to this country, such an outstanding figure of the cultural world, means a new and bigger step in the mutual contact between the toiling peoples of India and the Soviet Union.

We hope the poet will assist in the spreading of genuine and objective information in India concerning the efforts and activities of the workers and peasants of the first Workers' and Peasants' Republic in History." (Prolonged applause and the singing of the International Hymn).

Interview with Art Critics

Tagore. I thank you for your welcome and the words of appreciation. I know that the best communication between nations is the communication of mind and heart. The best products of each country belong to all humanity. This is the proper field of exchange—the field of culture. And I shall be only too glad to show you what I have done in this latest manifestation of my own creative mind.

It came to me all of a sudden without any training, any preparation, and so it has its psychological value, I believe. In other parts of Europe I must confess, however, those who are very critical of art or products of art, have given me assurance that my pictures not only have a psychological interest, but also a higher interest of art and they have acknowledged me as an artist for which I feel very proud. I want now to know what you think of my attempts, because I take your opinion of art very highly indeed.

I have felt a need to bring my pictures to you, also because through pictures I can come into direct touch with your mind, while with my words I cannot, owing to the language barrier. But my pictures, they will speak to you without the medium of an interpreter, which is always unsatisfactory.

Critic. What is the idea of this picture?

Tagore. No idea. It is a picture. Ideas are in words and not in life.

Critic. What is remarkable in your work is the spirit of youth and that is why these paintings are so interesting. The spirit of youth meets no difficulty in finding its proper mode of expression and your pictures have created their own technique.

Critic. Have you ever painted before ?

Tagore. Never.

Critic. You are a first-class artist. Every new picture makes a stronger impression and the entire audience is thrilled by this. We are very interested to know when these were made ?

Tagore. These are early ones. They are mainly linear, the colours come in later on.

Critic. Something resembling very much the works of Vrubel, whom you have never seen perhaps ?

Tagore. I do not believe I have seen any of his pictures.

Critic. We shall be glad to show them to you.

We shall be glad to take your paintings and exhibit them as our own—as those of a Russian artist !

We ask whether your paintings have any names ?

Tagore. None at all. I cannot think of any names. I do not know how to describe my pictures.

Critic. Is this a portrait of Dante ?

Tagore. No, it is not a portrait of Dante. I did it on the steamer on my way from Japan last year; my pen followed its own impulse, which led to this figure you see before you.

Critic. Is this any particular colour?

Tagore. No, just ordinary blue fountain-pen ink.

These are the earlier ones, the black and white.

Critic. Do you make oil paintings ? No? Only with ink ?

Tagore. Yes.

Critic. (With regard to a picture made the day before) An impression of Moscow ?

Tagore. Well, I did it yesterday. I do

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not know if Moscow has anything to do with it—perhaps it may be so, who knows!

Critic. We wish to express our deep pleasure. Professor Christe says he has known you for a long time as a great poet, and here he expected to see some productions of a dilletante artist, but what he has seen has amazed him. He was struck by the virility of your paintings he had the pleasure to see. He is sure that your paintings represent a very great event in the history of art. He believes your pictures will be a great education to our artists and give them a fuller sense of life.

Tagore. It gives me great delight to be able to gain your approbation and to know that this came from the expert critics and artists of your land. I almost feel vain of my productions. My pictures being too new, I am not yet accustomed to this and always I feel the greatest delight when these are praised, because I have some diffidence in not having any standard within myself and have to rely upon those who have a great background of artistic experience. It gives me great pleasure to know that you have appreciation for these works of mine.

September 13, 1930—7-30 p. m.

The Poet and his party attended the 2nd Moscow Art Theatre and saw the play—"Peter the 1st." The Poet was received on his entrance into the theatre by the Director and the leading actors of the play. He expressed great appreciation of the play and spoke enthusiastically about the fervour of dramatic power with which the whole play was performed.

September 15, 1930—11 a.m. to 1 p.m.

Mr. Ariam, Mr. Chakravarty, Dr. Timbres, Miss Margaret Einstein, Mr. Marianov and Mr. Eshukoff visited the children's creche and kindergarten of the Dynamo Works.

7-30 p.m.

The poet and his party visited the Amalgamated Union Cinema and were received by Mr. Rutin, President of the Union and a responsible member of the Board. The poet was shown portions of the Russian film "Warship Potemkin" and some portions of the film "Old and New" (The General Line). These productions were directed by S. Eisenstein. Later, the members of the Cinema Board had a conversation with Dr. Tagore concerning the poet's new film-stories of which they had heard. They were deeply impressed by the short versions of the stories by the poet, and they decided to meet him at his hotel and discuss in detail the possibilities of filming his stories.

September 17, 1930—11 a.m. to 1 p.m.

Mr. Ariam visited the Timiryazev Agricultural Academy. This Academy formerly was called the Petrovsky Agricultural Academy. It trained agricultural engineers from the Russian aristocracy. To-day the 3,000 students at the Academy are workers and peasants. The idea of this revolution, as far as the composition of the students is concerned, means not only the domination of the working class, but a new system of life altogether with its new economic basis required for the modern type of trained workers who are rapidly gaining ground in the Soviet Union. The agricultural engineer of to-day, in this country, is not an "high-brow" intellectual, but a practical engineer having a thorough grasp of the new scientific methods of land cultivation, and is at the same time a conscientious member of his class and a social organizer.

Rabindranath Tagore at the Exhibition of his Pictures

The exhibition of the paintings of the Poet was opened at the State Moscow Museum of New Western Art on September 17, at 3 P. M. It was opened by Prof. Petroff, who stated: "Today we were experiencing the pleasure of meeting Rabindranath Tagore not only as a great poet and philosopher, but also as an outstanding painter of the day. We greet the great poet and painter who has come to our country to observe our building of a new economic, political and social order." "We particularly appreciate his visit," continued Prof. Petroff, "as a man of great vision and of deep intuitive understanding of life's essential realities." Prof. Sidorov spoke on the essence of the creative art of the poet as a painter. Prof. Ettingov of the People's Commissariat of Education expressed his warmest welcome on behalf of the Commissariat. He too underlined the great importance of the poet's visit to the Soviet Union as being a new link in the chain of cultural connections between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union.

Kristy (Director of Tretiakov Gallery) said: We greet you, revered philosopher and writer, in the name of the greatest museums and Region-Study Departments of Moscow, and

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in the name of the people's Commissariat for Education, directing the affairs of art in the Soviet Union.

We all know Rabindranath Tagore, philosopher and writer, but it was a pleasant surprise for us to learn that he is also a painter. It is with special pleasure that we have arranged an exhibition of his work in order to acquaint our intellectuals and our working masses with them. We are glad that our guest has come to us at the moment when his own native land is on the eve of emancipation, and that he has come to us when we are ourselves making heroic efforts for the reconstruction of our material and spiritual world.

We believe that by acquainting himself with our country he will take back much that is useful for his own. For ourselves, we believe that our close contact with this great representative of an old and cultured nation and the consequent fertilization of our mutual ideological and political achievements will result in far-reaching benefits for us both.

Tagore. I return warm thanks for the welcome extended to me. I appreciate intensely this opportunity to get in touch with some of the best minds and best hearts of your country. My most intimate gifts to you are my pictures, and I hope that in them we shall truly meet each other. Only this has made me venture to bring my pictures here and exhibit them. I myself value them chiefly because they enable me to get into direct touch with the western people. Words have failed me, the help of the interpreter has created further distractions in the path of our mutual understanding. Let me hope that my pictures will be the messengers of thought between us and bring us close to each other on the plane of harmonious understanding.

(The audience then inspects Tagore's pictures)

Kristy. We are sincerely grateful for what we have just seen. When we came here we knew Rabindranath Tagore merely as a great philosopher and a poet and supposed that his art would be merely the hobby of a great man. But the more we acquaint ourselves with his paintings, the more we are struck with the creative skill shown in his pictures. We consider these works to be a great manifestation of artistic life and that his skill will be, like all high technical achievements, assimilated by us from abroad of the greatest use to our country.

Some persons attended the exhibition, representatives from various art and educational institutions of Moscow. Although the hall was overcrowded, we were compelled to permit three hundred more people to enter, who were tremendously eager to see the poet's paintings.

During the remaining days of the exhibition more than five hundred persons daily visited the Museum (the usual attendance is *150)*.

6-30-p.m.

Mr. Ariam, Mr. Shatsky and Mr. Amdur left for the Central Educational Experimental Station of the People's Commissariat for Education. This station was originally organized by Mr. Shatsky in 1912.

Interview with Students

Tagore. I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity of coming into close touch with you.

I do not know how to have proper communication with you. Through translation we cannot say very much—a great deal of it is lost in the way of translation. I do not feel encouraged to talk in English about any subject which is important and serious. It is so difficult for me to come into close touch with you and to know about your aspirations and also if you still have any misgivings about the society under which you are working and growing up. But these are serious questions which cannot be answered through translation.

That is why I should much rather wait till you ask me some simple questions which I may answer. If you have any curiosity to know about anything which I am doing or any other subject concerning India, I should try to answer your questions.

Maria Steinhaus. Before I ask you a question I would like to greet you in the name of the scientific workers of Moscow and tell you how glad we are to meet you. Your famous name is known in our country and we know that you are interested in our schools and educational work. And our comrades would be glad and happy to show you our work.*

Question. What is the social origin of the generality of your pupils? Are they from peasants, workers and so on?

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* Here Maria Steinhaus asked Rabindranath Tagore about his school in India. Rabindranath's reply to this question is printed as the first article of this number.—Ed. *M. R.*

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Tagore. In the neighbourhood of the village where we are working, we have opened a special school for the villages. You may ask why I should make such a distinction. Why I should not allow the children of the villages to come and attend the other school which is for the upper people? The reason is that these people who come from comparatively rich families, all want to pass their examinations and get their degrees in order to earn their livelihood. Therefore, it is not possible to give to them the ideal kind of education. For instance, they cannot waste their time in manual training or even such cultural training like music and art and they want to cram themselves for their examination and somehow get through. I had to submit to this because otherwise there would be no chance of having a single student in my school. One of the reasons is that our country is exceedingly poor and it is natural for these boys to want to earn their livelihood and maintain their family when they grow older and they must have some opportunity to pass their examinations in their schools, so I had to start a parallel school where the villagers who do not have ambitions for finding government employment or employment in merchants' offices, come and join. There I am trying to introduce all my methods which I consider to be absolutely necessary for a perfect education. Before long, this village school, I believe, will be the real school, the ideal school, and the other one will be neglected.

Question : A representative of the literary organization of the people would like to know which are the most interesting currents in Indian literature. Are there in India any institutions for training workers for literary activity?

Tagore. We do not have any organized effort to help the working men, to stimulate their creative activities. There have been started various night-schools, but that is for the purpose of teaching them how to read and write and to get elementary information of various kinds. We cannot say that we have many schools which are of a higher class than that. One of the reasons is that we should not have any students even if we did start such a school. With some encouragement we can induce villagers to attend such schools in order just to read and write, and they consider that sufficient. Only sometimes there are among them some intelligent individuals who have the ambition to join the higher classes and pass through their examinations, to get degrees. But their number is very small, and even when they do attend their schools, they lose their original character. They no longer remain tied to the village and its work when once they pass their examinations. They try to come to the town and take up some kind of work which they consider to be of a higher nature.

So we hardly have any institution for training the peasants or the working-men in order to do their own vocation properly in an educated manner. I think the only exception which I may mention is this school which I have started in the neighbouring village near our institution. There the real people of the villages get a proper training, a real education, not merely a smattering of some elementary subjects.

7-30 p. m.

Visited the 1st Moscow Art Theatre. The play "Resurrection" by Tolstoy. The poet had a conversation with the famous Soviet actress Knipper, the wife of the late author Chehov.

September 18, 1930—5 p. m.

Tea at Karakhan's home. The poet and his companions were at this tea.

September 19, 1930

Left 9 a. m. for Karakhan's villa in the outskirts of Moscow. Returned on the 20th at 4 p. m.

7. 30 p. m.

Mr. Chakravarty, Mr. Ariam, Miss Einstein and Mr. Marianov visited the Vaghtangov Theatre and saw the play "Princess Turandot."

September 20, 1930—4-30 p. m.

Dr. Tagore was visited by Moscow Orientalists. Those present were Prof. Veltman, Prof. Shor (a woman) and others.

7-30 p. m.

Visited the First State Opera House. Received by the Directoress Malinovakaya. The ballet "Biaderka" (An Indian love legend) was performed.

September 21, 1930—10 a. m.

The poet was visited by Prof. Zelenin, the eminent Soviet physician who made a thorough medical examination of the poet. Prof. Zelenin stated that the poet was tired out and advised him to take a good rest.

2 to 4 p. m.

Sight-seeing excursion in Moscow and its suburbs by the poet and his party.

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September 23, 1930

Mr. Ariam and Mr. Eshukoff visited the Museum of Handicrafts Art.

September 24, 1930—11 a.m. to 3 p.m.

Mr. Ariam, Dr. Timbres, Miss Einstein and Mr. Eshukoff visited an industrial labour commune for children (for former homeless waifs) and incorrigible children. The ages of these children are fourteen to eighteen years of age. There are 100 youngsters who live in the colony and another 100 that dine during the day. The period of retention is not longer than three years. This labour commune has not only school-rooms but also a number of workshops. The idea is to give an industrial training to these one-time homeless waifs, who have a definite tradition imbued in them of their former street life, and only thus give them that training which will mould them into honest conscious social youth.

This commune has self-government (by the youngsters themselves). There are no warders. They do four hours' practical work in the workshops and have three hours' theoretical study in the class-rooms. From five to ten at night they are free for social work or their own amusements. They require no special permit to leave the colony to visit the town. All that is required is that they inform their "brigadier" (squad leader)—for the sake of convenience they are divided into military groups—of their absence. During the past year the commune has made experiments endeavouring to discover whether the children going through their course of training at the commune are sufficiently re-won from the street. To discover how far this aim has been achieved, thirty young volunteers worked for three days and nights in the reception centres of the homeless waifs, assisting in their distribution among the labour communes in the various towns. In some instances they even escorted the newly 'rounded" up waifs of their destinations, alone. The colony youth go regularly each summer to the Crimea for a holiday. The money for these holidays is raised by renting the premises of their winter colony to the excursion departments of the Commissariat of Education.

The same party visited the Central State Museums for the study of the peoples of the USSR (Ethnographical). These two museums are housed in the former palaces of a favourite of Catherine the Great. They present a scientific and illustrated description of the ethnographical and economical regions of the Union. (There are more than 120 different nations inhabiting the territory of the Soviet Union with a total population of 155,000,000. The Soviet Union itself covers an area of one-sixth of the world.

7 p.m.

At the Central House of Trade Unions (Dom Soyouzov) was arranged a big literature and concert evening. (This House was formerly the Central Meeting Hall of the Moscow aristocracy, or, as it was called, "Dvoryanskoye Sobraniye.") More than two thousand persons were present. The Presidium consisted of the following:

Rabindranath Tagore, Prof. Petroff, Prof. Kogan, a number of eminent Soviet writers and actors, D. Novomirsky, A. Eshukoff and others.

The programme of the evening was as follows:

1. Prof. Petroff opened the evening with a speech.
2. The poet Shingalee gave a recital of his ode to Rabindranath Tagore.
3. Rabindranath Tagore replied. (Loud and enthusiastic applause greeted the poet).
4. 1st and 2nd part of the musical recital of composer Borchtman's composition, executed by the singers with Borchtman at the piano.
5. The author Galperin read three pieces of Tagore's poems:
   (a) The Happiness of Rhythm,
   (b) Away with Hymns
   (c) There were There is Reason.
6. Ruslanov, an actor of the Vaghtangov Theatre recited two poems, in prose, of Tagore's works: about the travelling companion and his path and about the naked little boy, how he was scared by the sheep near the sea-shore.
7. The third part of the Borchtman programme. The author-composer Dzegelyanko at the piano, Kozlovsky (Artist Emeritus of the Republic), actor of the 1st State Opera House, and a Special recital in honour of the poet, the Ario from the Russian Opera "Sadko" music by Rimsky-Korsakov.

The gist of the latter song is as follows: (very rough translation).

Oh, wonderful land, India,
The numberless diamonds of Far India,
With the lovely warm Sea
Where on the stone near the white
shore grows a fig-tree.

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Paradise songs are heard sung by
beautiful birds,
And all is then forgotten . . . .
Far India of miracles.

8. The actor Simonov recited "Post Office."

9. Poems were then read by Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali. These aroused tremendous applause and deep admiration. The poet recited: "The Rainy Season" and "A Love Poem."

Then there was an interval, after which the following programme was gone through :)

1. Zagorskaya, the famous Russian folk-singer.

2. The dancer Messerer of the 1st Moscow State Opera danced the "Ribbon Dance" from the "Red Poppy" ballet.

3. Ryabtsev and his group of the 1st Moscow Opera House gave a demonstration of Russian village dances in the satire.

4. The sailors' dance "Apple" (Yablotchka). Also from the "Red Poppy" ballet.

5. Madame Chevtchenko—Russian folk-singer.

6. Peasant choir directed by Piatnitsky, gave a recital of Russian folk-songs and dances of Northern and central regions of the USSR.

The closing of the evening was marked by prolonged applause—a parting act of admiration for the poet.

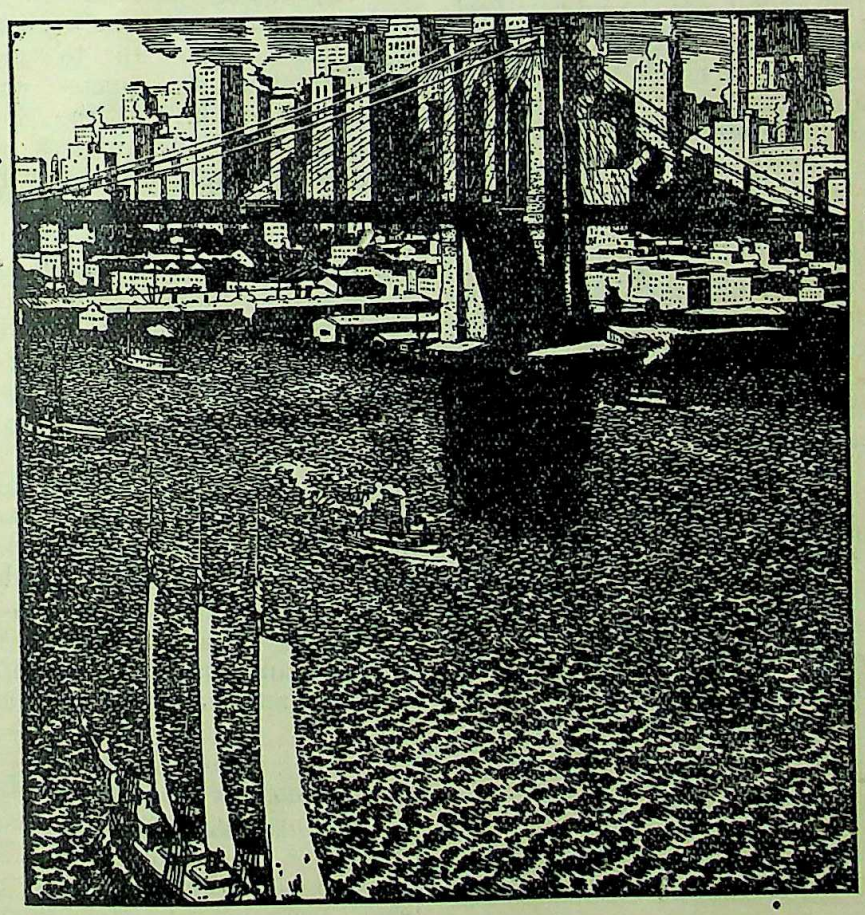
September 26, 1930

Mr. Ariam and Mr. Chakravarty and Saumyendranath Tagore visited the Tretyakov Art Gallery, Museum of Revolution and the Lefort House of Isolation.

The poet was visited by the Russian Poet Shingalee with whom he conversed on Indian literature.

A Russian student, Mitrokhin, had a conversation with the poet in Bengali. This student is a former pupil of Prof. Stcherbatsky.

Had a further talk with the cinema people regarding his scenarios.



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The Psychological Outlook in Hindu Philosophy*

By GIRINDRASHEKHAR BOSE

Philosophy And Psychology

THE position of a psychological section in a philosophical congress is rather anomalous. It is true that psychology has been a handmaid to philosophy from time immemorial but philosophers have seldom been interested in psychological problems as such and whenever they have used any psychological material they have utilized it as a stepping-stone to some philosophical generalization. Psychology is not the only science laid under contribution by the philosophers. The discoveries and deductions of physics, chemistry, astronomy and other natural sciences have in a simlar way been used to build up definite philosophical systems. A scientific truth after all is only a specific instance of a much wider philosophical generalization. A philosophical speculation based merely on a scientific theory is on an extremely unstable foundation. Discoveries of new facts often lead scientists to change their theories but philosophers cannot afford to see their generalizations changing from day to day. A philosophical doctrine, therefore, should be essentially independent of scientific theories. The present-day psychology bears the same relation towards philosophy as the other sciences do. Hence in recent times persistent efforts are being made to separate psychology from philosophy and it is for these reasons that I consider the position of the Psychological Section in this Congress as something out of place. It is like a section of physics in a medical congress. A psychologist therefore is something of an intruder into the domain of philosophy. He can at most examine and evaluate the psychological facts gathered by the philosophers.

Indian Philosophy

Indian philosophy when compared with western systems stands on a peculiar footing. In no western system of philosophy has the psychological material been so dominant. The outlook of the Vedanta as well as of the Samkhya system is almost purely psychological as I shall presently explain. A psychologist, therefore, is more in his elements in the domain of Indian philosophy than in the province of western thought.

Obscure Passages

There are many obscure points and dark lacunae in the Indian philosophical systems which have their origin in the remote past. Many passages in the Upanishads appear on superficial examination to be childish and even silly. It seems that at times the Upanishads rise up to giddy heights on the intellectual plane and immediately afterwards sink to the level of childish thought and meaningless assertions. No serious attempt has been made to reconcile these incongruities. Scholars have generally passed over such apparently unintelligible portions in silence while detractors have made fun of them. Even if we assume the different origin of these different levels of intellectual performance it is not clear why they have been put together and accepted as parts of the same whole by the ancient scholars. If there has been any interpolation in the Upanishads it must date back to a remote past and it is curious that it should have escaped the vigilance of the lynx-eyed intellectual giants like Sankaracharyya.

Instead of considering the obscure passages in the Hindu Shastras as puerile and meaningless I am inclined to think that we have failed to realize their true significance. If we could place ourselves in the position of the ancient *rishis* and revive their mode of thinking, much of the obscurity of their utterances would disappear. The key to the solution of these riddles must have long been lost to us and commentators have either taken the meanings of passages which seem difficult to us to be self-evident and so

* Presidential Address Section of Psychology Sixth Indian Philosophical Congress held at Dacca on 22nd December, 1930.

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familiar as not to require any interpretation or found themselves in the same predicament as ourselves and simply shirked the difficulties of explanation.

Types of Obscurity

I contend that the psychological outlook which seems to me to be the principal basis of Indian philosophical thought will enable us to explain many difficult passages in the *shastras* in a rational manner and will remove the prevailing obscurity to some extent. Unfortunately my knowledge of the *shastras* is extremely limited but if I succeed in correctly interpreting even a single obscure passage by the method suggested here, the intrusion of psychology into the preserves of philosophical thought will be amply justified. We shall have to wait for qualified workers equipped with a proper knowledge of both philosophy and psychology to come into the field and carry on the work more successfully.

I shall first of all deal with the Upanishads, the great storehouse of all Indian philosophical speculations. The passages in the Upanishads may be classified under three heads from the standpoint of the present-day rationalistic demand. Under the first division will be included all those passages which are both understandable and acceptable as propositions worthy of reasonable consideration, *e. g.*,

नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो न मेधया न बहुना श्रुतेन।
यमेवैष वृणुते तेन लभ्यस्तस्यैष आत्मा वृणुते तनूं स्वाम ॥

i. e., "The soul is not to be realized by the perusal of the Vedas or by the intellect or by a knowledge of the Shastras. He only is able to realize it who is chosen by it and to him only the soul unfolds itself."

You may not accept this propostion as true but it is certainly like any other philosophical assertion of the present day.

Under second division will come those passages which savour of mysticism and which are difficult to accept as reasonable statements, *e. g.*,

पृथ्व्यप्तेजोऽनिलखे समुत्थिते पञ्चात्मके योगगुणे प्रवृत्ते।
न तस्य रोगो न जरा न दुःखं प्राप्तस्य योगाग्निमयं शरीरम् ॥

"When earth, water, fire, air, and sky rise and when the five-fold qualities of Yoga are manifest the aspirant's body is permeated with the fire of Yoga and he becomes free from disease, decripitude and pain."

It is difficult to understand what the sage of the Upanishad meant by the expression "rising of earth, water" etc. Then again the assertion that disease, old age and pain can be conquered is hard to believe. We are thus forced to admit that the meaning of this passage is obscure.

In the third group are included all those passages in which absolutely no sense can be made out. As an example I may cite the story of the song of the dogs to be found in the 1st chapter, 12th section of the Chhandogya Upanishad. The dogs chanted verses from the Sama Veda and went through queer movements and uttered weird sounds. As the story is a long one, I refrain from quoting it. Why this curious story should find place in the Upanishad is more than I can say; nor can I point out the moral of this parable if this is a parable at all.

I have selected these examples haphazard to illustrate the different types of obscurity to be found in the Upanishads. The earnest reader will notice such peculiarities on almost every page.

The Rishi's Mind

Before I undertake to solve some of these riddles it will be desirable to make an effort to get at the mental constitution of the ancient *rishis* who formulated the teachings of the Upanishads. To do this we have to develop that peculiar mental trait which psychologists have called empathy. Empathy enables us to put ourselves in the position of another man and feel like him. The *rishis* of old were unsophisticated people having an immense faith in their own experience and an unrivalled courage of conviction. The main thesis of the Upanishads is, as is well known, the search for the Brahman or the Absolute. The question naturally arises what made the *rishis* take up the search for this obscure entity? How did they arrive at the knowledge that the Brahman exists at all and how did they find out the characteristics of this being?

Search for the Brahman

It has been said in the Bhagabad Gita that four types of persons search for God, *viz.*, (a) those who are in danger (b) those who have a thirst for knowledge (c) those who

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have a strong ambition to acquire wealth and happiness, and lastly (d) those who are wise. The wise person seeks God because he has already felt His presence. Therefore I leave him out of account for the purpose of the present discussion. The psychology of the person who seeks the help of God when in danger, or of the man who offers prayers for the furtherance of his ambition is easy to understand. It is a natural tendency of our mind to wish for outside help when our efforts fail in any direction. The child looks up to its father when in difficulty and psycho-analysts have proved that the hankering for a heavenly father is directly traceable to this childish trait which continues to persist in the adult in the unconscious mind. The heavenly father is a bigger prototype of the earthly parent and being a projection of the unconscious tendency of our mind is immune from the demands of the reality principle so that he is invested with all sorts of inconsistent qualities like "all-kindness and all-powerfulness." From this standpoint the doctrine that God created man out of His own image had better be replaced by the assertion that man creates his God out of his own mental image. You will presently see how the *rishis* of old located the power of creation within the human soul. At this stage you must remember that this psychological explanation of the creation of the Godhead leaves the question of the actual existence of God. unsettled. An innate hankering makes a man believe in the existence of the elixir of life or the philosophers' stone which will convert every base metal into gold, but this does not necessarily preclude the possibility of ultimate discovery of such substances. The wish to be able to communicate with people at a distance has been realized by the discovery of the wireless.

I now come to that important class of persons who seek God because of a thirst for knowledge. The motive here is exactly like that of a scientific worker who wants to discover a law of nature or who wants to test the validity of an assertion by another scientist. Scientific curiosity has thus been recognized by the *Gita* as a legitimate motive for the search for the Godhead.

Seekers after God therefore belong ultimately to two classes, *viz.*, the worldly seeker and the scientific seeker. I shall cite evidence to show that both these types existed among the *rishis* of old. Sometimes the scientifically minded *rishi* started his investigation in another sphere altogether and incidentally as it were, came upon the discovery of the Brahman. Sometimes again we find him proceeding boldly in his enquiries but he stops just short of the final point. Apparently his intellect or intuition could not carry him any further. The Upanishads give a faithful account of all such efforts and provide the present-day reader with an interesting and invaluable document for study.

Bamadeva, one of the *rishis* of the Rig Veda says :—"Owing to my poverty I had to eat the entrails of the dog, I prayed to the gods for wealth but all to no purpose. I saw my beloved wife humiliated before others but now God in the guise of a hawk, has come to me with the nectar from heaven"—Rig Veda : 4.18.13.

This passage along with some other 'mantras' composed by the same *rishi* proves to us that Rishi Bamadeva's life was not a happy one. His sufferings drove him to search for God.

Scientific Problem

As an illustration of the scientific type of enquiry for the Godhead I might point out to you the very first *sloka* of the Svetasvatara Upanishad which raises such questions as "whence do we come?" "how do we live?" "which is our support?" etc. In the Kathopanishad again Nachiketa asks Yama (1.20) whether the human soul survives after death. In answer Yama explains to him the mystery of the soul and begins to discuss the problem of the absolute which is intimately associated with it. In the Prasnopanishad (sloka 3) Kabandhi son of Katya asks "whence do these animals come to the earth ?" In the same Upanishad (chap. 2, sloka 1) another *rishi* puts the question "what is the number of forces that keep the animal body alive and which of these is the principal one ?" Then again in the third chapter (sloka 1) Kausalya asks "how does life come into being ?" In the fourth chapter Gargya, son of Saurya, raises some very interesting problems. Which are the sense organs that go to sleep and which are the ones that keep awake ?" "How do dreams arise?" "Which is the agent in the body that feels pleasure ?" "What is the ultimate support of everything ?" In the Kenopanishad again (sloka 1) we find the questions "who controls

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the mind and which is the agent that keeps the sense organs active ?"

There are quite a number of such questions scattered throughout the different Upanishads. I refrain from quoting any further here. These passages will amply prove my previous assertion that the search for Brahman was not always the primary concern of the *rishis*. They were very often moved by scientific curiosity just like any one of us. Most of these questions are either psychological or physiological ; a few come under the domain of physics and philosophy. We thus find that the *rishi* did not start with any preconceived notion about Brahman and very often he had no notion of this being at all when he first started on his enquiry. He was troubled by these problems like any other mortal. As a teacher it has been my good fortune to be asked some of these identical questions by my students.

A Hypothetical Enquiry

Let me point out that there is nothing of mysticism in these questions and the effort at answer is irreproachable when judged by the scientific standard of the present day. If the *rishi* ultimately came upon such an obscure entity as the Brahman it was only because his enquiry logically and quite naturally and inevitably led him to this point. It must be remembered, however, that he was mainly guided by his psychological sense, *i. e.*, his own unsophisticated experience. He had no text-book by Newton or Einstein to consult. When he looked up and saw the imense blue vault of the heavens above he concluded that that was the boundary of the universe upwards. In his deductions he depended entirely on his psychological sense impressions. This attitude saved him from logical pitfalls. Whatever the *rishi* said is absolutely true psychologically. The *rishi* boldly proceeded on his enquiry on this basis untroubled by the nature of his conclusions which may seem absurd to the ordinary person.

To give an illustration of this scientific method of approach let us consider the case of an enquirer who puts himself in the position of the *rishi* and tries to solve one of the riddles raised by him. Let us take up the question "which is the ultimate support of everything" and proceed step by step with our hypothetical enquirer to wherever his conclusions lead him. That the support is bigger than the things supported is self-evident so that the ultimate support would be the biggest entity we can conceive of. This biggest entity is the Brahman of the *rishis*. The root meaning of the word Brahman signifies that which is big. We shall call whatever is big by the term Brahman. Our enquirer will not depend on book knowledge or on any outside source of information. He will be mainly guided by his psychological experience. The first thing that will possibly strike him is that the earth is the biggest entity on which everything finds its support. Therefore, the realization will come to him that the earth on which he stands is the biggest entity he knows of and that the earth is the Brahman. When this knowledge comes to a person in a logical manner he may not be emotionally affected by it. When there is a true psychological realization on the part of the enquirer that he has come face to face with the biggest object on which everything finds its support a feeling of awe and reverence will naturally arise in his mind. We all experience a similar feeling when we look at the almost infinite expanse of the sea or the immense heights of the Himalayas. Under the influence of such a feeling it will be quite natural for our unsophisticated enquirer to say, "O Earth thou art the Brahman ; thou art our support ; I make my salutation to thee." The scientific curiosity of the enquirer may not be satisfied with this conclusion after all. He may try to find out an entity still bigger than this earth. He will soon realize that the air, which he feels, covers the earth wherever he goes. The conclusion will naturally dawn on him that the air is the bigger entity and that the earth with its immense seas and mountains finds its support, inside the air which envelops all. That the air is thin and incapable of supporting a solid body does not trouble him in the least. He actually finds that the earth is surrounded by the air on all sides. He, therefore, depends on his own direct experience and does not care about such sophistries as thinness of air, etc., which do not immediately affect his problem. He is now in the mood to say "O Air, thou art *Pratyaksha* Brahman, the Brahman of direct experience. Within thy [illegible] everything has its being and dissolution. [illegible] salutation to thee."

Modern science might tell our enquirer

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that the sky is a bigger entity than the air which reaches up to only about fifty miles above the earth's surface; beyond that lies space without any air. But we must remember that this is inferential knowledge; whereas our enquirer takes into consideration only his direct sensory experience. To him there is no means of distinguishing the air from the sky or the psychological space which can be directly visualized. Our enquirer will, therefore, say "O Air, O Space, ye are one and the same and you are the Brahman of direct experience."

Our enquirer when he comes upon an open plane and looks upwards, will find that his space is bounded above by the immense blue vault of the heavens called by the name of 'Dyau' by the *rishis* of old; the lightening which seems to flash out of the *dyau* is called *bidyut* in Sanskrit which means the piercer of the *dyau*. The sun, the moon, and the stars all move within the *dyau*. The *dyau* is limited below by the different points of the compass and is the biggest entity. The *dyau* is the Brahman.

When our enquirer makes a careful observation of the *dyau* he finds that the position of the stars and the heavenly bodies change from day to day till after a year the original configuration comes back. It is within the fold of time that the *dyau* goes on changing. Therefore, time is the larger entity and Time is the Brahman. You might raise the objection that our enquirer who is unfamiliar with Einstein should include space and time within the same category and should call one the bigger of the two. It is true that the psychological perceptions of space and time are quite distinct from each other and have nothing in common between them. If we go deep into introspection we find that the experience of time, unlike that of visual space, does not come through the intermediary of any special sense organ. Time is directly apprehended by the mind as it were. All sensations have duration as one of their attributes. The 'time feeling' is specially marked in all those mental experiences, which have the characteristic of change in them; all such experiences take place in time It may, therefore, be said that the experience of time is a wider experience which includes all other experiences. The time of the physicist is only an outward projection of the psychologists' time experience. Time as an entity, therefore, is the biggest entity of all. The spatial experience of *dyau* of our enquirer has the characteristic of changing from day to day and that is the reason why introspection shows it to be engulfed in the wider experience of time. Our enquirer is perfectly right when he says "O Time, everything happens within thy fold, none can escape thy embrace. Every being is born in Time and dies in Time. Thou art Eternal and Thou art the Brahman. My salutation to thee."

A Comparison

Let us now ask our hypothetical enquirer to stop his investigation for the present and let us compare his results with those actually arrived at by some of the *rishis* of the Upanishads. There is an interesting story of three Brahmins in the Chhandogya Upanishad (chap. 1, sec. 8, 9, 10 and 11) which we may take for comparison. Shilaka, Chaikitayan and Jaibali were three learned *rishis*, who once met to discuss certain problems. Shilaka said to Chaikitayan "If you will permit me I shall ask you certain questions." Chaikitayan having given the necessary permission Shilaka asked him "What is the ultimate source of Sama Songs? Chaikitayan answered, "The Voice is the source of songs." Shilaka again asked, "What is the source of the voice?" Chaikitayan said, "The vital energy of the body." "What is the source of this energy?" The answer was "Water" because without water no life can continue. "What is the source of water?" Chaikitayan said, "That region" apparently pointing upwards. Again the question came "What is the support of that region?" Chaikitayan had come to the end of his learning, so he answered "Don't try to get beyond that region." Then Shilaka said, "O Chaikitayan, you have failed to point out the final support of your Sama, so if anybody challenges you on that point your head will droop down." Then Chaikitayan said to Shilaka, "Please enlighten me on this point." Shilaka answered. "The support of that region is this earth." Chaikitayan in his turn asked "What is the support of this earth?" but no satisfactory answer was forthcoming. Jaibali the third *rishi* who had been hitherto listening silently said to Shilaka, "O Shilaka, if anybody challenges you now your head will surely droop down." Jaibali then enlightened the two *rishis* and said that the

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earth had its support in space or the sky which was the largest entity. He further pointed out that everything had its origin within this space and perished within it; the sky was immeasurable and infinite and he who knew it to be so was bound to become great and victorious in life.

The Greatest Entity

This story clearly illustrates the mode of thinking of the *rishis* which you will now find to be identical with that of our hypothetical enquirer. Certain points in this story deserve our attention. You will notice that there is nothing of what we call philosophy or religion in the discussion recorded here. Then again the highest entity so far recorded is a physical object. There are many such discussions in the Upanishads ending with the discovery of some physical object as the highest entity. It must have been a big jump for the *rishis* to come from the physical to the spiritual plane in search of the greatest entity. How this was achieved I shall discuss presently. You must not forget for a moment that the *rishi's* attitude was psychological throughout; so when he, like our hypothetical worker, arrived at the conclusion that Time was the final entity he must have realized the psychological significance of his findings. Physical time is an elusive object which cannot be apprehended by any sense organ, whereas psychological time is a matter of direct experience. The dominance of a psychological entity over the physical one must have struck certain *rishis*. It should be noted that different *rishis* arrived at different conclusions regarding the Brahman according to the different levels of their intelligence and intuition. S me never got beyond the physical plane but as they did the spade work, so to say, their efforts were carefully recorded. Such records enable us to follow step by step the progress of thought of the ancient *rishis*. With the postulation of Time as the Brahman the emphasis was shifted from the outside physical to the inner mental world. It must have been realized at the next stage, that the experience of Time was after all only a pa t of the ego's experience. The ego therefore, was the greatest entity. Everything in the outside physical and inside mental world was apprehended by the ego. The objective reference to the outside world was ultimately dropped altogether and it was appreciated that the experience of the ego was the only reality. The subjective reference entirely superseded the objective one. The importance of this change will be understood when we come to discuss the ideas of creation which the ancient *rishis* entertained.

The Ego

The search was now directed towards the ego. What was the nature of the ego, which seemed to compass the entire universe within it? The line of thought which the *rishi* followed is highly interesting and is illustrated in the Vriguballi of the Taittiriyopanishad and in the 7th section of the 8th chapter of the Chhandogya in the story of Prajapati, Indra and Virochan. I cannot quote the stories here for want of space. I shall remain content with pointing out the salient features of these stories. In his search for the nature of the ego, the enquirer quite naturally at first fa led to distinguish between the body and the true ego. The body was thought to be identical with the ego and as the body grows out of food, the food was the Brahman. "All animals are born out of food, they are nourished by food and ultimately resolve into the elements of the food after death." The fallacy was soon realized. A body without vital energy or life was like a lump of inert mattter and did not show any of the characteristics of the ego. Therefore, life or the energy which produced movements in the body was the ego. It was then realized that mere mechanical movement was no attribute of the ego. The mind which received all impressions and guided the movements was the true ego. Therefore, the mind was the Brahman. Mind was a composite something; it had different faculties. There was the faculty of receiving sensory impressions or the faculty of *chitta*; then there were the *mana* and *buddhi* which were concerned respectively with the choice of different impressions and different lines of action and final adjustment; then there was the feeling of I or *ahamkara*. Which of these was the Brahman? Vrigu the enquirer said Vijnan was the Brahman. It is not perfectly clear what was meant by this term *vijnan*. Very likely it means *buddhi* or that portion of the mind which is concerned with reasoned activities and knowledge arising therefrom. Although *vijnan* was indentified with the Brahman, it was not the final conclusion.

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It was ultimately asserted that Ananda was the Brahman. Ananda is to be identified with Pure Consciousness, not the consciousness of this or that or the knowledge of anything, but the pure consciousness without reference to any context, which like the light illuminates everything on which it alights and which it brings within its grasp. It is to be noted that most of the present-day psychologists do not admit a pure consciousness without a context; consciousness must be of this or that. But the pure consciousness of the *rishis* is no imaginary concept. It is to be realized in actual experience by ardent effort. I have only made an attempt here to arrive at it intellectually. It took one hundred and one years of hard meditation on the part of Indra to realize this pure consciousness which is identical with the Brahman. The search for Brahman thus essentially turns out to be a pure psychological problem. The *rishis* have recorded their experience of the Brahman in glowing terms and have asserted many wonderful things about it. When this realization comes to a person all pains cease to exist, and there is a peculiar feeling of blissfulness. The experience of pure consciousness is identical with the experience of this bliss which has been described as Ananda. The experiencer ceases to be troubled with doubts and the manifold world is lost in one unitary experience. These are all strange assertions but we have no reasonable grounds to doubt the correctness of the introspective experience of the *rishis* of old mentioned in such detail in the Upanishads. It is open to anyone to make an effort to realize the Brahman. Certain psychological laboratory experiments point to the presence of pure consciousness as described by the *rishis*, but I need not refer to them here.

Authority of The Vedas

You will now understand the significance of my previous assertion that the *rishis* did not start with philosophical speculations in the first place. The discovery of the Brahman was an incidental affair and the philosophy that grew out of it was a later product. This is the reason why every system of Hindu philosophy ultimately depends on the authority of the Vedas and the Upanishads which are records of introspective experiences of unsophisticated minds. No philosophy can get beyond facts of experience. The Vedas being a storehouse of the natural impressions and hankerings of the human mind give us a mass of psychological data for the building up of a philosophical system. Just as the facts of observation in physics and chemistry are independent of the intellegence of truthful observers, so the human passions, cravings and impressions recorded in the Vedas and the Upanishads may be described as independent of the intellect of their unbiassed observers. This is very likely the explanation of the doctrine of *Apaurusheyata* of the Vedas and this is perhaps the reason why the Vedas were looked upon with such reverence even by those ancient scholars who did not believe in God. From this standpoint Vedic rites will be comparable with the apparently unintelligible rites which are often developed by psycho-neurotics and psychotics and which owe their origin to the deeper unconscious layers of the mind. Psycho-analytical investigation is likely to throw light on the point. The method of approach illustrated in the present paper is not the only method to arrive at the conception of the Brahman. Since the Brahman is of the nature of pure consciousness any psychological experience when deeply introspected is likely to lead to the realization of the Brahman. In the Upanishads many such methods of approach are to be found.

The Five Sense Doors

As the time at my disposal is limited I shall hurriedly pass on to other considerations in the Hindu philosophy which are likely to interest the psychologist. The sense organs are the doors through which all impressions of external events come to us. While modern psychologists count as many as eleven different sense organs the Hindu philosophers described only five *jnanendriyas* or sense doors for knowledge. It might appear at first sight that the kinaesthetic group of sensations entirely escaped their observation as they did in the case of ancient western thinkers. But the real explanation is different. The Hindu thinkers were not concerned so much with the actual sense organs as with the different modalities of experience. The sense organs are really *indriyasthanas* or the places where the sensory experiences are located. The true *indriyas* are hypothetical bodies which

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are responsible for the experience itself. Thus although there may be two eyes the *indriya* of vision is only one. The minimum number of *indriyas* corresponding to entirely different types of sensory experiences is only to be admitted. The kinaesthetic sensations give us an idea of movement and position both of which can also be experienced through vision. The deep sensibility derived from kinaesthesis is akin to touch and may be considered to be one of its variants. Thus there is no necessity of recognizing a special kinaesthetic sense from the Hindu standpoint. Introspection shows only five modalities of sensory experience, hence the number of *indriyas* is limited to the minimum of five.

The Five Elements

The external world can only be apprehended by us through these five *indriyas*. There is no other source which can give us any information about matter which constitutes the physical world. Psychologically speaking matter is ultimately resolvable into five different elements corresponding to the five different *indriyas*. This is the explanation of the five primary elements posited by the Hindu philosophers. The elements of the chemists are no real elements in this sense. Take the case of chlorine for instance: chlorine as a gas can be felt, smelt, tasted and seen. We are cognizant of its existence by at least four different sensory impressions; therefore, it is not an element in the Hindu sense of the term; it must be composed of at least four different elements. The Hindu classification of matter into five elements is, therefore, not at all absurd as is supposed by many scientists who have an entirely different standpoint.

Creation—Modern View

When a modern scientist attempts to formulate a theory of creation he begins with matter either as a primordial stuff or electron and proton or whatever it is. Out of such stuff the nebulae are formed and then the suns and stars which are of the nature of incandescent gases. The stars give rise to planets which gradually cool down and become liquid and finally the crust becomes solid. There is no life, much less consciousness, up to this stage. Then the oceans come into existence and out of inorganic matter life of a simple type in the form of unicellular organism comes into existence very likely in the ocean. This uni-cellular organism develops along two directions and in the process of evolution gives rise to the immense varieties of plants and animals. Consciousness is the last to develop and first appears in a rudimentary form in the lower animals. In the human being which is the last word in creation consciousness attains its fullest development.

The Hindu theory of creation stands in sharp contrast with the modern scientific doctrine. It begins at the wrong end as it were. Consciousness is the first element in creation and inert matter is the last to develop.

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Creation in Samkhya

If we consider the theory of creation propounded in the Samkhya system of philosophy, we come across an entirely psychological outlook. The Purusha of the Samkhya is to be compared with the pure consciousness discussed before. Besides the Purusha another entity is recognized by the Samkhya called Prakriti or primordial matter. In contact with the Purusha the Prakriti manifests itself in different physical and mental phenomena. During the process of creation the primordial Prakriti is at first transformed into what is called *mahat* which in its turn leads to the development of *ahamkara* or the ego feeling of I. It will be seen that creation according to this theory starts in the mental sphere or the psychological plane. From *ahamkara* is developed the five *jnanendriyas* or the five sense doors, the five *karmendriyas* or the organs for action and the mind or the controlling agent for both sense impressions and actions. Corresponding to the five sense doors five sense impressions or *tanmatras* are developed from the same *ahamkara*. The *tanmatras* or sensory impressions by projection give rise to five primary elements or matter. Aitareyopanishad also says "out of the eyes the sun was born." Physical matter is therefore the last to be developed and is merely an offshoot from the mental sphere. The theory of creation is thus purely psychological. You will notice that this explanation of creation is individualistic. How this is to be correlated to the cosmic theory of creation I leave to the specialists to consider.

The Samkhya along with other systems of Hindu philosophy considers the mind to be a form of matter. The mind

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is a product of the Prakriti and as such is devoid of the element of consciousness. The mind appears to be conscious because of the borrowed consciousness of the Purusha. When the borrowed light illumines mental events they appear to be conscious products. Mental events belong to the same category as physical events; only they are made of a finer stuff. This view of the relationship of body and mind steers us clear of the pitfalls of both inter-actionism and psychophysical parallelism and I commend this theory to the consideration of modern psychologists.

There are many statements in the Samkhya philosophy which require to be carefully investigated before we can grasp their meaning. Why the *karmendriyas* or the bodily agents for action have been limited to five, is more than I can explain at present. Why the five primary elements corresponding to the five sense impressions have been located in earth, water fire, air and sky also require elucidation. I am sure psychology will ultimately solve the riddle the key to which has been lost to us.

The Three Gunas

The theory of the three Gunas *viz.* Sattva, Rajas, and Tamas so widely accepted by the Hindu philosophers is another baffling problem. It is a favourite theme with them to classify all objects and actions under the three heads of Sattva, Rajas, and Tamas. There are certain elements in creation *e. g.*, the *indriyas* which belong to the Sattva group; certain other elements belong to the Rajas group and the rest belong to Tamas group. The Brahmin's profession is 'sattwik' the King's duties are 'rajasik' while the butcher's activities are 'tamasik'. Milk is a 'sattvik' food, meat is 'rajasik' while alcoholic drinks like whisky and brandy are 'tamasik'; and so on, in every department of life. What the Hindu philosophers actually aimed at achieving by the classification is difficult to realize. Max Muller in "The Six Systems of Hindu Philosophy" says on page 357: "I have tried to explain the meaning of the three Gunas before, but I am bound to confess that their nature is by no means clear to me, while, unfortunately to Indian philosophers, they seem to be so clear as to require no explanation at all." Sattva is described as the quality of goodness, rajas as that of passion and tamas as that of darkness. "Goodness is all that is bright, passion all that excites and darkness all that is not bright." Then again Sattwa has been described as illumination or knowledge, rajas as action and tamas as inertia. It is difficult to find out the motive for this tripartite classification with so many vague connotations of *gunas* or characteristics of physical and mental phenomena. The principle of classification does not seem to be at all logical. How such different things as brightness and action could form the basis of classification is difficult to understand. The explanation of the riddle of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas is to be sought for in the psychological plane and the solution that I offer here will, I hope, prove to be satisfactory.

Unlike most of the philosophical systems of the West the aims of all Hindu philosophical thought is essentially practical. Hindu philosophy teaches the methods of permanently getting over all sorts of pain in this world and attaining a state of perfect happiness. Because of this practical outlook philosophical teachings and doctrines have permeated every phase of the Hindu's life. Even food and sexual enjoyment are sought to be regulated on philosophical basis. The religion of the Hindu is an offshoot of his philosophy and really consists in practices in conformation to the philosophical doctrines suited to different social and intellectual strata, the ultimate aim being the attainment of a state of perfect freedom from pain. Pain is only to be conquered by the realization of the relationship between the ego and the external world which constitutes the non-ego. For this the nature of the ego must be appreciated and anything that helps to favour the development of this knowledge is to be encouraged while all activities and agents which divert us from this aim are to be avoided. The nature of the self or the ego is to be realized by knowledge. Ignorance stands in the way of this realization. Knowledge is of two kinds *viz.*, (i) the knowledge of external things and (ii) the knowledge of the inner workings of the mind. These roughly correspond to what we would call physical knowledge and psychological knowledge respectively. The knowledge of external objects directs our mind towards them and leads to activities with reference to them. Although such knowledge is desirable from the practical standpoint of life and society it is not the type of knowledge which helps us to realize the ego. In fact this knowledge takes us away from the ego. The only knowledge which will reveal the ego is

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introspective knowledge of the mind. But the human mind is naturally so constituted that it has a preference for running after external objects and events rather than concern itself with its own workings. Incidentally I might say that this is why introspective psychology as a science is not so popular as physics or chemistry. Introspection of the mind is the method advocated by the Hindu philosphers to find out the nature of the ego. Introspection, which may be difficult to practise in the beginning, gradually leads to the development of the knowledge of the self which has been called the "true knowledge." The *rishis* observed that certain conditions favoured the growth of introspective power in an individual and certain other conditions retarded it. Food, environment, habits of life, all have their peculiar influence on the introspective faculty of the mind. Anything that stands in the way of knowledge, whether objective or introspective, is supposed to be invested with a peculiar quality which has been called the 'Tamas.' In the domain of creation the 'Tamas' obscures the light of consciousness and is responsible for the evolution of inert matter. In practical life 'Tamas' obscures our knowledge of external objects and the inner affairs of the mind. Darkness, for instance, interferes with our perception of the true characteristics of an object; hence darkness has the attribute of 'Tamas' in it. Similarly alcohol makes a person unfit to grasp the true perspective of things and events; therefore alcohol is a 'tamasik' drink. 'Tamas' is of the nature of obstruction or ignorance.

'Rajas' is that attribute which helps the development of knowledge of external things and events *i.e.*, of the non-ego. Knowledge of external things is a pre-requisite basis of all our actions. Take the instance of the simple act of drinking water. We must have a knowledge of water as an external object and be familiar with its characteristics before we attempt to drink it. 'Rajas', therefore, is an incentive to action. A butcher's action is considered 'tamasik' because he does not realize the pain and sufferings of the animal he slaughters; and to that extent his knowledge of external events is defective. It is also supposed that activities like that of the butcher deaden the finer sensibilities and lead to an incapacity to understand the subtle workings of the ego, the knowledge of which constitutes 'Sattva' and is essential to salvation. In the case of the butcher the 'Tamas', therefore, interferes both with Rajas and Sattva. A king's activities on the other hand is 'rajasik.' A king or a judge may order a person to be hanged but he does it after carefully considering all points. His appreciation of external events does not suffer. The true warrior is similarly of a *rajasik* bent.

We now come to Sattva. Whenever our attention is directed towards our own mental experience 'Sattva' is predominant. The introspection of the psychologist is *sattvik* in nature as it is by such introspection that the mysteries of the ego are ultimately revealed. The knowledge that results from inner observation of the mind in contradistinction to *rajasik* knowledge is 'pure' in nature inasmuch as it does not lead to action. Whenever any *Indriya* is active sensory experience results and this subjective experience by itself, without reference to the object which produces it, is the result of 'Sattva.' Both 'Rajas' and 'Tamas' are opposed to 'Sattva' in the sense that one diverts the mind to the outward world or the non-ego, while the other opposes the development of knowledge altogether.

In all our actions there is an intermixture of the three *gunas* in different proportions. Pure 'Sattva' or 'Rajas' or 'Tamas' does not exist. Generally one of the *gunas* preponderates over the others. One must be 'Gunatita' or beyond all three *gunas*, if the self is to be realized. While the 'Tamas' and 'Rajas' prevent the vision of the self, 'Sattva' helps to open the road to it. But an individual who merely goes on taking interest in his own mental experience, although he may turn out to be a good psychologist, fails to understand the nature of the self which is the experiencer and not the experience. The attraction of the road is to be overcome before the goal can be reached. One must get beyond the mind itself to reach the ego. The Kaushitaki Upanishad says (3rd chap., sec. 8) "Do not try to understand the nature of vision but try to understand the visualizer; do not try to understand sound but try to understand the agent who hears the sound; do not try to understand touch but try to understand the experiencer of touch; do not try to understand the mind but try to understand the agent who controls the mind," and so on. This is the theory of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas in a nutshell. If we accept this interpreta-

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tion all anomalies and vagueness disappear and the fundamental importance of the theory clearly stands out. The limited time at my disposal prevents me from doing full justice to the problem which is one of the keystones of Hindu philosophy.

The Hindu Pantheon

Let me now pass on to other considerations. The Hindu pantheon consists of innumerable gods and goddesses who have their special devotees. This fact has been responsible for the charge of idolatry and polytheism brought against the Hindu religion. Let us try to understand how this conception arose. Without referring to the anthropological explanation of the problem, I shall deal only with its phychological aspect. The numbers of *devatas* or gods in the Vedic period appears to be smaller than at the present time. New gods have been introduced into the pantheon from time to time and some of the older gods have lost their importance. The original meaning of the term *devata* is "the shining one." In the Upanishads the *indriyas* or sense doors have often been called *devatas*. These facts give us a clue to the mystery of the recognition of the different *davatas* by the Hindu philosophical systems. The *indriyas* or sense doors are called *devatas* or shining ones because they illuminate or bring into consciouness outside objects. The objects themselves must be supposed to have certain characteristics which make them fit agents to receive the light of consciousness. The modern theory of psycho-physical parallelism assumes that physical agents cannot bring about a psychic change. As physical energy effects a physical change so phychical energy alone can produce a mental change. The implication of this theory is that objects have their psychic counterparts and it is only because of this that they can affect our sense organs and give rise to sensory impressions which are changes in the psychic plane. From this standpoint the *devata* is the psychic counterpart of an object and the *rishi* was right in calling both the sense organs and objects, which can be looked upon as unitary wholes, as *devatas*. Both the groups have the capacity to illumine the mind by producing consciousness. Thus every object has its corresponding *devata*. The *rishi* is perfectly explicit when he says, "Jalavimanini devata," "Bidyudavimanini devata" etc. *i. e.*, the 'devata' which illuminates water, the 'devata' which illuminates lightning etc. It is the illuminating agency that is the 'devata. All objects of importance and all groups of ideas having an important bearing were thus conceived to have their special 'devatas' There were the god of thunder, the god of the winds and the rains, the god of the mountains, the goddess of the river, the god of death, the god of creation, etc. As the social conditions changed different deities made their appearance according to the importance attached to special events. Even at the present time we can see the process at work. The Deshamata or the goddess representing the motherland is in the course of being incorporated within the Hindu pantheon. In a suburb of Calcutta, there is a goddess of cholera who receives offerings from innumerable people. I shall leave out of discussion, the psychology of worship, for the present.

Psychological Outlook

The psychological attitude is of importance not only in understanding the definite problems of Hindu philosophy but in clearing obscurities of isolated passages in the Hindu *shastras*. The Hindu philosophers assert that the seat of the emotions is in the heart whereas modern physiologists will tell you that the brain is the seat of all mental processes. If you place yourself in the psychological mood, introspection will definitely tell you that the kinaesthetic sensations which accompany emotions are located near the region of the heart called *hridaya* in Sanskrit. *Hridaya* does not mean the heart itself but the indefinite region round about it where emotions are located. During an intellectual performance you may experience a feeling of strain in the region of the head and that is why the head has been described as the seat of intellect. Many people fall into the error of thinking that the brain is meant by the term head in the ancient Hindu philosophy. You must remember that the Hindu philosophers dealt with pure psychological entities and were not concerned with physiological findings. A psychologist, in fact, has no necessity of admitting that anybody has brains !

The soul has been described as 'guha-hitam' or residing within the cave. By *guha* is meant the *hridaya guha* or the cave in the region of the heart. The expression 'guha-hitam' seeks to convey the idea that in deep introspection the ego appears to be located within the region of the heart. There

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is no need to bring in any mystic explanation. The ego has again been described as "angusthamatra" or of the size of the thumb. Although, I am not in a position to substantiate it, I am sure this refers to the introspective experience of the *rishis*. There is an interesting sloka in the Svetasvatara Upanishad (chap II. sloka 2, which says,

नीहार धूमार्कानिलानलानां
खद्योत विद्युत् स्फटिक शशिनाम् ।
एतानि रूपाणि पुरःसराणि
ब्रह्मण्यभिव्यक्तिकराणि योगे ॥

i. e., "During the practice of Yoga the realization of the Brahman is preceded by the appearance of mist, smoke, sun, air, fire, fireflies, lightning, crystals, and moon."

This sloka has been supposed to describe the mystic experiences of the Yogi but the real explanation is extremely simple. To get an idea of the Brahman the mind should be first of all diverted from outside objects and directed to inner mental experiences. For this purpose the devotee must close his eyes and try to attend to his subjective impressions. If you are at all in the introspective mood, directly you close your eyes, you will perceive certain after-images and you will notice that the description given in this sloka accurately tallies with your own experience. There is no necessity of bringing in a mystic explanation.

I could multiply many such instances if I had more time at my command. I am afraid, I have already tired out your patience but the importance of the subject is my excuse. I only hope that future workers will come into this fruitful field and will succeed in throwing light on much that is obscure now. A correct understanding of the Hindu philosphical systems will be invaluable to the intellectual and practical spheres of life.

The Beginning of Jute Export To England

(Based on manuscript records of the English East India Company in London and in Calcutta)

By Dr. J. C. SINHA

TOWARDS the close of the eighteenth century, piece-goods formed the chief export to England from Bengal. In the East India Company's September sale of 1788, the sale proceeds of Bengal piece-goods was £619,874 while £197,716 was realized from the remaining items of export from that presidency. In the March sale of 1789, the sale proceeds of Bengal piece-goods and other exports were £283,348 and £177,841 respectively.*

The progress of British cotton manufactures threatened this important export from Bengal with extinction. As early as the 1st March, 1783, the Court of Directors had drawn attention to this matter. In their letter of the 20th August, 1788, to the Governor-General in Council, the Court of Directors again observed, "By the great ingenuity and persevering industry of the British manufacturers, the article of muslins in the ordinary and middling assortments is at length brought to that degree of perfection that there is every reason to apprehend a sufficient supply of the best Surat cotton will enable them to meet the Indian white piece-goods of the above description in the foreign markets, as the duties and freight on the Company's importations have already enabled them to undersell us in the markets at home."

The Bengal Government were, therefore, anxious to find out new commodities for export. In their letter of March 11, 1791, the Board of Trade in Bengal observed :

"We are continuing our researches for new articles for export to Great Britain. . . . We send samples of clean hemp of this country, one of rough hemp and one of jute (we know no English name for this) the material of which gunnies and the ropes used in cording bales is made. . . . Jute may be found an useful article."*

This appears to be the first sample of the fibre sent to England.

A few months after the despatch of this sample, the Court of Directors wrote to the Governor-General in Council in Bengal on the 6th May, 1791, that it was true that no successful competition could be set up against the Russians as regards hemp but as a plant

* Exract of Commercial General Letter from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, dated the 19th May, 1790, (Bengal Secretariat Records, Calcutta).

* *Home Miscellaneous Records*, Vol. 375 (India Office, London).

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supply of hemp and flax, they added, "from every possible quarter is of the highest importance to the well-being of the British nation, we recommend this object to your very serious notice."

In the course of the same letter, they expressed their desire to have information "touching the present state of the growth of hemp and flax" in the different districts of Bengal. The Board of Trade in Calcutta accordingly asked for reports on the subject from the Residents of different factories in the Presidency.

A detailed report regarding "sun paut or the 1st sort of hemp" and "coosta paut* or the second sort of hemp," with replies to questions from the officers of the Collectors of Dacca Jalalpore, Momensing† and Tippera, was sent to the Board of Trade in Calcutta by Mr. Taylor, Resident of the Dacca Factory, on September 26, 1792. According to this Report, sails, ropes and other marine stores were prepared from "sun paut" while gunnies and common ropes were made of "coosta paut." Reports on "hemp and flax" from the Residents of different factories were sent to the Court of Directors at the beginning of the year 1793.§

About a year before this, further samples of jute had been despatched to England. The Board of Trade in Bengal wrote on the 20th of April, 1792, "On the Manship went samples of Bengal flax and of the hemp. . . . . Further samples are gone on the Dutton, together with small samples of the seed of the latter, and of jute (another species of hemp) of which the Bengal gunnies and gunny bags are generally made." But the word 'jute' had not yet become quite common, its Bengali name *pat* being more frequently used in the Company's records.

In their letter dated 23rd October, 1793 to the Governor-General in Council, the Court of Directors observed that they had lately had under their examination "the samples of hemp and flax" sent from Bengal during the past season. The sample of *son* did not serve for the purpose of cordage or sail cloth, two of the chief sources of consumption. "Of the sample called *pat*," they added, "more favourable mention can be made, some of the most eminent dealers declare that it is not hemp but a species of flax superior in quality to any known in the trade. You will accordingly receive directions by the ships of the season, for procuring one thousand tons of this sample."

On the receipt of this letter, the Board of Trade in Bengal said that they would do their utmost to complete the order, but they doubted whether "so large a quantity as 1000 tons" could be provided during the ensuing season without 'going to an excessive price.' There had lately been, they added, a considerable export of sugar from Bengal. Consequently, there had been 'an unusual demand for gunny bags, leading to an increased use of jute. On the other hand, there being no export of rice at the time, the demand for gunny bags for rice had nearly ceased. They accordingly asked for estimates of cost at which the Residents of different factories could supply jute in Calcutta.

The resident at Radnagore referred to his letter of October 6, 1792, in which he had estimated that *pat* might be purchased at S. R. 1-10 as. per factory maund but he observed in his letter of May 31, 1794 that *pat* produced in the district was not more than sufficient for local consumption. On the other hand, the Resident at Santipore wrote on July 16, 1794 that about 2,000 factory maunds of *pat* of a good quality, might be supplied from his district and delivered in Calcutta at a rate from S. R. 1-8 as. to S. R. 1-10 as. per maund. The Resident of Maldah factory sent with his letter, dated 23rd July, 1794, the following estimate for supplying 15,000 factory maunds of jute to the Board of Trade in Calcutta:

(1) Quantity (Factory maunds)	(2) Mofussil cost per md.	(3) Charges in mofussil per md.	(4) Charges of transport from mofussil to Maldah per md.	(5) Total (2)+(3)+(4)	(6) Commission at 5 per cent	(7) Charges of transport from Maldah to Calcutta.	(8) Total cost & charges per md. (5)+(7)	(9) Total cost for 15,000 mds.
15,000	S.R-a-p 1-1-0	3 as	1a-11 pies	Re. 1-5-11	1-1p	5a	Re. 1-12	S. R. 26,250

* This is jute.

† *i.e.*, the district of Mymensingh which now grows more than one-fifth of the total amount of jute produced in Bengal.

§ See Extracts of letters from the Board of Trade in Bengal, dated the 31st January and the 11th February, 1793, in the *Home Miscellaneous Records*, Vol. 375.

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The Resident of Rangpore factory sent on August 9, 1794, the following estimate of the cost of purchase and other charges of 50,000 maunds (of 72-11-7 sicca weight to the seer) of *pat* procurable at his factory :—

Maunds	Price per md.	Total
50,000	Re 1	Rs 50,000
Factory and *aurung* charges	3 as. per md.	„ 9,375
Transport charges to the Presidency.	4 as. „	„ 12,500
	S. R. „	71,875

Mr. J. Taylor, Resident of Dacca factory, in his letter of the 18th June, 1794, estimated the cost of purchasing 300 factory maunds of "*goor sun** or hemp" at Re. 1-13 as. per factory md. and 400 factory maunds of "coosta paut or jute" at Re. 1-2 as. per md. at Naraingunge† and of despatching the same to Calcutta at S.R. 1150-13 as.

On the receipt of these estimates, the Board of Trade in Bengal decided on August 20, 1794, to report to the Governor-General in Council to the following effect:

"We have ascertained that the whole quantity of 1000 tons of pat required, by which . . . . we understand to be meant 30,000 factory maunds, is procurable. The article is produced in every part of this country that is not inundated, but the districts where it most abounds and where that grows from which are made the gunnies and rope mostly used in Calcutta are Purneah, Dinajepore, Rajemahal, Rungpore, Jessore and the southern parts of Nudoha" (*i.e.*, Nadia).

It thus appears that the cultivation of jute was less extensive in Eastern Bengal than in Northern and Central Bengal towards the close of the eighteenth century. This inference is further strengthened by the distribution in 1794 of the Company's orders for 30,000 maunds of jute among the Residents of different factories in the province on the following basis :

Dacca	300	factory maunds.
Malda	12,000	„ „
Patna	300	„ „
Radnagore	30	„ „
Rangpore	9,500	„ „
Santipore	7,330	„ „
Calcutta	540	„ „
Total	30,000	factory maunds.

The amount of jute ordered from the Dacca factory was surprisingly small. But it may be noted here that the term 'jute' was applied at the time only to the fibre of *C. Olitorius*. This variety of jute plant cannot stand waterlogging and is cultivated in Eastern Bengal to a very limited extent, even at the present time. The chief variety grown there is *C. Capsularis*.

It is not known whether the entire amount of 30,000 factory maunds of jute ordered by the Court of Directors in 1793, was sent to England. It appears, however, that during the same year the Company's servants in India "provided an investment of more than 100 tons of paut and sunn ...at somewhat less than £ 10 a ton on board the ship and all expenses paid."* It is interesting to note that each ton of this fibre occupied about 90 cubic feet of space† and the homeward bound freight was estimated at £15 a ton which made the price of jute amount to £25 per ton. This was certainly a very high price in those days§ and must have checked the export to England.

But the real obstacle to the export of jute was that it could not prove a good substitute either for flax or for hemp. As early as December, 1794, Dr. Roxburgh, the Superintendent of the Company's botanical garden at Shibpur, near Calcutta, pointed out to the Court of Directors in his botanical history of the hemp and flax plants of Bengal that jute or *pat* belonged to *corchorus* variety. But he entertained hopes as to the utilization of improved quality of jute fibre in British textile industries. A few months after the despatch of his botanical history, he sent to the Court of Directors some jute "as a specimen of an attempt to improve its quality by a mode of cultivation and dressing different from the practice of the natives here."**

It was, however, futile to expect jute as a possible substitute for flax or for hemp. In their commercial letter to Bengal, dated the 27th July, 1796, the Court of Directors referred to "the extreme weakness of paut."

* This was the fibre of *crotalaria juncea*, called *ghore sun* in other contemporary MS. records of the East India Company. It is interesting to note that a variety of *sun* at present grown in Bengal, is still called *gour sun*.

† It thus appears that Naraingunj was a centre of jute trade as early as 1794.

* Sunn Proceedings, Board of Trade, Fort William, October 19, 1803 (Bengal Secretariat Records).

† Nowadays 5 pucca bales form a jute ton of 50 cubic feet (see H. Sinha's article on Marketing of Jute in Calcutta, in the *Indian Journal of Economics*, Vol. IX. p. 529).

§ On the 1st January, 1913, the price of jute, First Marks, in London was £ 26 per ton.

** Extract of letter from the Board of Trade in Bengal dated the 27th May, 1796. (*Home Miscellaneous Records*, Vol. 375, p. 161).

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Its chief defect was, they said, that it would not bleach well and, hence it was useless to the British linen manufacturer. Accordingly, the Board of Trade in Bengal "agreed that no more paut and sun be sent home."*

Small parcels of jute continued however to be sent to England during the first quarter of the nineteenth century and were used there in the carpet-making industry. But, as late as 1828, when jute was first mentioned in the British customs list, the recorded exports were 364 cwt. only. At that time there was such a prejudice against this fibre that Dundee flax and hemp spinners used to guarantee their products free from jute. This prejudice soon disappeared. In 1833 jute was successfully spun by machinery at Dundee. From that time the export of jute really began to feed the new-born jute industry of Scotland.

* Extract from the Proceedings of the Board of Trade in Bengal, March 7, 1797.

Climatic Change in Kathiawad

By HARILAL RANGILDAS MANKAD, B.A.

THERE is a belief on the Kathiawad side that year after year the rainfall is decreasing. No doubt, we have occasional heavy downpours but even then the yearly prospects do not become better and we often hear from the elders that "gone are the rains of yore." What is really meant is that the climate has changed for the worse and that Kathiawad is gradually coming within the area of Sind climatic conditions. The present factors that control the climates of Sind, Cutch and Kathiawad are the Indus river, the Thar desert, the Ran (desert or marsh) of Cutch and the Arabian Sea The monsoon rains are a direct result of the temperatures and pressures over these areas. The Thar has the least rainfall in India and less rainfall in Kathiawad presupposes the southward encroachment of the desert conditions.

In the past, Sind, Cutch and Kathiawad had a vast amount of water in their near vicinity. The north-eastern approaches of the Arabian Sea, *viz.*, the Kori Creek, the Gulf of Cutch and the Gulf of Cambay once went much further inland. The Great and the Little Rans of Cutch were filled with navigable sea water and the Indus emptied its waters into the Great Ran (Fig. III). The Gulf of Cambay also joined with the Little Ran making the peninsula of Kathiawad an island (Fig. IV).

It is a well-recognized story that the ancient Aryans inhabited the land between the Indus and the Sarasvati which they called the Sapta-Sindhavah (Fig. I). Some say that their original home was the Arctic Region[1]; some say that originally they lived in the Central Asian Plateau[2]; while others say that they were autochthonous in the Sarasvati Valley.[3] In distant geological epochs, the Sapta-Sindhavah were a fertile tract of land with good rainfall and surrounded by four seas[4]; then Rajputana was a sea (Fig. I) which by some great seismic disturbance receded to a southern limit, say, somewhere about the line passing between Hyderabad and Badin (Fig. III). The salt water lake of Shambhar near Ajmere is an evidence of the presence of the sea there.

In the Rig-Veda,[5] the Sarasvati is described as a mighty river flowing from the mountain to the sea but by the time of the Mahabharata[6] it had already ceased to be a perennial stream.[7] Some believe that the Sarasvati flowed to the Great Ran by the Hakra Channel (Fig. III but due to the westering tendency of these rivers, the channels left the Great Ran and moved to the broad Arabian Sea (Fig. II). The Sarasvati could not reach the Ran and disappeared in the sands.[8] Some say that the Sarasvati is the Yamuna which then belonged to the Indus system. But the Rig-Veda[9] mentions both these rivers separately. On the other hand, we have in the Mahabharata,[10] "It returned with her mouth towards the East" which together with the

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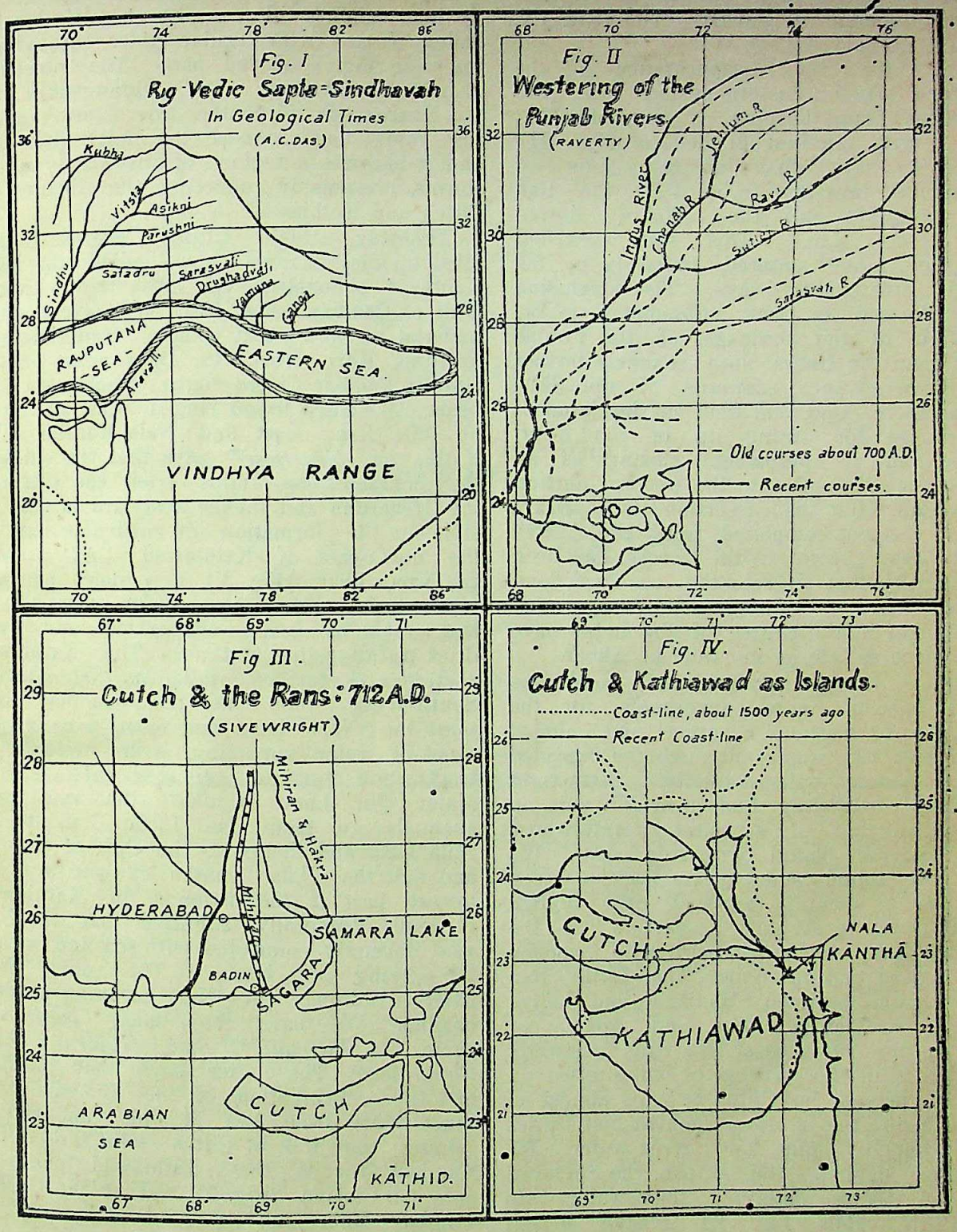

general belief of the presence of the Sarasvati at the Trivani Sangam at Prayag (Allahabad) tends to show its eastward course. It may be that it was an independent stream falling into the Rajputana Sea (Fig. 1) and when the sea retreated, disappeared in the Upper Rajputana sands[11] (Fig. II). Even then there was a strip of desert in the southern

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portion of Sapta-Sindhu of which frequent mention is made in the Rig Veda (Rig. IX. 79.3; III. 45.1; X. 63,15).[12]

Long after the disappearance of the Rajputana Sea, the Eastern system ran into the Great Ran, keeping it navigable but filling it with alluvium all the time (Fig. III) Periplus[13] says that at the time of Alexander's invasion (B. C. 327) the Ran was navigable and the Hakra flowed into the Ran. This state existed when the Arabs[14] entered India (A. D. 700, Fig. III). Sivewright[15] says, "The conclusion to be formed is that, subsequent to the transition of the drainage of the Punjab rivers from the Hakra into channels farther west, the advance seawards of the delta became more rapid, and that its development has caused the silting up of the Khori channel and its permanent closing as an access for the sea into the western portion of the Ran. But this desertion of the Hakra channel was not completed until the "Bay" as it was known to the Greeks, had been silted up by that river to the sea-level and in parts above it." Cunningham[16] says that the changes in the course of the Indus have taken place as late as the time of Akbar.

Under these circumstances conditions would become more favourable for the Little Ran to become a quiet and almost land-locked bay, where silt might be expected to accumulate with rapidity. Sivewright mentions interesting finds near Wavania on the Little Ran of a country craft whose planking was bound with coir ropes. We had also found some years back, a wreck of a boat of about 75 bag-load near Jodiya on the Dobar creek, now a portion of the Hadiana Ran, which was secured by wooden pegs instead of iron nails. The Little Ran begins from between Hadiana and Jodiya on the Kathiawad coast and from near Tuna on the Cutch coast and runs eastward. The Ran is in the process of being silted up even at present but Cutch remains almost an island during the monsoon months, not by sea water but by rain and river water. We have the Machhu, the Rupan, the Sarasvati and the Banas emptying their waters into the Little Ran (Fig. V). I have myself crossed the Little Ran more than once at different points in fair season in canoes and bullock-carts but during the monsoons it remains a barrier between Cutch and Kathiawad. The area near Wavania described by Sivewright as "overflooded at high spring tides and during rains" is mainly dissected by long and swift running channels locally called 'Nesas' with regular tides throughout the year (Fig. V shaded part). The presence of salt pans at Kuda near Dhrangadhra and at Kharaghoda supports this view. After the rains have ceased the water dries up and it becomes a region of dust and sand[17] storms, presumably affecting the climates of Cutch and Kathiawad.

Probably this silting process also filled up the channel now called the Nala Kantha,[18] connecting the Little Ran with the Gulf of Cambay (Fig. IV). We have enough material to show that places from Lakhpat on the Kori creek to Bhavnagar on the Gulf of Cambay were once frequented by boats. We have found ringed stone-anchors[19] on the Ran coast and Nala Kantha. The Kathiawad *Gazetteer*[20] says that the shift in the course of the Indus from the Little to the Great Ran and thence westward is responsible for the formation of cultivable land in the north-east of Kathiawad. At present the Nala Lake (Fig. V) is a sheet of fresh water during the rains which turns salt as the water is being evaporated and even dries up altogether at times. The Kathiawad *Gazetteer*[21] further tells us that during South-West monsoons the Cambay Ran joins the Nala Lake and forms a connected sheet of water spreading over surrounding tracts and turning villages into islands. Major Ful James thinks[22] that rain water channels go from the Little Ran to the Nala Lake and thence to the Gulf of Cambay and that the Nala Kantha is even now the lowest part of the isthmus of Kathiawad. It is also generally admitted that the Nala was formerly connected with sea and was fit for plying of boats. The name Nala itself is nothing but 'Nal' meaning a water channel. We have the same facts told again in *Rasmala*[23] and *Gujarat Sarva Sangraha*.[24] The latter says that the Nala and the continuation of the Bhogavo river must have been sea at one time and by joining the Ran of Cutch with the Gulf of Cambay turned the Kathiawad peninsula into an island (Fig. IV). That the Gulf of Cambay once ran much inland is shown by the fact that Vallabhi - modern Vala—the ancient capital of Gujarat near Bhavnagar was a sea-port on the Gulf of Cambay. Modern Vala is not a port. Albiruni's statement that the town was destroyed by a naval expedition from Sind shows that

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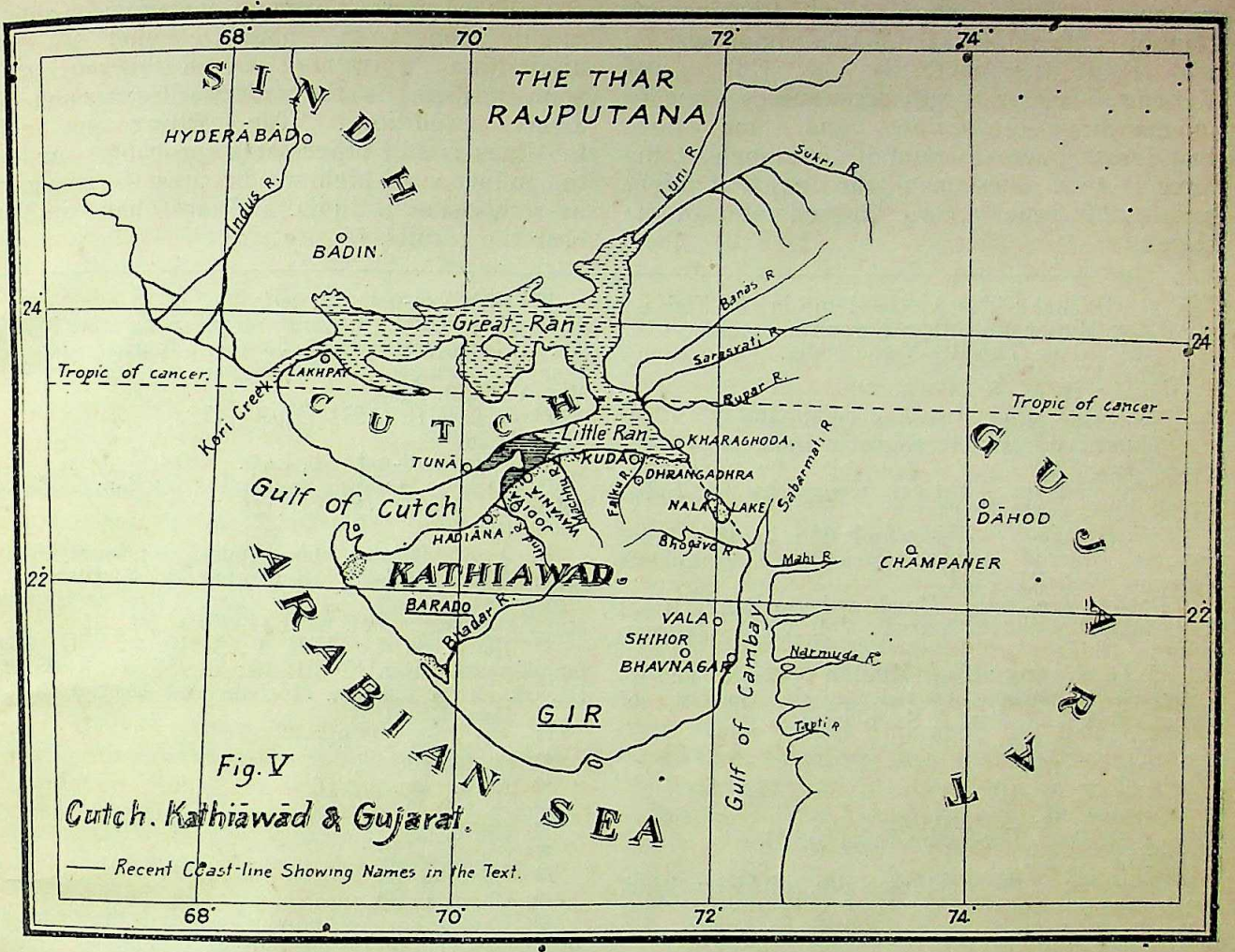

ancient Vallabhi was a port. The creek which once united Vallabhi to the sea has since been choked up with silt[25].

Thus it appears that there was a continuous channel of water from the Gulf of Cambay to the mouth of the Indus and that the Nala and the Ran had navigable sea water detaching Cutch and Kathiawad from the mainland opposite (Fig. IV). This sheet of water all round might have given us sufficient rainfall in the past; we are feeling its absence now in the diminution of water-supply and failure of crops.

Forests have a considerable effect on climate and big animals like elephants, lions and tigers cannot flourish without dense forests and good water-supply. In the Rig-Veda [26] we have frequent references to forests and to elephants, lions and wild animals. In the Ramayana [27] we read that Ayodhya had elephants brought from the border lands of the Sindhu. In the Mahabharata we read about the Khandava Vana[28] near the Yamuna which was burnt by Arjuna; and Nakula [29] while conquering the Western quarter is said to have subdued the people of Pushkararanya (Pushkara forest). Periplus [30] (247 A.D.) speaks about Kathiawad coast as distinct from the interior which was dense forest. The Kathiawad *Gazetteer* [31] says that the lions formerly roamed all over the peninsula; while the *Gujarat Sarva Sangraha*[32] says that there were lions in Cutch and Kathiawad but they are now only found in the Gir jungle in Kathiawad. We read also that there were big forests[33] in Kathiawad but now there are only small ones near the Girnar, the Barado and the Shihor hills (fig. V.). Indeed, there were forests at many places in Gujarat[34] and the forests of the Panch Mahals and the Rewa Kantha were famous for hunting of elephants and lions. In 1666 Jahangir came for a big game *shikar* and captured seventy-three

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elephants near Dahod and Champaner[35] (Fig. V). The habitat of these animals in and about the peninsulas of Cutch and Kathiawad in the past presupposes goodly jungles in those localities and some believe that forests increase rainfall. As much of the forests area does not now exist, it might have told heavily on the climate of the region.

I have given some materials which might support the popular belief in the diminution of rainfall in Kathiawad; the main feature is the southward extension of desert conditions. The filling up of the Rans is still progressing probably under the influence of high winds now so frequent over this side of India, and we have got to bear the results.[36]

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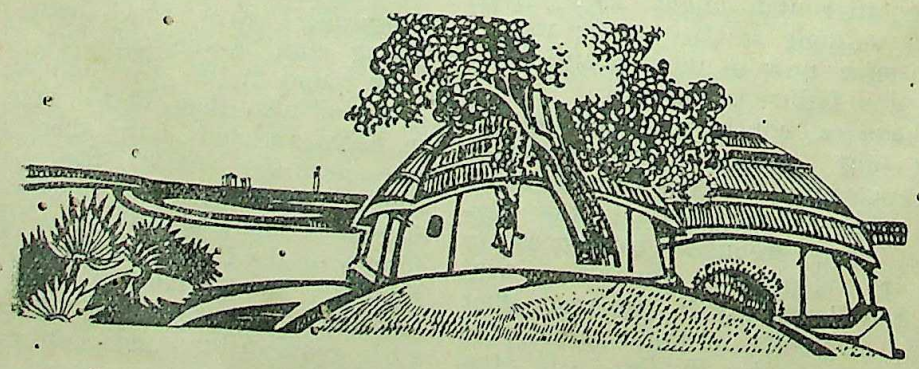
35 Ch. 2, p. 40.
36 I offer my acknowledgments to the various authorities cited. I am greatly indebted to Rao Saheb Mukund V. Unakar of the Indian Meteorogical Department, who has furnished me with some of the geographical references and materials.



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Britain's Economic Crisis and the Way Out

By WILFRED WELLOCK, M. P.

TWO and a quarter millions unemployed in Great Britain alone! That terrible fact is compelling British thinking to go to the roots of things. The economic crisis through which the world is passing is challenging the intelligence of the whole of mankind.

Theories and ideas are thus once more in the melting-pot. Present conditions invite us to be bold, and on every hand economists, politicians, and industrialists are throwing their ancient shibboleths to the wind.

The problem is easily stated :

We are confronted with an economic deadlock ; for whereas warehouses are everywhere full, and farms and factories are becoming derelict, increasing millions are unable to satisfy elemental needs. With bumper harvests and unlimited raw material, factories are closing down while destitution spreads across the world.

These conditions are an unqualified condemnation of the existing social system in the West, and a proof that it is breaking down.

As to the explanation, while the evil has many manifestations it has one primary cause. It is this, that financial and economic power, on the right use of which the well-being of the community depends, is used for private ends.

If the people are not able to purchase what they have produced, clearly there must be a leakage somewhere. In other words, purchasing power instead of being distributed is being cornered.

Mr. William Graham, M. P., President of the Board of Trade, stated recently in a speech at Carlisle, that while during the last ten years the wages of the British workers had fallen by £700,000,000 per year, the income of the rest of the community had risen. He said that the total national income remained fairly stable at £4,000 million.

Because industry, the banks, etc, are run for private gain instead of for the public good, their social utility is vitiated. And do as we will, tax as heavily as we please, it is not possible to restore the balance once it is seriously disturbed.

Thus we shall not escape from this impasse until we say that the world's economic and financial resources shall no longer be the instruments of speculation, and the means of enhancing private interest at the expense of the community.

Capitalists themselves are in despair. They see their system collapsing before their eyes, and are desperate to save it ; yet all their so-called remedies but aggravate the disease, for their aim is not to save the nation but to derive new means of preserving their power and privileges.

Thus the Tories want tariffs, and the Liberals reorganization and the cutting down of expenditure on national services.

The former would send up prices and the latter increase the number of the unemployed. Both would intensify the the disease, therefore, and lay up new trouble for the future.

Tariffs in an exporting country like Britain are bound to be a huge gamble. Also the fact that 75 per cent of the trade of the Empire is done with foreign countries, while only one-third of our own trade is done within the Empire, shows the risks we run in embarking on an Empire policy which would radically alter our general fiscal relations.

But tariffs in Britain will do two things, and it is for this reason they are desired : they will raise prices, and they will bring in new revenue, for they will not keep out all foreign goods. The increased prices will enlarge the profits of the manufacturers, while the new revenue will secure a reduction of income tax. Thus tariffs will still further increase the disparity between the rich and poor, as it will transfer the burden of taxation from the former to the latter, and at the same time increase the profits of the manufacturers at the cost of the workers' spending power. The ultimate effect of this will be to reduce trade and increase unemployment.

The alternative, and the only hope of the future, is public control. This for several reasons, which I will state in detail later.

There are three industries which are at

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present in a state of collapse—coal, cotton, iron and steel. Nearly 50 per cent of the workers in the cotton industry are unemployed, and in the steel industry nearly 40 per cent. The same fate will sooner or later overtake these industries in all other countries also We are hit first because our standard of life is higher than that of most of our competitors. Lower wages might give us temporary trade, but the crisis would very soon recur.

The recently passed Coal Act has set the coal industry on the road toward public control.

The cotton industry is in a perilous state. The only hope of saving it is in a pooling of resources and reorganization as a single unit, with the State as an active partner.

That solution is inevitable. The only question is as to whether it will be accomplished in one or in several stages

Were the leading men in this industry wise they would adopt this course, put the industry under the control of a Control Board with the State as a partner. For not even the Tories would tolerate the formation of a monopoly trust of this dimension without a measure of public control.

Similarly with iron and steel.

This industry professes to be up-to-date in plant and organization, yet it cannot compete against the cheap labour of Belgium and France. Only the other week one of its spokesmen in the House of Commons stated that the industry was on the point of collapse, and asked for a subsidy of £1 per ton of steel produced from the Unemployment Insurance Fund on conditions. Exactly. But what conditions? This industry is now largely centralized. Six or seven firms control about half its output. For that very reason it would be an easy matter to run the industry as a single unit, under a National Board, with the State as an active partner. It would then be possible to consider the question of drawing money from the Unemployment Insurance Fund for such purposes or meeting unfair foreign competition, reducing the hours of labour, and sharing out the work available among all the workers normally engaged in the industry.

We are now paying out Unemployment Insurance Benefit at the rate of over £90,000,000 per year, and I see no objection to considering the use of much of that money under public control in such ways as those indicated.

But there is another very important reason why the public control of industry is becoming more and more urgent, *viz.*, that only by this means will it be possible to deal effectively with unfair competition, such as dumping, by which I mean the exportation of goods at a lower price than the cost of production in the country of origin.

Dumping is on the increase, and is being practised with consummate skill and as part of a national economic policy, by an increasing number of countries. It is an inevitable consequence of over-production, although it is a practise which one can scarcely imagine will be able to endure.

The conditions of mass production are such that, owing to the cost of up-to-date machinery, it does not pay to run a plant unless it can be used continuously and at full capacity. Thus nations are finding that it pays to export certain commodities below the cost of production rather than have their machinery and also their workers idle.

I will give three recent examples of dumping by foreign countries into this country:

Recently Czecho-Slovakia has been exporting sugar to this country at about £7 per ton, while the cost of production is round about £20 per ton.

France and Belgium, on the other hand, are sending steel into this country at £1 or so per ton less than the cost of production; while according to Board of Trade figures Russia has been exporting oats and barley to this country at prices some 30 per cent cheaper than even France and Germany have been doing.

The protectionist says at once: put on a tariff! But the problem cannot be dealt with in that simple way. Take sugar, for instance. If it pleases Czecho-Slovakia to send us sugar at £7 per ton, there is no earthly reason why we should not accept it, as sugar is costly to produce in this country, and even then the industry in fact has to be heavily subsidized by the State.

Then as to steel. If we kept out this cheap steel we should lose a considerable market for certain steel manufactures which we get solely by virtue of cheap foreign steel. So that here again a tariff policy is not as simple as it seems.

As to oats and barley, the problem is to ascertain the cheapest production our farmers can give, and whether it would pay to limit the importation of these grains or to import

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all we need and produce other crops which would not require the protection of a tariff.

It will be clear from this statement that what is needed is a national economic organization to go into the whole question of imports control. This might involve the setting up of Import Boards, and also the fixing of prices, as otherwise a few monopolies would capture all the advantages of cheap imports. As a matter of fact that is what is happening at the present time.

It will thus be seen that the principal key to a solution of the immediate economic problem in Great Britain is the adoption of public control in the basic industries. Were this done imports could be controlled, (either prohibited or regulated to suit our own conditions) without the fear of exploitation by the manufacturers. On the other hand, it might pay the nation to subsidize certain industries for a period, either to prevent the importation of dumped goods into the country should that be thought desirable, or to reduce the hours of labour so as to make it possible for the unemployed in a particular industry to share what work there is in that industry. Experience has proved that all such policies fail in their object so long as industry is privately owned and controlled, as sooner or later all the advantages gained thereby are converted into profits for the shareholders.

These facts and considerations only go to show how great are the changes which are taking place in the world economic situation, and the need there is for every country to overhaul and reorganize its policies, until such times as mankind are sufficiently wise to work more and more on the lines of international co-operation.

British India and the Indian States

SIR BRAJENDRANATH SEAL, M.A., PH.D., D.SC.

[This note was written by the author in March, 1928. It is noteworthy that nearly three years ago, he suggested an All-India Federation, and stood up for the rights of the peoples of the Indian States. Editor, *M. R.*]

IN this note I have dealt with the financial and economic relations of the Indian States with British India, and their political relationship with the Paramount Power,—in their bearings upon each other. They are mutually interwoven, logically, constitutionally and historically, and the satisfactory settlement of both classes of issues can be conceived only with reference to the position of the States in the Indian constitution, both as it exists now, and as it has to be modified and developed in relation to the changing constitution of the Government of India under the Reforms.

I have suggested certain transitory arrangements for such financial and political adjustments as are of pressing character, but only as steps on the road in our journey to the inevitable goal, that of a composite All-India Federation.

I

Apart from all questions of the position of the Indian States under the Reforms, and solely on grounds of justice and equity, such as apply to inter-state relations under modern concepts of political ethics, the treaties and *sanads* demand a considerable revision :

1. Economic relations.

Generally speaking, the economic relations require some re-adjustment.

(a) Railways, as well as posts and telegraphs, serve the purpose of defence : the imperial authority responsible for defence must have the right of establishing such communications in and through State territory.

But Railways help in developing the country's resources, and they ought to be in the end a productive investment. All that the States can claim in the cases of British Indian State Railways is that they should have a voice in determining the programme for lines passing through their territory or connected therewith; and that under the

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Reforms, if the profits of the railroads should come to be shared between the Central and Provincial Governments, the States should get their due share. In the meanwhile, perhaps some of the States can clench their arguments for some relief from the subsidy or tribute by pointing among other things to the railway profits accruing to the Government of India. The actual apportionment of the profits may be referred to the Fiscal Commission suggested *infra*.

As for Posts and Telegraphs, they are intended to be run on commercial lines; in a developing country there ought to be, under proper management, neither profits nor losses, the rates being such as to allow fair wages being paid to the postal services. If any surplus accrues, it may be utilized for reduction of the debt charges or otherwise for the purpose of the capital account. Besides, a uniform system of services is necessary, though a safe and reliable exchange may perhaps be arranged in certain circumstances. A State staff for Railways and Posts may result in economy, but the chief advantage will be in opening up new sources of employment, stimulating industrial development, and extending the influence and operations of the State administration to the remotest corners of the land. The village postmaster, like his congener, the village school-master, will be abroad. They take the place of the priests of the people in the new social order.

Under a Federal system of Government, the administration of posts and telegraphs would be federal, and of railways may be either federal or provincial (or both). The revenues may be central, or assigned in part to the Provinces or States.

(b) Coinage and currency must be federal (or imperial, under the existing constitution). The States ought to be consulted as to possible effects on their finances of proposed changes in currency policy.

(c) Banking—a federal Reserved Bank will come with the Federation.

(d) Customs duties. Whether these duties fall on consumption, production or business, the proceeds ought to be utilized for the benefit of the territory of incidence. Land-locked States or States in the hinterland should not be penalized; this is the convention of protectorates.

The sea customs revenue should be distributed; and the ways in which this result could be secured are well known, such as transport in bond without breaking bulk to the State, owning or hiring of warehouses at ports by the State, rebates and drawbacks on goods finding their way in bulk to the State,—or the formation of a Customs Union, like the German Zollverein, the revenues being distributed *pro rata* on the basis either of population, volume of trade, amount of revenue, or amount of expenditure. (I quote from the Minutes of Evidence submitted to the Indian Fiscal Commission).

Under a Federal Constitution, the almost universal convention is to assign this source of revenue to the Central Government,—but in Canada the Dominion annually transfers large subventions to the provincial authorities which had surrendered customs and excise. In Australia, also, a fixed sum *per capita* is annually paid to the provinces on account of customs and excise.

2. Political relations, with economic consequences:—

(a) Military obligations—The total annual tribute from the States amounts to about eighty-four lacs. In the main, this is a contribution towards the cost of common defence. Over and above this, some of the States have ceded territory,—others incur charges for maintaining troops for Imperial Service. Under Lord Reading's scheme, the total charges (under subsidy and military contingent for Imperial Service) need not exceed fifteen per cent of the revenues of the State. For British India as a whole the nett cost is twenty-five per cent on the total revenues of the Central and Provincial Governments, but this includes charges for internal order, which must be left out in this consideration on both sides. The whole question of apportionment requires investigation by a special committee. The total contribution of the States as a whole may not be unduly large, but the apportionment is unequal, and sits more heavily on some States than on others. Under a Federal Constitution, the quotas will have to be precisely fixed or special sources of revenue assigned. The formula for calculating the quotas must be a function of three variables, (1) population, (2) revenue, and (3) size or extent of territory, of the State concerned. In the meanwhile, pending a proper apportionment, exemption from this subsidy (about 84 lacs) should be granted in all fairness, in view of the new and increasing burden of indirect contribution to the central exchequer by the peoples of the States.

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Apart from fiscal consideration, there is a political aspect of the question. Where the claim is based, as it should be, on the obligations of common defence (and this is also the actual historical origin of a subsidy in most cases), all associations and implications of tribute are irrelevant, the only subordination implied being the dignified subordination of the part to the whole, in an internal, not an external, relation.

(b) Grants of land in State territory for cantonments. This is necessary under the obligations of common defence,—but it is not necessary that a big city should be developed under the ægis of a cantonment. Equity demands that the State should retain civil jurisdiction over these lands, provided that the administration is such as to inspire confidence. The perplexing surplus question will not then arise.

(c) Jurisdiction over railway lines, etc. The same remarks as under cantonments apply to railroads (and also assigned tracts generally).

3. Other aspects of political relationships.

(a) Question of jurisdiction over European subjects.

Extra-territorial jurisdiction, or more specifically criminal jurisdiction over British European (or other European) subjects, belongs to the category of those privileges, which may form matter for negotiation even between independent States, and such provisions have a frequent place in the Imperial Government's treaties with Asiatic powers. All that can be claimed immediately under this head is that the principles should be extended to such of the Indian States as possess a judicial system comparable to that of British India. Political ethics would certainly go much further than this, but I am now speaking according to the canons of real politics.

(b) Inter-State and Foreign Relations :—

These must remain within the purview of the Imperial Government. Under the contemplated Federation (enjoying Dominion Status), the position may be the same as that now claimed by Canada or South Africa. In the meanwhile, Consuls, High Commissioners, Agents, Advisers or Protectors for British India will be in charge of State interests abroad. It has also been suggested that a State may maintain an Agent at Delhi.

The question of a machinery for adjustment of these relations :—

The proper solution lies only in a Federal Union with British India which I shall presently adumbrate. Any constitutional machinery, however, that may be devised in the interim should be of a purely transitory character, such as may prepare for and accelerate the advent of that federation : something in the nature of motion down an inclined plane. This is the first test of any such arrangement as may be now proposed.

1. For disputes about treaty rights and their interpretation, as well as the precise determination not only of the precedents and 'case law' of the subject, but also of the principles of interpretation, and their application to particular contests, there might be

(a) recourse to arbitration at the option of either party to the contest, the referees being acceptable to both parties, to which might be added

(b) a permanent tribunal, and incipient Supreme Court, which will settle and codify usage and practice in accordance with equity and natural justice, and serve as a repository and custodian of 'inter-state-law.'

All justiciable issues as between the Government of India and any Indian State, or between State and State, will be referred at the option of either party to arbitration or to this tribunal.

Justiciable cases, it is scarcely necessary to define, are those which are concerned with the application of an admitted principle or the interpretation of a mutual agreement, tacit or express, where such application or interpretation of a mutual agreement tacit or express, is contested by either of the parties concerned. They include cases where the existence of the principle (or of the agreement) itself is in dispute between the two parties. Justiciable cases are distinguished from questions of policy under (3) *infra*.

2. For all matters touching the dignity and personal status of the Ruling Princes, the Viceroy as the representative of the Crown should be final authority. The right to regulate succession also vests in the Crown.

3. For questions of policy, or of relations between British India and the States, as well as matters of administration that arise from time to time, and indeed for all matters of common concern and interest, the Executive Council of the Government of India, which now decides them (often on reference from the Political Department) should be widened by the inclusion of a

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member nominated by the Viceroy to represent the interest of the Indian States, the selection being confined to Indian statesmen, citizens of the States, with experience of their living conditions and problems. The member for the States should be an ordinary and whole-time member of Council.

But this should be supplemented by two transitory provisions :—

(a) Whenever important questions of policy or administration touching a particular State come up for discussion in the Executive Council so widened, the State should have the right of sending two delegates who will act as advisers to the Member of Council for the Indian States, and will have the right of hearing by the Council.

(b) Occasional *ad hoc* Committee consisting of representatives of the Government of India and the Indian State concerned may be appointed for reporting to the Executive Council.

4. Finally, financial and fiscal adjustments :—

(a) A fiscal Commission consisting of impartial fiscal and financial authorites should be appointed for reporting on a fair and equitable apportionment of the military burden as well as of revenues including customs, excise, railways, coinage and currency, etc.

This is a very pressing question, and should be taken up earlier than (and as a preliminary to) a scheme of a federal political machinery.

(b) After the general line of fiscal policy and adjustment have been settled, questions of day to day administration will be dealt with by the Executive Council.

But these are only stop-gap arrangements. They are but steps on the road to Federation.

What must be primarily borne in mind in all these transitory arrangements is that the States should not move towards isolation or segregation from the Central Indian Government, and that any joint action in Council should be by means of an integral machinery and not by additament of separate and independent bodies. Besides, the individual States and their own separate interests must have under existing conditions a proper channel of effective representation without being always swamped in the general mass. They have some exclusive (perhaps conflicting) interests.

I will now turn to the permanent solution—a scheme of a political machinery which alone, in view of the changing constitutional status of the Government of India in relation to the Imperial Government, can lead to a position of stable equilibrium.

In any permanent settlement of the constitutional position of the Indian States, two cardinal facts must be kept in view:

1. The historical and geographical unity of India.

Though a congeries of small States and principalities have always existed, the goal towards which Indian history has always moved has been some sort of consolidation under a Raja Chakravarti or paramount power; but this unity has been not an incorporative (or absorbing), but an integrative (or synthetic) unity.

All schemes, therefore, that would lead to an isolation or segregation (or possibly even secession) of the Indian States, are at once ruled out by this imperative condition. If the Indian States are now to come together as a political unit under a new political organ, be it a Chamber or an Executive Council, they must do so in order to move towards an organic constitutional Union with British India and not by dissociating themselves from their present historic and political relationship with the Government of India.

2. The second governing factor is the Indian concept of sovereignty which is still a living tradition in the Indian States.

Any dissociation between the ruler and his people is foreign to this concept. The ruler and the people are an incorporated unity, and both must be considered in the new settlement.

The Indian State is not a monistic, but a pluralistic one ; or what would be more correct in view of later developments, a pluralistically determined monism ; in other words, the Sovereign is not the original source of law, but *Dharma*. For the customs *(Acharas)* of the communities as interpreted by Conventions *(Samayas)* of legists (*Pandits*) are the instruments and embodiments of the *Dharma* and therefore a source of law no less than the sovereign will *(Rajajna)*. The king or ruler maintains this *Dharma*. Again the community or group is an intermediary between the State and the individual, and this gives a structural compositiveness to the Hindu polity. The monistic (*e.g.* the Roman or the Austinian) concept of sovereignty,

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superimposed on the indigenous Indian tradition, has produced a 'monster in jurisprudence' (to use Burke's phrase in another connection), and with the same disintegrating effect, as has resulted in the spheres of land tenure and the village communities from the importation of alien systems of principles and procedure.

In all these cases, it was no doubt necessary to move on to modern institutions but a successful adaptation of the indigenous institution to modern ideas has been rendered more difficult than was necessary by well-meaning, but blundering, attempts based on a failure of comprehension.

I will now bring out the implications of these two cardinal facts as I have called them, and apply them to the solution of the issues that confront us.

(a) I will take the second fact first:—the concept of sovereignty in the Indian States:—

The concept makes it essential that the Rulers of the States must not be dissociated from their subjects in any settlement of constitutional issues.

In the old order (as stated above) it was *Dharma* (including *Achara*, custom) which was the ultimate source of law, and as such a barrier and check to an autocratic will; in the new order the control on autocracy in the interests of the general well-being is reserved to the suzerain power.

In the former case, the sanctions were those of *Dharma* enforced by the will to *Dharma* in social consensus;—in the latter case, the sanctions are enforced by the paramount power. But modern conditions demand that the paramountcy should be exercised neither by occasional and extraneous interference such as is necessarily felt to be violent, nor by a mere abstract consensus which is inert, ignorant and unadaptive. A constitutional machinery then, is necessary for the exercise of this control from within:—and whether in British India or in the Indian States, popular organs have to be devised for securing this control, this responsibility. In Indian parlance, it is only then that the Government by *Dharma* becomes realized in and through self-Government (Swaraj).

The ruler and the people are therefore members of each other and members of the State; this corporate unity cannot be dissolved. And the right of the State to autonomy (or sovereignty), its right to self-determination as well as its claims against interference *ab extra* all flow from this corporate unity; in brief, all such rights of the ruler are rights of his people, and *vice versa*. Consequently in the coming settlement, in the adjustment of mutual rights and duties as between British India and the States, the people have their indefeasible share in the Reforms,—they have their rightful place in this march to responsibility and self-Government, their appointed part in this drama, this self-realization of the *Dharma* of the State,—the peoples of the Indian States, as much as the peoples of British India. To ignore this would be to contradict the very meaning and purpose of the Reforms, to subvert the very basis on which these claims to State autonomy are based.

In this connection, it may be pointed out that His Excellency the Viceroy has already hinted at some of the administrative changes which are essential if the States are to reap any benefit from the contemplated readjustment.

Briefly put, the suzerain's trusteeship or overlordship for the well-being of the people cannot cease and determine, in any State in the absence of a separate Civil List, an organized and efficient Civil Service, an independent judiciary, the reign of law as against personal rule, and a State system for the spread of education among the masses of the people. And equally does this well-being require the education of the people by the association of their chosen representatives in the management of the affairs of the State.

All this relates to the internal administration. But in any inter-state or all-India machinery and organization, whether it be a Chamber or a Council, not merely the Princes but also the constitutional Houses of the States, where there are any, should be represented—or in their absence, some machinery should be devised for the appointment of people's representatives to such joint Chambers of Councils.

(b) This leads me to the second cardinal fact, the integration with British India.

No doubt, in all treaties and negotiations with the Indian States, the Governor-General in Council acted only as the instrument or Agent of the British Crown (or the paramount power). Still the Government of India was the direct beneficiary as well as the authority to enforce the treaty rights. Besides, so long as the ultimate responsibility is owed to the British Parliament (instead of to the

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Indian people), the differentiation between the Government of India and the British Crown or (Imperial) British Government in this sphere had no place; but with the progress of the Reforms, and an increasing measure of transferred responsibility, the differentiation becomes pronounced. And the question is whether the Indian States should (or could) attach themselves to the Crown (as represented by the Viceroy) or to the Government of India (as represented by the Governor-General in Council). In my view, all arguments and consideration, historical, constitutional and prudential, go to condemn the alternative of detachment (or secession) of the Indian States from the Government of India. In reality it is not a question of abstract right. It is a matter to be settled, not by a dispute about treaty rights and constitutional status, but—as all grave human issues have to be—by mutual compromise and settlement. And the conditions to-day are very favourable to the States for a settlement, with the British India on a liberal basis. If the subordinate agency of the Government of India in relation to the British Government is to be modified in the direction of autonomy in any measure (and this is the meaning of the Reforms), the subordination of the States to the hitherto undifferentiated British Indian Government should in all constitutional parity be equally and necessarily modified in that direction.

If then, integration with an autonomous British India is to be the keynote, it must be an integration compatible with the autonomy of the States. What is primarily necessary is a revision of the subordinate position of the Indian States in relation to the autonomous Indian Government of the future. In other words, the Indian States, or such of them as fit themselves and as they fit themselves by constitutional changes to participate in the widening of the bounds of freedom under the Reforms, should form autonomous wholes as sovereign or 'semi-sovereign' States integrated with British India into a composite Federation. The old idea of an undivided and indivisible Sovereignty, for every State or of an unlimited sovereignty, which might bar the way to such integration, is not true to the facts of historical or political evolution and is less true in India (as has been seen) than in any other country, Eastern and Western. Indeed Prof. holds the idea of sovereignty to be inapplicable to a Federation. Now the modes and degrees of integration of sovereign or semi-sovereign States have been many, *Statenbund* or *Bundesstat*, or Federation, more or less centralizing or more or less decentralizing; more or less unitary or more or less pluralistic; and there is no reason why a new form of composite federal polity should not evolve in contemporary history to suit Indian conditions and traditions. No doubt, these Federal States of India (including British India) will be held together by a common allegiance to the Crown; and in this view the Royal Prerogative and some of the obligations of the States following from the Royal Prerogative (relating to salutes, titles, honours, the personal status of the Prince or Ruler) must remain intact in all revisions of treaty rights that may be necessary. The right to regulate succession in cases of dispute also remains to the Crown and the Crown only. Again, the States will have their sovereignty limited in respect of all external relations; not only the Indian States, but the Government of India, and the Federated States of India (when this materializes) will be represented by the Imperial British Government in all foreign relations, and will be bound by the diplomatic action of that government, *except so far as the Federated States of India may acquire Dominion Status, and all the implications of that status.* Similarly, the liabilities implied in a common defence must remain, but military subsidies will be shorn of all ideas of tribute, and no cession of State jurisdiction, civil, criminal or municipal, for the purposes of cantonment or military or other settlements in the territory of an Indian State should be necessary, provided that the administration of the State reaches a certain standard of efficiency. And all usages and practices, and all interpretations and inferences, incompatible with the internal sovereignty of a State must be replaced by a body of inter-state principles on the basis of justice and equity of which in the end a Supreme Court (a Federal Court) will be the custodian and repository.

And so far as there is an approach to a Federal Constitution, the provisions in the treaties regarding customs, railways, posts and telegraphs, coinage and currency must necessarily give place to federal arrangements in that constitution.

I may briefly note the ground plan of what appears to me to be a suitable orm

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of Federation, in the differing circumstances as they now exist of the British Indian provinces and the Indian States. It will be seen that the scheme is not a static, but a dynamic one, having in it the plastic principle, and growing with the growth of constitutional polity in the constituent States.

First, as regards British India:—

I believe in a centralizing Federation (though not a unitary Government), in the first instance for the British Indian provinces, *i.e.*, a Federation in which the provincial sphere is definitely circumscribed by enumeration of local matters, and which leaves a large measure of residuary jurisdiction to the Central Government this is what I could desire at the outset,—though I would move later on to a gradual decentralization, from the Federal to the Provincial, and from the latter to local self-government. The Central Government will, of course, have a Federal Executive Council, and a Supreme Court.

Next, as regards the integration of Indian States with the British Indian Government:

For this what is necessary is an all-India Federation of a composite type.

The conditions are (1) that this Federation must be an organic Union, and not so loose in structure as a League of Nations, or even a Statenbund or a Confederacy of States, (2) at the same time it must not be a centralizing or Unitary Federation such as their common history and tradition of the last hundred and fifty years indicate as the primary need of the British Indian provinces; a degree of cohesion and homogeneousness which are wanting in the case of the Indian States.

All these conditions will be fulfilled, if at stated times in the year the Central British Indian Legislature holds joint session of both its Houses, to which delegates are sent from the Indian States, '*delegates*' *who represent both their Governments and their peoples* (*the latter through their popular Houses, where there are such or by direct election*), the numbers being in proportion to the population and calculated on the basis of the same quota as that accepted for British Indian representation, and the States being grouped together or otherwise organized as may be necessary for the purposes of the quota. The session will deal only with matters of all-India concern according to a scheduled list and such other matters as may be referred to it by the Governments concerned.

Questions of international transport and communications, labour, health, emigration on the one hand, and the customs and tariffs, posts and telegraphs, coinage and currency, reserve bank, commercial law, weights and measures, copyright, extradition, etc., on the other, will find a place in this scheduled list; other matters like railways will be federal or local. But the Army and Navy, as affiliated to the British Imperial system, must be in the administrative charge of the British Indian Government, the estimate being passed by the all-India Federal House, under the provisions of an Army and Navy Act. Federal revenue will be provided for by allocation of separate taxes, or by definite shares of their yield, or in certain cases, by additaments to the Central British Indian or State taxes.

It will be seen that I do not contemplate a separate Federal Chamber for the Indian States—they will as individual States be constituent members of this all-India Federation. The Indian States, in fact, have no common history, and apart from the cultural unity which they possess in common with the rest of India, no common bond of language, race, tradition, stage of culture or standard of constitutional progress, except the one bond of a common subordination to the suzerain power and some common grievances; and this will be wanting under the conditions of equality of status such as would be the basic principle of a Federation. In fact, many of these far-flung States and their peoples are more closely interwoven in their lives fortunes and interests with neighbouring British Indian Provinces than with on another.

Questions which are here left open are:—

(1) whether the decision should be by majority of votes or of the Governments;

(2) whether negation by a certain number of Governments would operate as a rejection by the whole body;

(3) whether the decision of the all-India body would require to be ratified by the Central Indian Government or an Indian State to be binding upon that Government or State.

Personally I am against the last procedure.

To bring into existence such a composite Federation, the Paramount Power may, if necessary, convene a constituent convention of the Governments and States.

This composite Federal Union will have

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its own Executive Council;—also its own Secretariat on the League of Nations plan; and it will have the power to appoint Committees and *rapporteurs*.

As on the one hand, the British Indian Federation becomes more and more decentralized, and on the other, the Indian States become more and more homogeneous and conformable in political structure to the Provincial Governments, they will become closely integrated into the one Central all-India Federation.

This the dynamic aspect, the principle of growth and evolution, latent in the above scheme,—otherwise called the logic of events, the dynamic of history.

BANGALORE,
21st March, 1928

The Nature of Reality

Authorized Version]

(A conversation between Rabindranath Tagore and Professor Albert Einstein in the afternoon of July 14th, 1930, at the Professor's residence in Kaputh)

E. Do you believe in the Divine as isolated from the world?

T. Not isolated. The infinite personality of Man comprehends the Universe. There cannot be anything that cannot be subsumed by the human personality, and this proves that the truth of the Universe is human truth.

I have taken a scientific fact to explain this. Matter is composed of protons and electrons, with gaps between them, but matter may seem to be solid without the links in spaces which unify the individual electrons and protons. Similarly humanity is composed of individuals, yet they have their inter-connection of human relationship, which gives living unity to man's world. The entire universe is linked up with us, as individuals, in a similar manner;—it is a human universe.

I have pursued this thought through art, literature, and the religious consciousness of man.

E. There are two different conceptions about the nature of the Universe:

(1) The world as a unity dependent on humanity.

(2) the world as a reality independent of the human factor.

T. When our universe is in harmony with man, the eternal, we know it as truth, we feel it as beauty.

E. This is the purely human conception of the universe.

T. There can be no other conception. This world is a human world—the scientific view of it is also that of the scientific man. Therefore, the world apart from us does not exist; it is a relative world, depending for its reality upon our consciousness. There is some standard of reason and enjoyment which gives it truth, the standard of the Eternal Man whose experiences are through our experiences.

E. This is a realization of the human entity.

T. Yes, one eternal entity. We have to realize it through our emotions, and activities. We realized the Supreme Man who has no individual limitations through our limitations. Science is concerned with that which is not confined to individuals, it is the impersonal human world of truths. Religion realizes these truths and links them up with our deeper needs; our individual consciousness of truth gains universal significance. Religion applies values to truth, and we know truth as good through our own harmony with it.

E. Truth, then, or Beauty is not independent of Man?

T. No.

E. If there would be no human beings any more, the Apollo of Belvedere would no longer be beautiful.

T. No!

E. I agree with regard to this conception of Beauty, but not with regard to Truth.

T. Why not? Truth is realized through man.

E. I cannot prove that my conception is right, but that is my religion.

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T. Beauty is in the ideal of perfect harmony which is in the Universal Being, Truth the perfect comprehension of the Universal mind. We individuals approach it through our own mistakes and blunders, through our accumulated experiences,—through our illumined consciousness—how, otherwise, can we know Truth?

E. I cannot prove that scientific truth must be conceived as a truth that is valid independent of humanity; but I believe it firmly. I believe, for instance, that the Pythagorian theorem in geometry states something that is approximately true, independent of the existence of man. Anyway, if there is a *reality* independent of man, there is also a truth relative to this reality; and in the same way the negation of the first engenders a negation of the existence of the latter.

T. Truth, which is one with the Universal Being, must essentially be human; otherwise whatever we individuals realize as true can never be called truth, at least the truth which is described as scientific and which only can be reached through the process of logic, in other words, by an organ of thoughts which is human. According to Indian Philosophy there is Brahman, the absolute Truth which cannot be conceived by the isolation of the individual mind or described by words but can only be realized by completely merging the individual in its infinity. But such a truth cannot belong to Science. The nature of truth which we are discussing is an appearance, that is to say, what appears to be true to the human mind and therefore is human, and may be called *Maya* or illusion.

E. So according to your conception, which may be the Indian conception, it is not the illusion of the individual but of humanity as a whole.

T. In science we go through the discipline of eliminating the personal limitations of our individual minds and thus reach that comprehension of truth which is in the mind of the Universal Man.

E. The problem begins whether Truth is independent of our consciousness.

T. What we call truth lies in the rational harmony between the subjective and objective aspects of reality, both of which belong to the super-personal man.

E. Even in our everyday life, we feel compelled to ascribe a reality independent of man to the objects we use. We do this to connect the experiences of our senses in a reasonable way. For instance, if nobody is in this house, yet that table remains where it is.

T. Yes, it remains outside the individual mind but not the universal mind. The table which I perceive is perceptible by the same kind of consciousness which I possess.

E. Our natural point of view in regard to the existence of truth apart from humanity cannot be explained or proved, but it is a belief which nobody can lack—no primitive beings even. We attribute to Truth a superhuman objectivity, it is indispensable for us, this reality which is independent of our existence and our experience and our mind—though we cannot say what it means.

T. Science has proved that the table as a solid object is an appearance and therefore that which the human mind perceives as a table would not exist if that mind were naught. At the same time it must be admitted that the fact that the ultimate physical reality of the table is nothing but a multitude of separate revolving centres of electric force, also belongs to the human mind.

In the apprehension of truth there is an eternal conflict between the universal human mind and the same mind confined in the individual. The perpetual process of reconciliation is being carried on in our science, philosophy, in our ethics. In any case, if there be any truth absolutely unrelated to humanity, then for us it is absolutely non-existing.

It is not difficult to imagine a mind to which sequence of things happens not in space but only in time like the sequence of notes in music. For such a mind its conception of reality is akin to the musical reality in which Pythagorian geometry can have no meaning. There is the reality of paper, infinitely different from the reality of literature. For the kind of mind possessed by the moth which eats that paper literature is absolutely non-existent, yet for Man's mind literature has a greater value of truth than the paper itself. In a similar manner if there be some truth which has no sensuous or rational relation to human mind, it will ever remain as nothing so long as we remain human beings.

E. Then I am more religious than you are!

T. My religion is in the reconciliation of the Super personal Man, the Universal human spirit, in my own individual being. This has been the subject of my Hibbert Lectures, which I have called "The Religion of Man."

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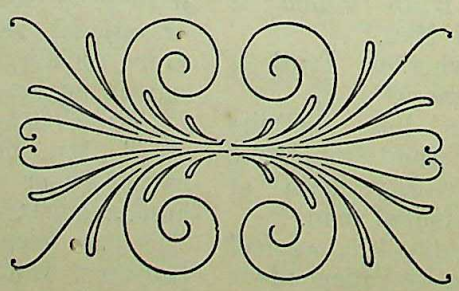
Some New Buddhist Sculptures

A Review*

By O. C. GANGOLY

We have great pleasure in welcoming this excellent description of the new finds of Buddhist sculptures from Goli, in the Guntur District, now transferred to the Madras Museum. It is from the pen of the Archaeological Assistant of the Museum, an accomplished Sanskrit scholar, with promises of sound scholastic work, as we can judge from this earnest of his archaeological studies. The author has given us more than a mere description of the finds with accurate identifications, and he has very conscientiously compared the finds with their related subjects in Amaravati, in a very useful table (pp. 34 to 35). His discussion of the palaeographical data is very interesting. The results of his study yield the third century A. D. (corresponding to the Fourth period at Amaravati) as the probable date of the Goli sculptures—an inference which can be easily induced from their stylistic language. In fact, the somewhat stereotyped and clumsy technique—(much exaggerated in the half-tone blocks, owing to the course-grain screen employed), stamps the plastic quality of the reliefs with a distinct inclination to decadence—as compared with the Fourth Period at Amaravati, so that third century A. D. is by no means any early estimate. But the finds derive their importance from the fact that they prove the continuation of the Southern Buddhist school of sculpture—a magnificient page of Indian Art to a very late date,—perhaps reaching the fourth century. Unfortunately it is not yet possible to relate this earlier Buddhist school to the next following schools of the Chalukyas and the Pallavas. Our author, without making any serious attempt, (the data are not sufficient), has pointed to a single detail—*viz.* the square form of *Karanda mukuta* (not *kirita*) of Indra in the *Sasa jataka* reliefs, which has its derivative in crowns of Pallava Vishnus. Our author might have noticed that the same form occurs in earlier examples in the Mathura School (*vide* illustration in Coomaraswamy's article on "Indra" *Eastern Art*, Vol. I, No. 1). Without discounting the merits of his work we wish to point out a few imperfections. The author, somewhat nervous and lacking in self-confidence, quotes authors and authorities, with somewhat superstitious reverence. He was quite able to justify his conclusion without invoking the aid of Edith Holland's *The Buddha*. Similarly we expected him to quote direct evidence from the texts, to substantiate the rôle of the *naga* cult in the life of the Buddha without citing second-hand references to Vogel's volume. His own knowledge of the relevant literature should have given him enough data to quote first-hand evidences. A very important *motif* on the friezes from Goli, the author alludes to as "Pairs of human figures"; he is unable, however, to explain their significance in repeated occurences. Are they donative figures (*danapatis*) or *mithunas*? Our author twice quotes the clumsy expression of Burgess 'non-descript sphinx like animals' without attempting to explain the *motif*. He is inclined a little too anxiously to pick up so-called resemblances to costumes used in the Telugu and Tamil countries but omits to notice the prevailing mode of dressing illustrated in the reliefs to similar forms and manners so frequent in Mathura and Sanchi sculpture. But notwithstanding these minor blemishes the handbook is an altogether creditable performance. A word of warm praise is due to the Superintendent of the Museum who has excellently edited it in a finely printed and well illustrated volume. We hope to see more handbooks of this kind devoted to other exhibits in the same section of the Museum.

* Buddhist Sculptures From A Stupa Near Goli Village, Guntur District (Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, New Series, Vol. I, Pt. 1) *by T. N. Ramachandran, M. A. Archaeological Assistant, Madras Museum. 1929. Price Rs. 2-12.*



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Communalism in the Bengal Administration

By JATINDRA MOHAN DUTT, B.A., M.SC., B.L.

IN the Bengal Legislative Council, out of a total of 140 seats, thirty-nine are occupied by members returned by the Muhammadans on a communal basis. These members, whatever may be their mutual jealousies and political differences, are all *ek dil*, *i.e.*, of one mind so far as communal questions are concerned. Being creatures of communalism, returned by a frankly communal electorate, patted on the back by the Britishers, these Muhammadan gentlemen cannot but press for communal aggrandizement. And most of it hitherto made by them is at the cost of the Hindus—they do not press their claims when the Britishers are concerned. They have been steadily, silently, and as a matter of right openly or covertly, pressing their communal claims upon the Government; and the Government whether, consciously or unconsciously, whether with a view to placate the Muhammadans or to punish the 'seditious' Hindus, have always yielded to them.

Leaving aside the broader facts, which are well known, let us examine some of the less-noticed in the by-ways of administration and see how far the virus of communalism has affected and is affecting the administration. For the facts and figures given below the writer has relied mostly on Government publications.

In Bengal there were 84 estates under the management of the Court of Wards in 1333 B. S., the total income of which amounted to Rs. 98,60,000. Of 13 of these the proprietors are Muhammadans. The Government charges a "general rate" for the supervision it exercises over them. This rate is at the rate of 2¾ per cent on the gross income of the estates, but in the case of the 5 Dacca Nawab family estates it is at the rate of 1¼ per cent and in the case of the Bhawal estate (Hindu) it is at the rate of 1¾ per cent, while the Punna Mean Trust estate in Noakhali has been totally exempted by the Government from the payment of this rate. The gross Nawab income in 1333 B. S. of the five Dacca family estates was Rs. 15,47,000, that of the Bhawal estate Rs. 10,14,000 while that of the Punna Mean Trust estate Rs. 2,866 only.

In respect of the estates, the accounts of which are liable to professional audit by the local audit department, the audit rate has been fixed for the five Dacca Nawab family estates at four annas, for the Bhawal estate at six annas and for all other estates at ten annas per hundred rupees of their gross incomes. Thus the government is seen making an annual gift of some Rs. 23,200 to the five Dacca Nawab family estates, and an annual gift of about Rs. 10,140 to the Bhawal estate in general rates; and a further annual gift of some Rs. 5,803 to the five Dacca Nawab family estates and a further annual gift of some Rs. 2,535 to the Bhawal estate in audit rates. Why this discrimination in fovour of these seven estates only? Why again greater favouritism, greater indulgence to the five Dacca Nawab family estates than that shown to the Hindu Bhawal? Why so much indulgence to the Punna Mean Trust estate? No other estate is shown any indulgence by way of rebate of either the "general rate" or of the "audit rate."

Let us now turn to the administration of the Registration Department in Bengal.

In 1911, the number of persons speaking Urdu in Bengal was 154,438, those speaking Hindi was 1,762,952. In the census of 1921 the persons speaking Hindi and Urdu were not shown separately, they were lumped together and the total population speaking either Hindi or Urdu was 1,806,820. That most of these are immigrants is shown by the fact that 1,182,878 are males and only 623,942 are females. There is no approach to an equal balance of sexes except in the district of Malda where there are 104,388 males to 118,859 females and in the northern thanas of Murshidabad where there are 36,405 males to 38,667 females. In these areas Hindi is the language of an indigenous section of the people and they form twenty-three per cent of the total population.

In exercise of their powers under Sec. 69 of the Indian Registration Act 1908, the Local Government can fix the common

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languages for use in the Registration offices and they have fixed English, Bengali, and Urdu as the common languages for the whole of Bengal, while in the district of Darjeeling in addition to the above three languages Hindi is also fixed as a common language.

Even in Calcutta, where there is universal registration, *i. e.*, one may register a document covering property situated anywhere in British India, Hindi is not a common language. The Marwari community, doing its business in lacs, must have its documents in one of the common languages or accompanied by a translation in one of them before it can be registered. The Maharaja of Delhi giving his wife an authority to adopt in the second city of the Empire must have it written in a language which perhaps neither he nor his wife understands. While Din Mahomed, the up-country chauffeur of the Thika Taxi Co., can get his Urdu Kabin-nama registered anywhere in the interior of Bengal. Even in Malda, Hindi is not a common language.

In Calcutta for the last six or seven years both the sub-registrars are Muhammadans. Considering the fact that most of the nearly 700 annual visits and commissions are to Hindu houses and often for deeds executed by Hindu ladies, and also considering the fact that these visits and commissions are usually executed in the afternoon, when it is extremely inconvenient for orthodox Hindu ladies and gentlemen to receive the Muhammadan sub-registrars, is it not possible for the Government to have one Hindu sub-registrar at least? The two registrar-ships of the Calcutta office are the prize posts of the Registration Department, and both are occupied by Muhammadans. Is it because there has been a dearth of suitable and qualified Hindu officers? One of the present incumbents again is a man from outside the department. One is tempted to ask the underlying reason for the present arrangement.

The Inspector-General of Registration year after year complains of insufficient space in the Record-rooms. Records are often stacked on floor or in packing-cases. Binding or re-binding is equally necessary. Records are deteriorating rapidly. The sub-registrars have no suitable accommodation in the mofussil, they have often to live in wretched hovels. Money is wanting for these very urgent and necessary reforms. Even after the recent heavy increase in the Registration fees nothing has been done in the above directions. But the Government must maintain a host of Urdu readers and copyists even in the interior-most interior of Bengal on the off-chance that once in a decade a Urdu document may be presented for registration. Will the Government take courage in both hands and publish district by district for the last ten years the number of documents registered in Urdu and the value of the property covered by them? Will the Government have courage to abolish Urdu as a common language everywhere excepting in Calcutta and some selected stations? If this is not communalism in administration run mad, what is it? Formerly Urdu was known as "Hindustanee" in Government parlance; but for some reasons best known to them, Urdu is now "Urdu" in Government publications.

Taking by itself it may not appear to some to be a fact worthy of notice and one may be accused of communal bias. But these and other similar facts considered together give one an indelible impression that the Government in Bengal devoutly follows the principle, wherever possible, of propitiating the Moslems at the cost of the Hindus, if necessary.

Reshuffling of districts and their boundaries, of sub-divisions and thanas is not unoften made in Bengal, and very few care to inquire into the reason and the underlying motive behind it. Let us examine the latest case. Khulna is neither healthy like the Eastern Bengal districts nor so unhealthy as the malarious Western Bengal districts. It occupies a border position, its eastern portion is affected by the action of rivers like the similar areas of Backerganj and Faridpur.

The Hindus in this district (excluding the animists and others) as opposed to the Muhammadans are steadily increasing, though very slowly, while the Muhammadans are steadily decreasing. From the sub-joined table, it will appear what proportions per 10,000 of the population Hindus and Muhammadans formed at each successive census.

	Hindus	Muhammadans
Per 10,000 of total population		
1881	4849	5144
1891	4863	5129
1901	4941	5046
1911	4954	5022
1921	5003	4975

The present total population of the district being 1,453,034 the Hindus are in a

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very small majority of 3,967 over the Muhammadans.

In the Nehru report, it has been described along with Dinajpur, which has a small Muhammadan majority of five per cent over the Hindus (leaving aside the animists and others), as a neutral district. To convert this small Hindu majority into a small minority or to reduce it to practical nullity, in January 1929, the Government, acting in its reserved department, has sliced out from the Nazirpur police station of Backerganj a large tract, peopled mostly by Muhammadans and transferred it to Khulna to form an integral part thereof.

In the district of Backerganj as a whole the proportion of the Hindus to the Muhammadans is as 29 : 71, in the Pirojpur subdivision of which this portion formed part it is 33 : 67. It is estimated and shrewdly suspected that the number of Muhammadans transferred from Backerganj to Khulna is sufficiently large to convert the small Hindu majority into a minority. Let us, Hindus, hope that such is not the case !

Reading the Annual Report of the Civil Veterinary Department, Bengal, and Bengal Veterinary College for 1927-28 even superficially the following facts strike one's attention.

The Government keeps stud-bulls for improving the breed of cattle in the province. From Table VIII at pp. 30-31, we get the following figures :

RETURN OF STUD-BULLS

	1st April 1927.	added during the year.	Lost during the year.	31st March 1928.
Bengal Veterinary College	8	0	1	7
Burdwan Division	10	1	1	10
Presidency ,,	7	0	0	7
Rajsahi ,,	19	1	0	20
Dacca ,,	10	6	0	16
Chittagong ,,	3	1	1	3

In the areas where the Hindus form the bulk of the population, the number of stud-bulls kept and the number of those added during the year are comparatively smaller. An explanation may be suggested that perhaps the local bodies are maintaining an adequate number of stud-bulls, so it is unnecessary for the Government to maintain a larger number, but the facts are otherwise.

STUD-BULLS—THE PROPERTY OF LOCAL BODIES

	On 1st April 1927	On 31st March 1928
Burdwan Division	14	15
Presidency ,,	22	24
Rajsahi ,,	33	35
Dacca ,,	15	16
Chittagong ,,	8	7
(Cooch-Behar)	3	4

The number of Subordinate Veterinary Staff, stationary or itinerant, engaged in different parts of Bengal tells the same tale of preference and discrimination.

	No. of subordinate staff
Burdwan Division	23
Presidency ,,	20
Rajsahi ,,	32
Dacca ,,	24
Chittagong ,,	13

The number of bovines inoculated for rinderpest for different divisions are :—

Burdwan	17,859
Presidency	18,473
Rajsahi	23,505
Dacca	13,907
Chittagong	23,075

Many other similar facts can be quoted from the Report, but it would be tiring the patience of the reader.

When we turn to the Administration of Jails in Bengal we are sadly disappointed. The same policy of discrimination is manifest even there.

It appears from the Annual Report on the Administration of Jails in Bengal for 1926 that religious instruction was provided for the convicts in some jails. "The grant of conveyance allowance to honorary religious preachers for their visits to jails for imparting moral and religious instruction has only recently been sanctioned. It is only right that religious instructors should be given out-of-pocket expenses."

The following gentlemen were appointed honorary religious instructors to the undermentioned jails during 1926 :

Presidency Jail	Maulvi Mofazal Ahmad
Jalpaiguri Jail	Pandit Janaki Nath Bhattacharjee, M.A.
Darjeeling Jail	Syed Ahamad Hussain

The number of Muhammadan and Hindu prisoners during 1926 was 2,147 and 1,509 respectively in the Presidency Jail, 44 and 125 in the Jalpaiguri Jail, and 2 and 97 in the Darjeeling Jail.

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Religious and moral instruction was provided for the 2 Muhammadan convicts of the Darjeeling Jail, but no arrangements were apparently made for the 1,509 Hindu convicts in the Presidency Jail.

The same policy of discrimination continued in 1928. The Government Report for 1928 says that "as usual prisoners were given reasonable facilities to observe their religious practices in jails and honorary religious instructors visited many jails but religious and moral instruction in most jails is only make-belief. It is difficult to get religious teachers for the bare gharry-hire."

"The following gentlemen were appointed honorary religious instructors to the undermentioned jails during 1928:

Presidency Jail—Maulavi Muhammad Rahaman
Faridpur Jail—Babu Narendra Nath Bhattacharjee Sastri

Now turning to Statement II at pp. 36-37 of the said Report one sees the number of Muhammadan prisoners at the Presidency Jail and the Faridpur Jail to be 1,944 and 167 respectively, while the corresponding number of Hindus are 2,067 and 17 respectively.

Thus while the spiritual welfare of 1,944 Muhammadans are catered for at the Presidency Jail, only 17 Hindus receive religious instructions at Faridpur. But the 2,067 Hindu convicts of the Presidency Jail go without any religious instruction. Is it to be supposed, therefore, that the said Hindu convicts of the Presidency Jail are so much advanced spiritually that they do not require any assistance from religious and moral preceptors, and is that the reason why the Government has made no arrangement whatsoever for their religious and moral uplift? One may ask what special efforts the Government has made to secure honorary Hindu religious instructors in Calcutta? Is it for a moment to be thought possible that no Hindu honorary religious instructors can be found in Calcutta?

Let us now turn to the administration of the Land Revenue Department. Of the total land revenue of Rs. 278 lacs about Rs. 204 lacs come from the permanently settled estates; the rest comes from the temporarily settled estates and private estates managed by the Government as proprietor. The distribution of permanently settled land revenue division by division is given in the table below:

Division.	Percentage of the Hindus.	Area permanently settled.	Total demand.	Average demand per sq. mile.
			Rs.	
Burdwan	82·4	13634	66,61,213	489
Presidency	51·4	11974	44,19,950	369
Dacca	29·7	13512	26,30,901	194
Chittagong	23·8	4104	19,12,644	466
Rajsahi	33·7	16404	48,53,289	296
			20,477,997	

It will thus be seen that in those areas where the Hindus form the bulk of the population, the total amount as well as the average incidence per unit of area is greater. Considering the fact that most of the zamindars are Hindu and considering the further fact that some of the greater Hindu zamindars (like the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan, who alone pays a land revenue of Rs. 32 lacs) were heavily assessed at the time of the Permanent Settlement, it has been estimated by men like Sir Provash Mitter that 80 per cent, if not more, of the land revenue is paid by the Hindus.

In the working of the Revenue Sale Law, popularly known as "Sun-set Law," in the coercive measures taken by the Government to realize their land revenue demand punctually, we find the same discrimination between the Hindu districts and the Muhammadan districts. We are quoting below para 13 of the Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Bengal Presidency for the year 1925-26 which speaks for itself.

"13. The figures below show the proportion of sales to defaults in the districts in which defaults were most numerous:

Districts	Defaults	Sales	Proportion of sales to defaults
Chittagong	4818	359	7·4
Dacca	1080	71	6·6
Mymensingh	1005	40	4·0
Birbhum	700	21	3·0
Midnapore	561	18	3·2
Noakhali	490	97	19·7
Hooghly	373	49	13·1
Burdwan	356	70	19·6
24-Parganas	343	58	16·9

When we come to analyse the Account of Advances under the Land Improvement Loans Act XIX of 1883, it tells the same tale. (The figures are from the Land-Revenue Administration Report for 1925-26).

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Division	Total amount of Advances up to the end of the year 1925-26
	Rs.
Burdwan	14,531
Presidency	29,405
Dacca	76,323
Chittagong	196
Rajsahi	4,478

The figures for advance under the Agriculturists Loans Act XII of 1884 also tell the same tale.

	Total advanced up to 1925-26	Remitting during the year 1925-26
	Rs.	Rs.
Burdwan	23,432	232
Presidency	11,765	45
Dacca	106,745	3,921
Chittagong	15,959	17
Rajsahi	221,877	0

I have been told that recently the advances to the tenants of the Government estates in Midnapore have been very large, so the above argument may have to be modified.

Thus in areas where the Hindus are in a majority the amounts advanced are comparatively small. Our remarks are based upon the assumption that loans have been granted to the needy agriculturists of different religious faith in the same proportion as they bear to the general population of the area.

It will thus be seen that when it is the question of paying the land revenue, it is the Hindus who pay the lion's share but when it comes to the question of distribution of the benefits, it is the Muhammadans who reap most of the advantages. Let us hope that we are mistaken in our conclusions and that there are other factors which account for the present state of affairs.

We, Hindus, have been taught not to discriminate in matters of charity and India has afforded shelter to the Parsees, the Jews and Christians alike. It is expected that the Government as established by law in British India and in Bengal particularly, if not our Muhammadan brethren, would observe a strict impartiality in matters of this kind, and minister to wants of the Hindus with the same care as it does in the case of the Muhammadans. But what do we find in actual fact ?

Let us examine the figures of the Government grants-in-aid to the charitable dispensaries in Bengal, division by division, and compare the same with the proportion of Hindus to the total population. They will be a revelation to many. While the figures for a particular year may vary, the broad fact of communalism even in the matter of grants stands unrebutted.

Division	No. of dispensaries	Government grant in salaries or otherwise	Govt. grant per dispensary	Percentage of Hindus to the total population
		Rs.	Rs.	
Burdwan	181	62,592	346	82·4 p. c.
Presidency	178	26,365	180	51·4 ,,
Rajsahi	178	75,116	422	33·7 ,,
Dacca	171	121,664	655	29·7 ,,
Chittagong	79	48,562	615	23·8 ,,

Yet it is common knowledge that both the Burdwan and the Presidency divisions are intensely malarious, while the Eastern Bengal districts are free from malaria and by far the healthiest part of the province. During the last census decade 1911-1921, the population of the Burdwan division has actually decreased from 84,67,000 in 1911 to 80,51,000 in 1921, while the slight increase in the Presidency division from 94,25,000 in 1911 to 94,61,000 in 1921 is mainly due to immigration to Calcutta and the mill-areas in and around it.

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The Mother

By SANTA DEVI

THE shades of evening were fast falling, but Madhabi had not yet bathed or taken her midday meal. The milkman had got tired of shouting for the mistress and had departed, leaving the milk in a stray jug, which was standing by the drain. The maid-servant had washed the dishes and drawn the water. Then she came and asked Madhabi, "Shall I light the kitchen fire, Madam ? It is time for master to return ; won't you begin cooking now ?" Madhabi made no reply. The maid took advantage of her absent-mindedness and decamped, without preparing the curry spices. Finding the door of the store-room open, she surreptitiously took away some sweets and condiments.

Madhabi still sat on by the window, looking down at the street below her. People still came to the tank, which stood by the roadside, and departed, filling their pitchers. The shopkeeper's wife sat on the steps, which led down to the water, and washed her red *sari*, beating out the dirt with vigorous strokes. Madhabi could not see her well from such a distance, but the naked child that stood leaning against her back, could be seen clearly. A few boys from the neighbourhood were playing in the water, making its limpid depth, turbid with their wild strokes. The child laughed inordinately at this. There were some washermen's huts by the side of the tank and some children stood in front of these, feeding pigeons with rice and driving away intruding crows with lusty shouts. Some school-boys were returning with their books and slates clasped in one arm and practising stone-throwing with the other hand. They fought and quarrelled amongst themselves, as they advanced towards their homes. The whole place seemed to be full of children's voices. Madhabi looked and looked, and at last her eyes filled with tears. She wiped them off and, going to her bed, clasped her sleeping baby in her arms. Again her tears flowed afresh and the child's face became wet with them. He was rudely awakened from his sleep; and looking up, met the sorrow-stricken face and tear-filled eyes of his mother. He clasped her round the neck, in his fright and gasped out, "Mother, I am afraid." Madhabi tried to smile, reassuringly, but she cried out aloud, instead. The child, too, began to cry in dismay, and shook his mother continuously to make her take notice of him.

Madhabi was trying fast to regain control of herself, when rapid footsteps were heard on the stairs. Mahim, her husband, was coming up, shouting in anger, "I say, have you lost your senses completely ? You have left the street-door, gaping open. It's a mercy, that thieves have not come in. The cat has upset the milk-jug, and the milk is flowing down into the drain. And you sit here, petting your baby !"

Any other day Madhabi would have felt ashamed perhaps, but today she was not in the mood to plead guilty. She replied very sharply for her, "What does it matter, if I sit petting my baby ? I will do it everyday. The baby is my own, and not a borrowed one."

Mahim was rather taken aback at his wife's anger, and said soothingly, "All right, all right, please yourself. Did you send the children over there today ?"

"Yes", answered Madhabi shortly.

"What did your sister-in-law say when she saw the baby ?" asked Mahim rather eagerly.

Madhabi remained silent for a while, then she said, "I did not send baby. He is very young, and could not walk that far. I sent the girls and Balai."

Mahim grew red with annoyance. "I don't understand this silliness," he said sharply. "Who asked your baby to walk ? They sent over a durwan and a maid, did not they ? They came for the baby, why could not you send him ? They are your own people, and they are rich. If they take a liking to the child, so much the better. But instead of sending them over yourself, you try with all your might to prevent their going."

"Liking indeed," said Madhabi, "I understand everything ; you cannot fool me for

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ever. Are you not ashamed to scheme for selling your own son ? But he is my son too, and I won't let him go. You might try, but you won't succeed."

Mahim's face turned white. He had not expected to be caught so soon. He had hoped to carry forward his plans, step by step, undetected. He had expected Madhabi to be caught by the lure of gold. He had decided to evoke pity in her heart, by a tale of his own sorrows and sufferings, and then at last to divulge his plans to her. But suddenly, he saw all his schemes frustrated. He had to try his utmost to pacify his wife. He came near her, and took her hand in his own. "Are not you unreasonable, my dear ?" he asked. "The baby will remain ours, only he will live in his uncle's house. An uncle is nearly the same as the mother. You are a daughter of the house, are not you ? And if your brother dies without children, is it not proper that your children should inherit the property ? The property was your father's, so what's the harm, if you came into it ?"

Madhabi replied in a sulky tone. "My father did not leave a single pice to me. I am not going to ask favour of anyone now. Because my brother has not got a child, am I to go and beg of him like a begger ? In return for the property I will have to sell my child. Let them guard their wealth as *jaks* (demons), if they don't leave any heirs. I am not a butcher, I don't sell flesh and blood."

Madhabi was recollecting the days of seven years ago. There were only two children, herself and her brother. They were quite a wealthy family. The brother and the sister always enjoyed equal shares in everything. Hrishikesh, the son, and Madhabi, the daughter, both studied under the same private tutor, went out for evening drives in the same carriage, and always went together to cinemas, theatres or circuses. Madhabi must never be left behind because she was a girl, this was the unwritten law of the house. Her brother's friends were her friends too, and no one tried to restrain her from mixing with them. She too always felt quite at home amongst them.

But things began to change, with Mahim's arrival. She began to feel shy all of a sudden. She understood that Mahim felt something different from mere friendliness for her, he looked strangely at her, and his words to her carried a deeper significance. From her childhood she had been made much of, money had been spent like water, in order to procure pleasure for her ; but she had never felt so supremely happy as she did now. A look from Mahim's eyes had worked this miracle. Madhabi remembered that day, when she had forgotten past, present and future and had linked her fate for ever with that of her poor, friendless lover. Her parents, her brother, were too angry to speak. They were amazed at the ambition of the beggar. They had driven away the silly couple with scorn. Madhabi had looked at Mahim's face and the sight of its woe-begone expression had hardened her heart. Her people had insolently wounded him in the pride of their wealth. But she had not insulted his love, that was her consolation. Mahim had brought the touch of spring into her young life and she had followed its invitation, regardless of silver and gold.

Madhabi had not yet forgotten the resolution she had made to herself on the day she left her father's house, for ever. She could not say it to her parents' face. Yet she had made them understand that she was leaving their home for good. She would never return. Mahim's face had glowed with pride and happiness. They had run off like a couple of young deer at the call of spring. They had thought themselves above the petty mercenary considerations of the world.

Those days were not so very far off. But she felt as if they belonged to another life, to some prehistoric past life of hers, when she was young and the world was young. They had entered their first home with empty hands. Poverty and want were matters of jest and mockery to them. They delighted in sacrifice for each other's sake They were all the world to each other and could afford to scorn wealth, fame and fortune. They had put their love above everything, this was their pride, and they looked down on all who had subordinated love to ambition and greed. They had hoped things would go on like this for ever.

But the world was determined on taking revenge. The imaginary creation of these two young people gradually got buried under a heap of realities. Madhabi had built her nest, filling it with the sweetness of her heart and the wealth of dreamland. She waited all day long here to welcome back her tired mate, to wipe away the dust of toil from his body

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and mind with her loving hands. She had no connection with the outside world and she did not know how much its poison could injure a man's mind. She did not know what troubles and turmoils awaited the wayfarer there, to steal away his peace and happiness for ever. So she began to discover with pained surprise, that though her ministrations could take away Mahim's bodily fatigue, his mind seemed to be beyond her reach. She had no power there. The glamour of youth and love had not yet been washed off her own eyes, so this used to fall like a blow on her heart. But she would not give up. She decorated their poor rooms, she dyed and sewed her old dresses over again to give them the appearance of newness. She caressed and made much of her husband all day long. She talked of the happy past and the wonderful future in store for them. Even when Mahim left for his office, she would sit, thinking out new plans for giving him pleasure and happiness. But alas, she had to acknowledge failure every day. Her love lacked the power of winning him over from the lures of the world. He was running after mirages there and had no time to spare for Madhabi.

Perhaps she had put on something new and had come and stood before Mahim. She wanted him to take notice of her appearance. But Mahim was thinking of something else and would not look. "Look here," he would say, "my relatives want to see the new bride. I did not invite any of them to the wedding, so everyone is angry. They accuse me of snobbishness, because I have married a rich man's daughter. I don't know what to say to them. I really feel ashamed to ask them in here."

Madhabi would become stiff with pained surprise. That Mahim should accuse her now for their poverty! True, she had not brought any dowry with her, but was it not for Mahim that she had thus denied herself? But she had not the heart to tell Mahim this.

Some day, she would approach Mahim, intending to fill him with wonder, at some housewifely feat of hers. But Mahim was busy with his own thoughts. "We will have to go away from here," he would begin. "I feel so ashamed to face your relatives in this guise. It's a trial for them also. It is natural that they should feel awkward if other people are present to greet me as one of themselves, or to introduce me as the son-in-law of the house. What a miserable plight!"

Madhabi was astonished at Mahim's consideration for her relatives, but she could not feel happy. She began gradually to understand that love had ceased to matter to him, that his thoughts were busy with worldly ambitions.

Then came the children, and cares and anxieties They were a sore trial to the poverty-stricken couple. How to feed and clothe them, how to enable them to live the lives of other children? Mahim felt it much more than Madhabi. She had the consolation of voluntary acceptance of poverty. But Mahim felt abjectly ashamed of it. Their poverty was due to his worthlessness. He had married into a rich family, yet fate denied him any help from that quarter. This mortified him highly.

After Madhabi had given birth to two daughters, her father fell seriously ill. He forgot his wounded pride and wanted to see his daughter. Madhabi had to go, she still loved her father, but she had not yet forgotten the insult he had offered to her love. She tried to come back after seeing him, but Mahim said, "You should stay here and nurse him now. What does it matter, if you don't go home for a couple of days?" He turned consolingly to the sick man and said, "Never you mind sir, we shall stay here. We shall go after seeing you well."

Madhabi looked sharply at her husband. Mahim turned away his eyes. She had to stay on since her husband had committed himself. But she felt so afraid of exposing their lack of harmony to her father. She felt, it would be the last straw if her father felt sorry for her now.

Madhabi seldom left the sick-room, she was busy coming and going with medicine and food for the invalid. But even there she was not free to do as she liked. Whenever she entered, Mahim came up to her, advising her to do her work well and helping her to do so, and on the other side, stood her sister-in-law. She would try her utmost to prevent Madhabi from being too much with her father. "Why do you linger here, sister?" She would say, "Go to your baby, he must be crying for you." Between her husband and her sister-in-law, Madhabi was having a difficult time. One wanted her always to be in the sick-room, the other was determined to drive her away.

One day Madhabi's father drew her to

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him and said, "Madhabi, my dear, you got no dowry or trousseau at the time of your marriage. I am too ill now to do anything myself. I am asking Hrishikesh to order everything for you now, so that I may see them with my own eyes before I go." Mahim and Hrishikesh's wife, both stood there, and both pricked up their ears. But Madhabi said firmly, "Father, is this the proper time for such things? Brother too, can hardly be in a mood to do it now. You must get well, before we can think of such matters.

"Yes, truly," said the daughter-in-law. "You should not think of anything else now, father. Sister is right." Mahim's face turned black with annoyance, but he remained silent.

But Madhabi's father did not get well. He passed away very suddenly. He had not the opportunity to make any provision for his daughter. Madhabi felt rather relieved at this. Hrishikesh's wife seemed to be in a cheerful mood when Madhabi left with her children. She purchased some new clothing for Madhabi, Mahim and the children and some inexpensive presents. Then she bade them good-bye with plenty of sweet words.

As their carriage started, Mahim began to speak. "We should have stayed on for a day or two more. The people here are still very much upset and need some looking after. Other arrangements, too, could have been made then."

Madhabi understood only too well to what arrangements he was referring. But she pretended not to know and replied, "They will make their own arrangements. We are outsiders now and should not interfere."

Mahim made no reply. But he did not let this opportunity slip by. Since he had once gained an entry into his father-in-law's house, he began to make good use of it. Madhabi seldom went there, she was too busy, she said with her household work and her children, but Mahim made it a rule to drop in, at least once a day, and to enquire after everyone He always reminded his relatives-in-law, that his father-in-law had forgiven him fully before he died.

But poor Madhabi did not know at first, what those friendly overtures were intended for. She was thunderstruck when she understood. She forgot hunger and thirst, and sleep left her eyes. How to save her baby, that became her only concern. He was only a year and a half, and he had never left his mother, even for one night. Even when he slept, he would push off the pillows, and creep up, to cuddle under his mother's breast. Madhabi could not sleep, unless she felt the touch of his soft body by her side. She slept, embracing him with one arm. She never lost her alert watchfulness for the baby, even when asleep. During the day, the house would seem empty to her if the baby fell asleep. She would feel, as if one of her own limbs had got lost, if during her leisure time the baby was not in her arms. What were her arms for, if the baby was not filling them?

How could she send this baby away? He had become the very centre of her existence. The world had taken away her husband from her, the children alone were left to her. Could she lose them too?

Madhabi had been thinking of this all day long. She saw children everywhere around her, in the street, by the tank, all seemed to be different images of her own child. In very young children, she saw what her baby had been; in the older children, she visualized what her child would grow up into. But alas, could she keep him and bring him up to be a brave specimen of manhood?

Mahim had advanced far in his scheming. So though it made him uncomfortable to be caught by his wife, he could not give up his plans. He saw that mildness would be no good, so he took up a firm attitude. "Look here," he said, "we cannot afford to be sentimental now. It had its time. I gave up all hopes of worldly advancement for your sake, but it has brought me nothing. In this world, you have got to have some money, or nobody takes you for a human being. You have to live on the refuse of others. Our lives don't matter much now, but I want something different for our children. I will do anything for them. You talk big but will you be able to feed them, if I die now?"

Madhabi replied shortly, "You won't be able to provide for all of them, by selling one child. You are a man and should have more power of fighting with difficulties."

"Your views are rather old-fashioned. These things pass current nowadays. It is the age of robbers and pickpockets. Why do say that I am selling our child? I am making him a prince by stealth. I am doing him good, not harm."

"But how am I going to live without my baby?" cried out Madhabi. "I don't ask

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you to provide for him, only let him remain with me. I shall beg from door to door to support him."

Mahim laughed. "If you cannot make a bit of sacrifice for him, don't boast of your love. It is selfishness and not mother love that makes you act like this. The child is going to be a prince, but you are determined to make him a beggar. What will he say when he grows up and hears about it ?"

Madhabi had to remain silent. After a a while, she said, "Do you speak seriously ? You think I am selfish in trying to keep my child with me ?" Tears filled her eyes. Her husband had spoken truly. She had not the power to support her child, so why should she deprive him of a fortune ? She had no wealth, no education, she could not do anything herself. She had no other shelter than her husband's house. Where could she escape with her baby ? If she left her husband's house, it would mean starvation and death. Her relatives were her enemies now. She could not go to them for help. They would want her child in return.

Madhabi clasped her child in her arms and covered him with kisses. God knew whether her heart was filled with love or selfishness.

Suddenly, Madhabi took Mahim by the hand and asked, "Tell me, do you love baby really and truly ?"

"Need you ask that ?" said Mahim. Madhabi smiled wanly and asked, "Do you love me still ?"

Mahim began to feel rather sorry for his wife. Why was she asking such questions today ? He kissed his wife on the forehead and said, "I have made you suffer much dear, but don't doubt my love for you."

"No, I won't doubt it. But I have something to ask of you. Promise me, by everything you hold sacred, that you will grant it. If you do, I won't object to give up my child."

"How can I promise unless I know what you want of me ?" Asked Mahim.

"Nothing very difficult," said Madhabi.

"Very well, then" said Mahim and promised with his hand on the child's head.

"I shall tell you tomorrow" Madhabi said and left the room.

At night, Madhabi spread a bed for herself and the baby in a separate room. The rest of the children she left with Mahim.

"Why are you going to sleep there, mother ?" asked the older children.

Madhabi kissed them and answered, "Baby's new mother is going to take him away. So I want him for myself tonight."

The children were astonished, "Mother, you are fooling us," they cried. "Baby has not got a new mother. You are baby's mother."

"No darling children," Madhabi said, "God sent baby to me by mistake. I am not his mother. His mother is in another house. She wants to take him away now."

"I will kill her," said Madhabi's eldest daughter, threateningly. "I won't give up my baby brother. I shall stand at the door with a brickbat in my hand. As soon as they come to take away baby, I shall throw it at their head."

"Why don't you tell father ?" asked the second girl. "Father is very strong and he will drive them all away."

Madhabi did not know what reply to give. "No dear," she said at last, "you need not beat them. They will love baby very much. Go and sleep now." She herself went with them and put them all to sleep. "Look after them a bit. I want to be alone with baby, tonight."

She took the sleeping child in her arms and laid herself down. How was she going to live without her baby ? Could not she go with the child as a nurse ? But it was her own brother's house and no one would employ her. Everyone would think that she had come to enjoy the wealth she had purchased by making over her child. And how could she let her child be known as another's day after day ? She would not be able to pet and caress her baby even according to her own pleasure. He would be another's, she would have no hand in bringing him up and shaping his destiny. The baby was not a plaything to her, he was the flesh of her flesh and the blood of her blood. He was a bit of her own life and she could never remain indifferent to anything he did or became.

She could bear the shame of returning to the house she left once with proud-erect head. But she could not bear the thought, that her husband had not been able to justify her pride. He had failed to shield her from shame and sorrow, he had accepted insult to escape struggle ; this knowledge bowed her head down.

And when her baby would grow up, he would know all and perhaps pity their

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poverty. Or, if he happened to inherit his mother's spirit, he would never forgive their cruel desertion of him for filthy lucre.

But who would tell her which path to follow? If she fought and kept her boy, would he never accuse her of making him a beggar, when he might have been a prince? Would he not curse her when the world would treat him rough? Madhabi thought and thought but found no solution.

But what was the use of thinking? She began to feel guilty for having brought this child to this earth when she had not the power to protect him from suffering. She had got to give him up. She was only the nurse. If the father, the real owner of the child, wanted to give it away, he had the right to do it. Madhabi would not say anything.

The child's cry woke Mahim up in the morning. To his amazement, he found baby lying by his side. At first he thought Madhabi had calmed down during the night and had returned to sleep in her usual place. She had gone down, leaving the baby there, as her wont.

Mahim was in a soft mood. He gave the baby to its sister and went down, meaning to say something kind to Madhabi. But Madhabi was not there. He called loudly for her, but no answer came.

He went up again and entered the room where she had slept last night. No one was there, only a letter lay on the bed.

Mahim took it up and began to read it. "I am leaving," Madhabi had written. "I don't want to show my face to the world, since I have not been able to shelter those whom I gave birth to. You say, you love me still. On the strength of that avowal, I make one request to you. Never talk of me to the children. Let baby think that he really belongs to his new mother. Since you say, you are giving him away for his good, don't tell him you are his father. I would feel your shame even from a distance. You took me out of my father's house with erect proud head, but don't enter that house again with bowed head to enjoy the wealth which you get by selling your child. Tell the older children that their mother is dead.

"Keep my departure a secret till everything is settled about baby. Send away the maid so that the neighbours should not know anything.

"If ever you start on pilgrimage we might meet again. I still believe I will find you once again on the road, as I did before. Wealth has parted us, but poverty may unite us again,—Madhabi."

Translated by Sita Devi

Some Impressions of Socialist Vienna

By K. C. CHAUDHURI

It was a curious coincidence that I arrived in Vienna exactly on the tenth anniversary of its socialist regime. Our train slowly steamed into the insignificant looking West Station and I had my first sight of Vienna and the Viennese. A porter in blue jacket and blue coat with a black cap on approached me and said, 'Träger, Gnä' Herr, Küss die Hand, Gnä' Herr."* His way—the way of a man of the people—was sufficient to give an impression that all the stories current about proletariat dictators in Vienna may not be founded on fact. But I could hardly form any idea of the surprises that were in store for me. The wonderful administrative skill and efficiency displayed by the Socialist "Rathaus" and their unique success has become a matter of recognition and admiration not only in Austria but also in widely different parts of the world.

As an aftermath of the war, about a decade ago Vienna found itself faced with terrible difficulties—political chaos, empty treasury, starving population with all the corollaries of dirt, disease and distress. In the midst of such conditions on the 4th May, 1919 election took place and the Socialist Party secured 368,228 votes (54·17 per cent) of the total and captured 100 out of 165 seats in the municipality, and was necessarily in power. Jakol Reuman was elected chairman. When they took up the administration of the municipality it had a deficit of 410 million kronen (Rs.-233 million) due to currency depreciation, 20 million kronen (Rs. 11.5 million) for street-

* Porter, Sir, I kiss your hand, Sir.

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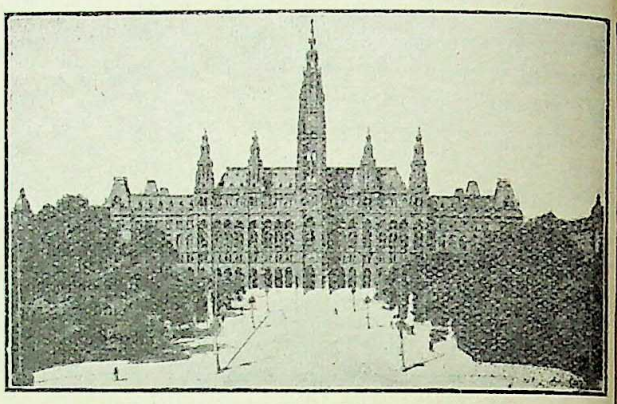
car undertakings, and 15 million kronen (Rs. 8.5 million) for gas and electric works. In the humanitarian institutes the famous Vienna specialists, for lack of funds, could only helplessly look on the miseries and sufferings of the sick public. There were no less than 127,536 unemployed (Sept. 30, 1928, 53,409) and the salaries of the municipal employees remained unpaid. Socialists did their duty in that state of affairs into which it pleased God to call them.

The first and the foremost duty which devolved on the municipality was to introduce a new fiscal policy to obtain financial stability. Breitner, the brilliant financier, was prompted by the consideration that "it was imperative to tax every kind of luxury as far practicable, to ensure that at a time of dire wants of hundreds of thousands, the small number of the new rich leading a life of luxury should at least be compelled to pay a tribute to the community." He abolished the old system of indirect taxation, conceived of a new one, and the new law came into force in 1920. The steady and permanent

"Rathaus" or Municipal Building illuminated on Nov. 12, '29 Republic Day

recovery of the finances of the municipality since then has proved beyond doubt the soundness of the policy. The municipality was brought into a position not only to have a balanced budget but also to spend an enormous amount of money for social welfare. The following were the taxes imposed and collected by the municipality in 1928:



"Rathaus" of Vienna

A. Luxury taxes:			
1. Entertainment Tax	14·5	mill.	Sch.*
2. Tax on Restaurant meals and drinks	13·0	„	„
3. Beer Tax	10·3	„	„
4. Motor Tax	3·8	„	„
5. Servant Tax	2·5	„	„
6. Horse Tax	0·045	„	„
7. Dog Tax	1·050	„	„
B. Miscellaneous taxes:			
1. Welfare Tax	69·0	„	„
2. Concession Tax	0·45	„	„
3. Hotel Tax	3·00	„	„
4. Poster Tax	0·90	„	„
5. Advertisement Tax	4·50	„	„
6. Auction Tax	0·25	„	„
7. Registration Stamps and Police Rate	0·65	„	„
8. Fire Brigade Tax	3·00	„	„
9. Water Power Tax	3·73	„	„
C. Land and House Taxes:			
1. Land Tax	0·48	„	„
2. Increment Value Tax	6·50	„	„
3. House-duty	35·80	„	„

Apart from this sum of 173,453,000 schilling, the municipality receives certain shares of the taxes levied by the State, which amounted to 119,670,940 schilling in 1928. Considering all other sources of revenue, such as the public utility concerns like the street-cars, electric works, etc., the total for the year 1928 was 443,384,690 schilling. It must be pointed out here that the incidence of taxation in Vienna now is not very much higher than in 1913. In 1913, the provincial

* One Austrian Schilling = Annas six and pice two.

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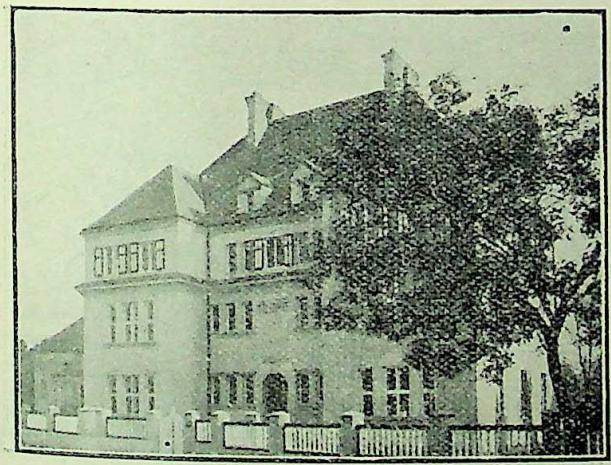
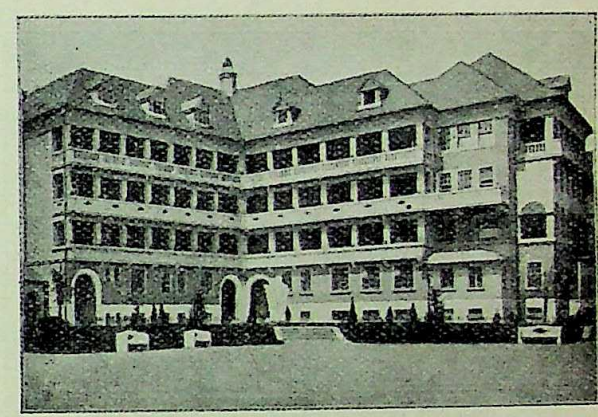
and municipal taxes were 144 schilling per head of the population, whereas under the completely changed fiscal system at present in force, the municipal tax amounted to 94·53 schilling, and if the municipal share of the federal taxes is taken into consideration it amounted to 157·89 schilling. But the burden of taxation is much less than before, because as will be seen presently of the benefits that the population in general gets from the municipality.

The greatest acheivement of the Socialist municipality, which has won the admiration of the world, lies in the field of social welfare—in the so-called "nation-building departments." The pre-war humanitarian and welfare work was done in the alms-giving spirit of the haughty rich. A change of spirit and reforms were immediately called for. Moreover, the misery of the post-war period, 60 per cent increase of mortality rate (100 per cent in case of children) made the welfare work far more urgent than ever before and placed on the municipality a national responsibility and social necessity. The municipality rocognized its obligations, and set to work under the able guidance of Julius Tandler to attain a high ideal and perform a national duty. The subsequent story is remarkable.



Municipal Child-welfare Office. Vienna. District 21

Child-welfare as is well understood in modern medicine, starts with the unborn child. In the 34 municipal ante-natal clinic every needy woman is entitled to apply for advice and instruction. Vienna accepts and accepts rightly that an expectant mother has the first claim on the State to provide her assistance, if not on humanitarian ground, at least as a mother of the future citizen. She is kept under careful medical supervision, and systematic blood examination is done with a view to combat the incidence of hereditary syphilis. If the women, who apply in these centres, do not get an allowance from the insurance fund they receive, following confinment, a sun of 10 sch. a week for four weeks from the municipality. The municipality also maintains a number of maternity homes and lying-in hospitals in different parts of the city. Fully



Children's Reception Office. Vienna, District 9

2/5ths of all legitimate children, and 1/2 of all illegetimate children are born in the city maternity homes. The remaining births are also kept under observation. Registrars of birth keep the welfare centres informed about the birth of a child, who in turn send out health visitors that are in constant attendance by day or night, to render help in case of necessity, to look after the child. Thus, not a single child is born without offer of assistance from the municipality. Moreover, every mother, irrespective of financial status, gets a complete set of babies' outfits after the birth of the child. In 1928, 11,808 packets were distributed, which means that 59·92 per cent of the babies born in Vienna during the year got the clothing outfit. In these centres lectures and demonstrations are regularly given about the rearing up of children and the like.

To further the cause of child-welfare in a most systematic and efficient way the municipality in 1925 established a Children's Reception Office. It functions with striking success. All children from babyhood to fourteen years requiring assistance are classified. The infants, children of pre-school age or school-going age, all are sent to different institutions where they stay until a suitable place is

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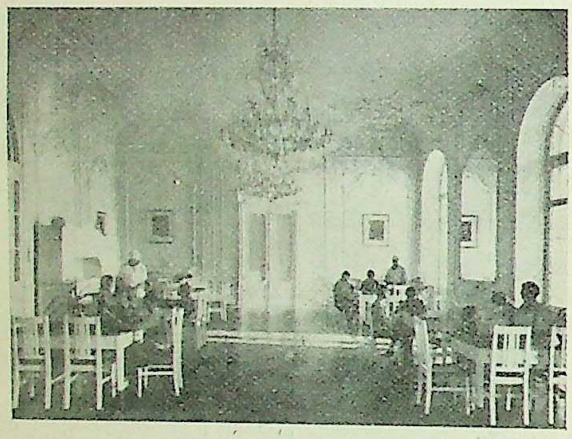
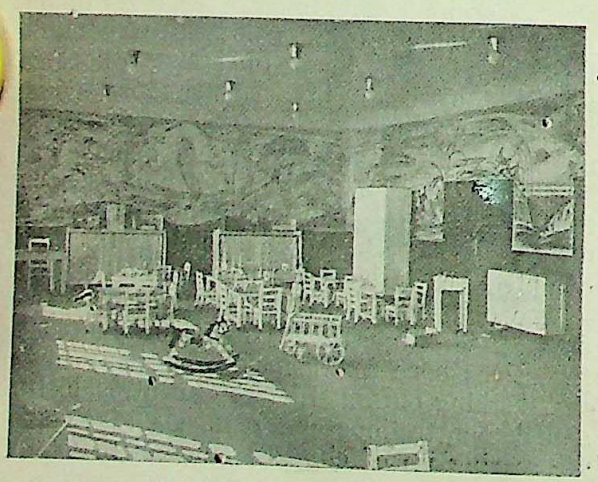
found for them. At the end of 1927, 14,892 children were cared for, and a maintenance allowance of 45 schilling a month was paid by the municipality for such children. The latest addition to the children's homes is the Hapsburg Castle, which the municipality acquired in 1927. Sick children are placed in nursing homes or hospitals. There is a special hospital for children with venereal disease. If children cannot be placed with foster parents, they are admitted to the city orphanages



Hall in Hapsburg Castle "Wilhelminenberg," now a municipal children's home. Vienna, District 16



Nursery in municipal dwellings "Quarinplatz." Vienna, District 10

The child-welfare work is further supplemented by 125 nurseries and homes, where in 1928, 11,975 children were accommodated, and 90 dining-rooms, where meals are served to more than one-tenth of all school children (15,000), 81.9 p.c. being free because of the poverty of parents. The municipality has seven Recreation Homes on the boundaries of Vienna and sends out children for holiday during the summer vacation. In 1928, 26,495 children, that is to say more than one-sixth of all Vienna school children, had holiday at the cost of the municipality. Thirty-one play-grounds, thirteen skating rinks and eighteen free baths further serve to advance the health of the children.

In the sphere of adult welfare municipal relief of the poor plays the most important

A lesson in Chemistry

A lesson in cleaning the teeth in an elementary school

part. Indoor relief embraces 12,000 persons, who are accommodated in eleven homes. In these homes healthy old people are kept separate from mentally defectives, and their stay is made as pleasant and congenial as possible. In asylums homeless persons and families get shelter and meals for prescribed

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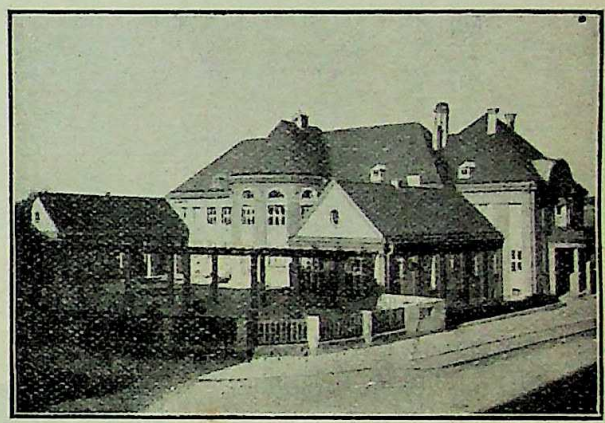
work. For servants out of employment the municipality has provided two homes of 210 beds. Vienna as a "Diet" pays one-third of the contribution towards the cost of compassionate allowance, which the unemployed receive after exhausting thirty weeks of unemployed pay. The care of the disabled ex-service men is the business of the Government.

An entirely new institution has been created to supplement the ordinary public health service. In connection with schools eleven dental clinics were opened. In 1928, 21,866 children were attended to. Systematic medical examination of all children is undertaken. The school physician with nurses visits the schools weekly and prescribe the necessary hygienic measures. During the first school year every child is subjected to thorough examination. If the parents consent, tuberculous and Wasserman tests are done (75 per cent). In 1928, 20,252 children were found to have good health, 48,531 medium and 20.296 bad health. The municipality since its new regime has started an intensive campaign against tuberculosis. Before the war there was hardly any machinery in existence to combat this "Vienna Disease." There are now nine centres with a central office for allocating beds according to the urgency of the case. The municipality controls 2,000 beds, and since 1920 Steinhof has been converted into a tuberculous convalescent home. The newest innovation is to remove children in danger of tuberculous infection to the care of a strange family. The results of these organized measures are reflected in the 33 p. c. reduction of the mortality rate. In 1913, there were thirty deaths for every 10,000 inhabitants whereas in 1926 it was twenty. Side by side the municipality conducts a model hospital of 1,000 beds, and is gradually taking charge of all the children's hospitals. This wide expansion of work necessitated the establishment of a Nurses' Training College, where 134 nurses are trained and the course extends over three years. The city health service is further supplemented by a home for the cripple, marriage advice bureau, venereal advice clinic, a bureau for the inebriates and welfare office for the mentally defectives. The total expenditure of the municipality in 1928 was 82.7 million schilling, which is thrice as much as before the war, and about twenty per cent of the total income of the municipality.

As was expected, the Socialist Rathaus paid special attention to education and its reform. The chief innovation consisted in reforming the curriculum. Attention is now concentrated on drawing out child's individuality. Practical instruction has supplanted theoretical teaching. Children are taken out for walks, excursions, etc., and the variety of things they see are made subject of instruction. The curriculum prescribes the object for the first five years, but the method of attaining it is left to the teacher. The old system by which eleven p. c. of the children had to repeat school years had been abolished.



Children's Gymnasium in Waldmüllerpark. Vienna, District 10

This evil has been overcome by placing slow-learning children in special classes under a particularly efficient teacher. On the other hand, gifted children are given special facilities to develop their talents. Co-operation of parents was obtained by forming parents associations, which discuss all questions of educational reform. In 1926-27, 8 649 parents were active in 460 associations during the school-year 1924-25, school communities were formed with a view to stimulate a sense of responsibility among children by self-government. The care of school-libraries, co-operation in maintaining order, arrangement of entertainments, settlement of questions of discipline and many other activities are covered by these communities. Vocational schools play an important part in Vienna. To correct the one-sided nature of apprenticeship, instruction is given in all trades. Each of the eighty trade-schools has its own well-equiped workshop, and instruction is free, and all the requisites are supplied gratis. The large central continuation school with thirty-two branches devoted to metal and allied industry has facilities for 14,000 students. In 1924-25, the munici-

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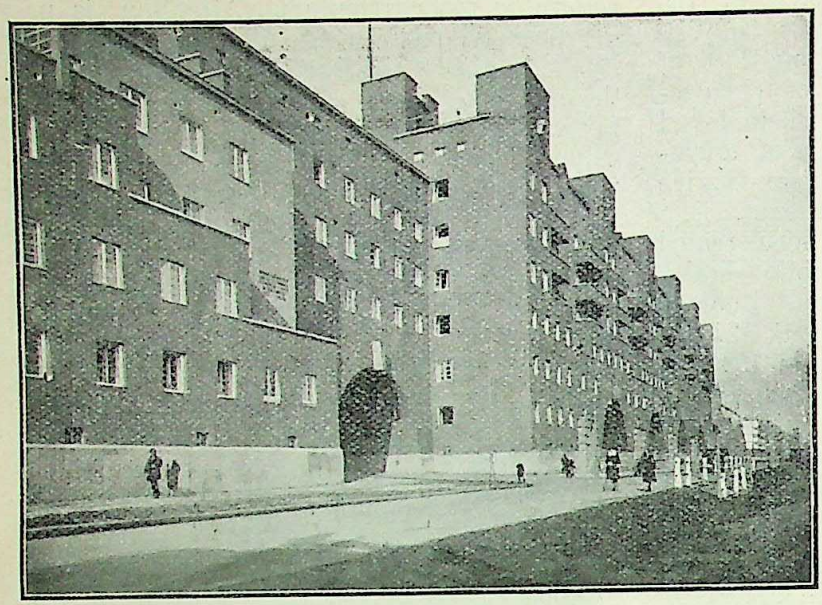

Municipal House, Vienna XIX. "Heiligenstadt Karl Marxhof"

pality established a second one with eighteen branches, devoted mostly to wood-working trade with accommodation for 5,000 students. The jewellery trade school is housed in a third building, and watch-making trade in a fourth one. In 1928, the municipality laid out an area of 70,000 square metres for a gardening school. The ever-growing demand for an efficient staff is met by founding a teacher's training centre with sixty lecturers, and 3,400 students. An Experimental Institute of Psychology for the study of the child mind was also created. The entire educational system is managed by the City and Continuation School Boards. In 1928, the municipality spent 73·6 million schilling. The cost per student amounted to 525 schilling, that is, twice as much as in 1913.

The most widely known, and the most important scheme that the Socialists carried out was the Municipal Housing Scheme, which has provided homes for millions of homeless people. The opposition of the State, which was dominated by landlord classes made it impossible for the municipality to take advantage of the modest provisions of the Land Acquisition Acts. They had to fight against heavy odds. Still, the municipality was able during 1923-27 to acquire 16,340,000 square metres of land within the city area at a cost of 28·7 million schilling. At the end of 1927, the municipality owned 26·51 per cent of the total area of Vienna, and 36·78 per cent if the streets and water-works are included. In 1924, the municipality launched the programme of constructing 25,000 flats in five years' time but by the end of the fourth year all the flats were completed, so that a supplementary programme of 5,000 more flats was undertaken. In 1927 a third programme for 30,000 flats was started and is to be completed by 1932. During the five years between 1923 and 1927 a sum of 390 million schilling was spent for this purpose. The municipality now owns 151 tenement houses, which are quite tastefully designed, and give a new architectural beauty to the city. They contain 26,718 flats, and the thirty-five garden-houses 3,840. The chief aim and object, which was constantly kept in

Municipal House, Vienna XII. "Füchsenfelde."

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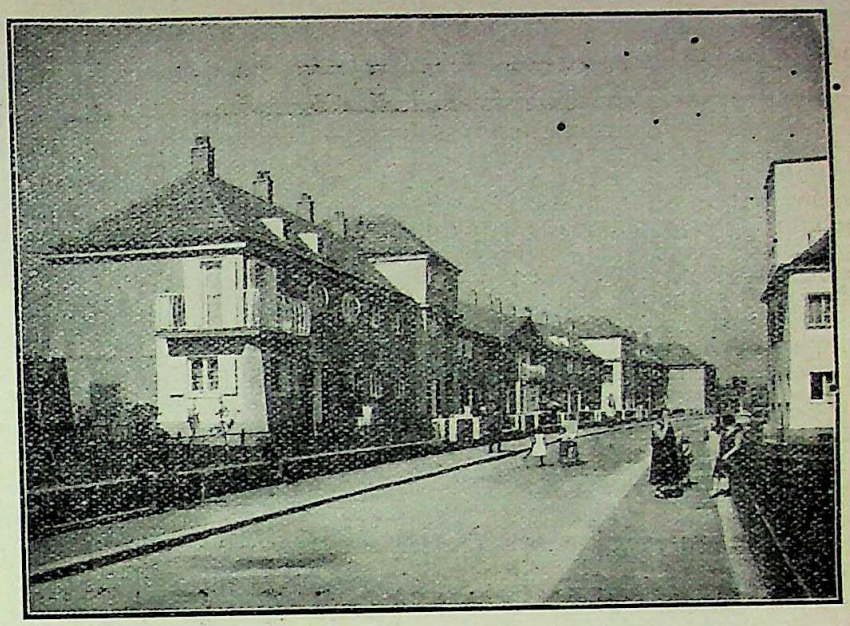
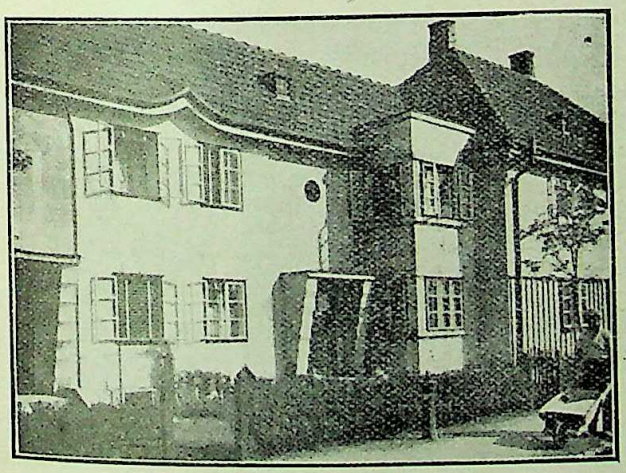
mind, was to construct houses, which will be both convenient and healthy, and at the same time cheap. It is an astonishing fact that of every thousand flats in Vienna before the War, 953 had no water supply, and 921 no water-closet, but these conveniences exist in all the houses, built by the municipality. For the present small flats, twenty square metres, forty square metres and forty-eight square metres, and a height of 2·8 metres, are being built. Almost all the blocks have shower, and washing baths. The rent varies from eight to thirty schilling a month, and is fixed in accordance with maintenance charges, and does not correspond to the construction cost. The rent, it will be remembered, is one-eighth of the pre-war value of similar but inferior dwellings.

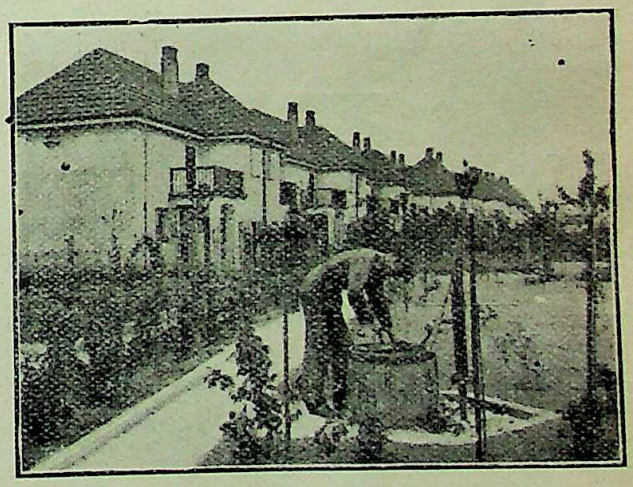


Garden-house, Vienna XI. "Siedlüng Weissenböck Strasse."

It is no wonder that thousands of people from every nook and corner of the world, with no political prejudice or sentimental bias, are impressed by the magnificent and splendid achievement of the Socialist municipality of Vienna, and are coming here to study the measures and the methods, which they applied to make the old metropolis, whose decline and fall was confidently predicted, into a model city—a city whose example will possibly be emulated by many others. The municipality with its earnest determination, and spirit of organized reform, has developed into "the real community, embracing everybody, who dwells within its walls and is following the progress of the individual from the cradle to the grave," and it has not only raised its own prestige but the prestige of Socialistic principles also for which it stands. Many sceptics have been today



Garden suburb houses. Vienna, District 21



A corner of the garden suburb, "Freihof." Vienna, District 21

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real converts, and are to be found in their folds. They are convinced that "the New Vienna will continue in the path of progress, to the advantage of its inhabitants and to the honour of Socialism."*

* I express my sincere thanks to numerous officials, and friends for the courtesy shown and opportunity given to visit many institutions, for supplying me literature, and for permitting me to publish the copyright pictures. All the illustrations to this article except two of the "Rathaus," are published by the courtesy of the Vienna Municipality, that of the "Rathaus" by the courtesy of Verlagsanstalt "Grapha," Vienna, while that of the "Rathaus" at night was taken by myself.

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The Vienna Puppet Play

The work of Richard Teschner

BY OLIVER GOSSMAN

THE art of the puppet play, long a tradition in the East, is also one of the most venerable entertainments of the West. In England it is still to be met with in the streets in the form of Punch and Judy, though nowadays very rarely. From the big-stick business of Mr. Punch it is of course a far cry to the delicate patterns of the Teschner silent theatre in Vienna. Punch talks, he talks a great deal; he cannot suppress his robust vulgarity. But the secret of the lure is the same.

Richard Teschner—who was born in Carlsbad, studied first in Prague, the Golden City, and is now settled in Vienna—is an artist in many media and a master of most crafts. Draughtsman, painter and etcher as a matter of course, he is in addition wood-carver and sculptor. He is a designer of wall-papers, carpets, Gobelin tapestries. When

THE LEGEND OF THE VIRGIN

Mary and Joseph with infant Christ

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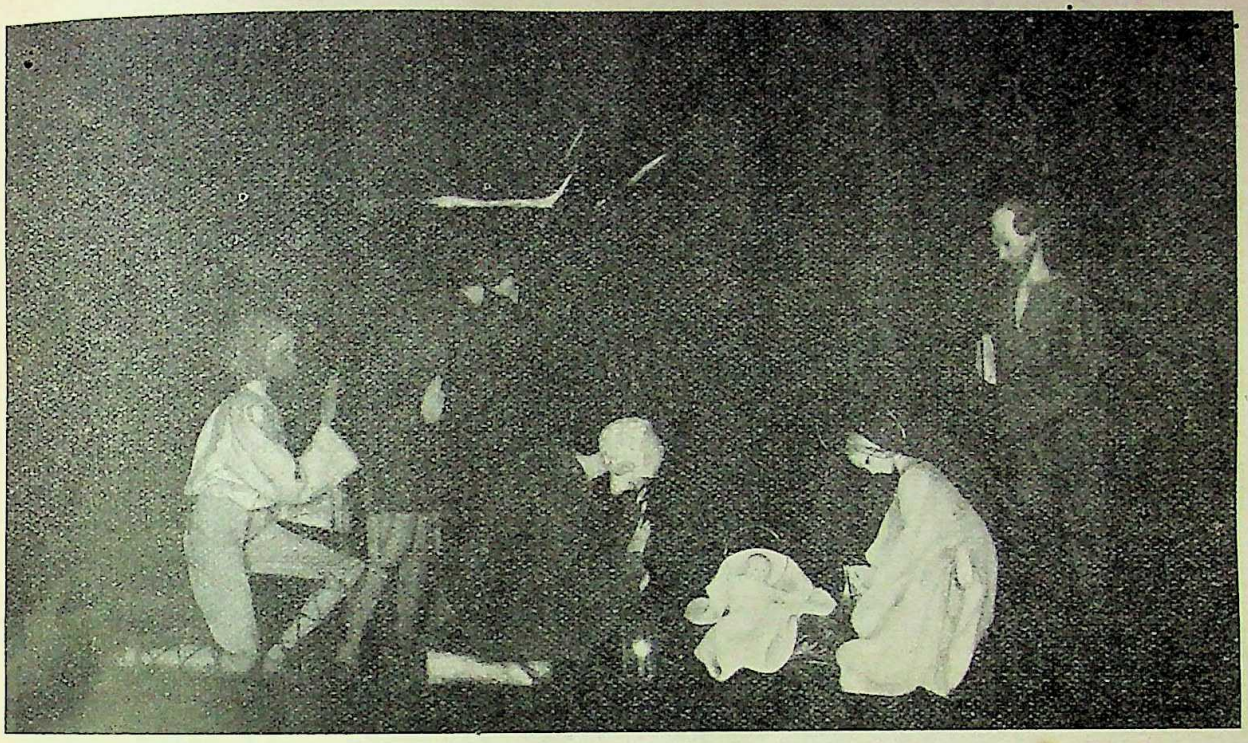
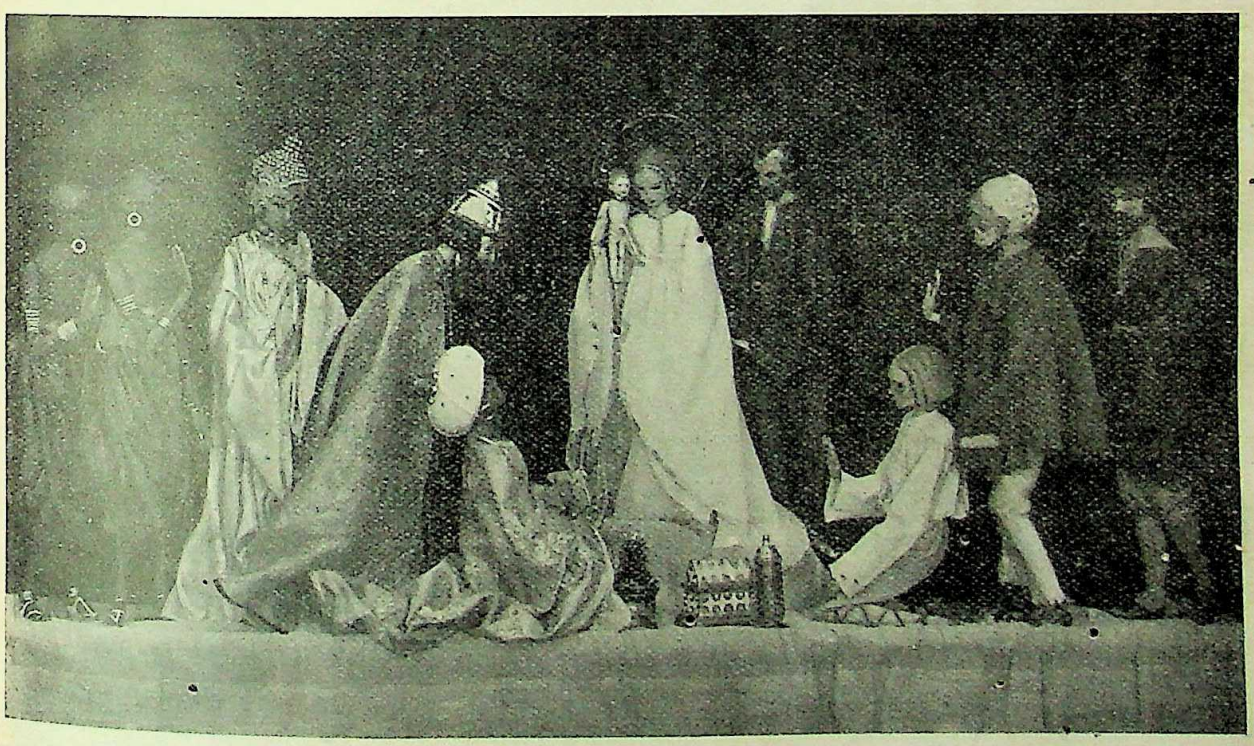


The Adoration of the Shepherds



The Adoration of the Magi

in a leisure hour he has a mind to play the lute, he plays a very beautiful instrument partly of his own design and wholly of his own making, and as often as not airs of his own devising.

Naturally, he had not long set out to

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THE DRAGON LEGEND

The Princess cast into a trance is guarded by a Dragon

The Chinese Mandarin representing law and tradition read out to the Dragon a proclamation. But in vain.

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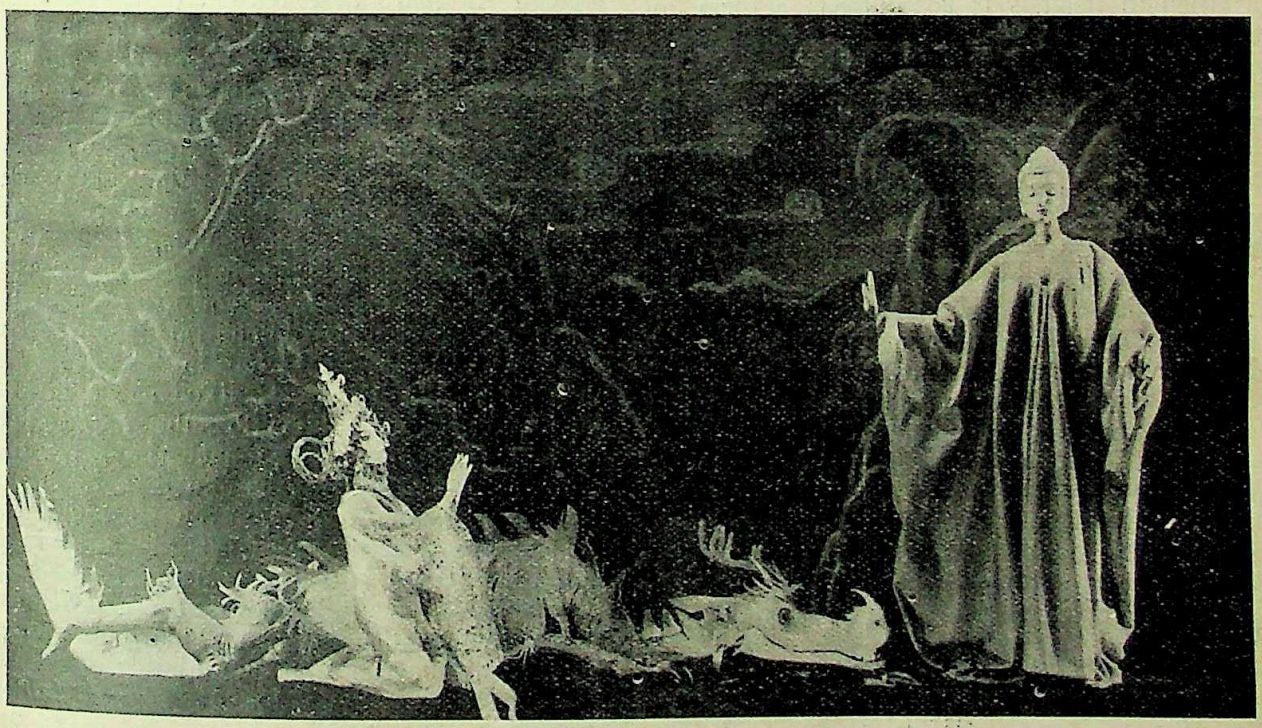
The Japanese Samurai representing the power of the sword is overthrown and devoured by the monster.



The Dragon is finally subdued and the Princess liberated by the Buddha—the serene power of the spirit.

explore the technique of the miniature stage before he had given to the dolls everything a creator so well-equipped could give them. He gave them not only their dramatic lives and appropriate worlds to live in, he gave them also a dignity that is unique among

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their kind. In his theatre he is his own dress-maker, electrician, carpenter, dramatist and (with the help of two mysterious assistants) his own manipulator. In his inner studio one of the most conspicuous objects is an electrically driven turning-lathe. With the most modern of means, by the aid of the latest technical devices, this artist creates creatures of immemorial imagination, a multitude of fastidious little people, some out of ancient legend, some now taking the light for the first time.

Teschner's puppets are not worked by wires from above but are set on sticks, on Javanese principle. This puts backbone into them, one might say, and gives them that fragile dignity which is mostly lacking in their less fortunate brethren, the poor Danglers. The arms too are moved from below by fine guiding rods, and the head by a device as simple. With this limited mechanism their maker proceeds to the work of enchantment.

You sit in a dark room, watching, from what seems an interstellar distance, the lights and movements of a remote world wholly absorbed in itself. It is indeed a form of star-gazing. The attraction is curious and insistent. The technical limitations alone contribute subtly to the effect of suspense. The naïveté of the figures and (when they are not moved to fantastic activity) the hesitation of their spell-bound steps touch a tragic chord. The magic of this art lies in this when sculpture has immortalized life in figures of wood, or wax, or alabaster, the manipulator takes over the creatures of the sculptor and imparts to them again the beauty of a brief and haunting mortality.

And in this delicate interaction between ephemeral and more permanent things there is the nimbus of the eternal. One of Teschner's finest creations is a legend of the Buddha. In the first picture one sees how the Princess, cast into an earthly trance, is guarded by a dragon. By means of this monster Teschner imparts to the mystic theme that element of rollicking fun which is present in many Chinese and Japanese drawings. How the Dragon contrives to move so many parts of itself, including its nostrils, is the artist's secret. So, too, is the rapt beauty of the Princess. The Chinese Mandarin, representing law and tradition, reads a lengthy proclamation embodying all the best reasons for the release of the Princess. But in vain. The Dragon, snapping at him playfully, for the most part only yawns. Teschner then introduces the power of the sword in the person of a Japanese Samurai; who is nevertheless overthrown and devoured by the monster. The Dragon is finally subdued and cast into limbo, and the Princess liberated from her trance, by the Buddha, representing the serene power of the spirit. The tall figure of the Buddha first enters behind a fine gauze screen, as approaching in the spirit, and only at the last moment emerges into the full light of the stage This is an example of the technical resources by which Teschner conveys finer significances.

Our word "marionette" is derived from the little dolls made in old France to represent the Virgin Mary at certain church festivals. It is therefore appropriate that Teschner's favourite Christmas play is "The Mother," the legend of the birth of Jesus. The chivalry of Joseph in this play is a moving experience.

The halos are the extreme of cunning; being of fine gold wire they do not appear fixed, but catch and lose the light and are therefore living. The gesture with which Joseph (a spare linden-wood figure seventeen inches tall) takes the cloak from his shoulders and spreads it on the ground to make a resting-place for the Virgin is perfection in this strange art. Three shepherds then form a group on one side, the Magi, or Three Kings form a group on the other side. Each of the Magi in turn kneels, and, with his extraordinarily deft little hands, deposits his precious casket (the size of a thimble) at the feet of the Virgin. The two groups are now balanced, supporting the central group of the Holy Family. By a device in the floor of the stage, each figure is fixed as it takes up its appointed position. So subtle a magician is at work, nevertheless, that they continue quick with life so long as one of their number is in movement. Nay, even beyond that. When the last figure is stationary in his notch and there is no movement on the stage, the life in them all lives on. When Richard Teschner, for all I know, has his hands in his pockets, you see the impossible, you see what in reality you do not see—a *tableau vivant*.

It is remarkable enough when, as in *tableau vivant*, living players contrive to look like statues. When statuettes succeed in looking like living people contriving to look like statues, you have passed the threshold of the magical.

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Thus the illusion is so complete, you can be trusted with the full knowledge of all the mechanism that goes to the making of it. For you can be trusted to forget that knowledge as soon as the first slender ray of life animates the dark stage. Indeed, if you return by daylight and open the cupboard in which the puppets hang in rows, you are ready to believe that their natural state, in the hours between one performance and another, is one of ecstatic contemplation.

The Martial Races of India

By NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI

Part III

I

In the second part of this article published in *The Modern Review* for September 1930, the history of the enlistment policy followed by the Army authorities in India was traced down to the year 1914. We come now to the third decisive period of the Punjabization of the army—the period, that is to say centring about 1922, when not only the class composition of the Indian army but also its whole organization came to be thoroughly overhauled and in some respects completely recast. From our particular point of view the period is marked by the rise of the Punjabi Musalman as the most numerous single class in the army, by the passing of the Sikhs from the first to the third place in it, by the closing of its ranks to the trans Frontier Pathan and the U. P. Brahman, and by the abolition of the remaining Madrasi regiments of the Indian infantry. After this period recruitment also ceased of some minor classes like the Baluchis, Mers and Merats who were represented in the army both before and during the war, and it was also after this period that the half-hearted war-time experiment of tapping new sources altogether came to an end.

As the reorganization of 1922 was based on war experience, it might, not unnaturally, be inferred that the post-war reshuffling of the class composition of the army was in some way or other related to the war effort of the different parts of India and to the fighting quality which the troops belonging to the various classes displayed during the war. Such a conclusion is indeed hinted at, though not explicitly stated in the first volume of the Simon Report.* Yet there could be none which was more fallacious.

The first thing that comes out of a close comparison of the percentages of the various classes in the war-time army with the percentages of the same classes in the reorganized army is their inexplicable discrepancy. Proportions which had remained at an almost stationary level for the last thirty years suddenly become altered. There is of course no revolutionary or cataclysmic break —none having occurred since the mass condemnation of a whole region and class was brought about by the Mutiny† – but the minor modifications, the final touches, the group reshufflings, are so interesting, in some cases so unexpected, and on the whole, one might almost say, so "teleological," that there seems to be ample justification for regarding them as the product of deliberate intention. It is necessary therefore to ascertain first of all whether the changes are based in any way upon the contribution in men made by the different regions of India during the war.

In the two following tables are shown respectively: (I) the approximate proportion of soldiers from the different parts of India and of some selected classes actually serving in the Army in 1914, 1918, 1919 and 1930;

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* Simon Report, Vol. I, p. 97.

† The phrase "mass condemnation" is not mine. It is used by General Moberly, the official historian of the Mesopotamia Campaign in describing the effect of the Mutiny on the class composition of the Indian Army. See *The Official History of the Great War—The Campaign in Mesopotamia, 1914-18*, Vol. I, p. 64.

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and (II) the number of combatant recruits (with percentages) furnished by the same regions and classes during the four years of war:

Table I—Showing the proportion of soldiers from the different parts of India and of some selected classes actually serving in the Indian Army on the 1st January of 1914, 1918, 1919 and 1930 respectively. The figures are mainly based on the proportions in the Indian Infantry.

	1914	1918	1919	1930
I. Punjab, the N.-W. F. P. and Kashmir	47 p. c.	46·5 p. c.	46 p. c.	58·5 p. c.
Sikhs	19·2	17·4	15·4	13·58
Punjabi Musalmans	11·1	11·3	12·4	22·6
Pathans	6·2	5·42	4·54	6·35
II. Nepal, Kumaon, Garhwal	15 p. c.	18·9 p. c.	14·8 p. c.	22 p. c.
Gurkhas	13·1	16·6	12·2	16·4
III. Upper India (excluding I & II)	22 p. c.	22·7 p. c.	25·5 p. c.	11 p. c.
U. P. Rajputs	6·4	6·28	7·7	2·55
Hindustani Musalmans	4·1	3·42	4·45	*nil.*
Brahmans	1·8	1·86	2·5	*nil.*
IV. South India	16 p. c.	11·9 p. c.	12 p. c.	5·5 p. c.
Mahrattas	4·9	3·85	3·7	5·33
Madrasi Musalmans	3·5	2·71	2·13	*nil.*
Tamils	2·5	2	1·67	*nil.*
V. Burma and Burmans	*nil.*	negligible.	1·7 p. c.	3 p. c.

Table II—Showing the actual number (with percentages in parenthesis) of fighting men recruited up to the end of November 1918 from the different parts of India and from certain selected classes. Based on the figures given in India's Contribution to the Great War *published by the authority of the Government of India.*

Region and Class	Total No. of recruits from region	Total No. of recruits from class	Proportion for 1930
I. Punjab, the N.-W. F. P., Kashmir	383,630 (51·9)	—	58·5
Sikhs		88,925 (12·1)	13·58
Punjabi Musalmans		136,126 (18·4)	22·6
Pathans		27,857 (3·78)	6·35
II. Nepal, Kumaon, Garhwal	66,007 (8·9)	—	22
Gurkhas		55,589 (7·55)	16·4
III. Upper India (excluding I & II)	182,512 (24·8)	—	11
U. P. Rajputs		49,086 (6·65)	2·55
Hindustani Musalmans		36,353 (4·9)	*nil.*
Brahmans		20,382 (2·75)	*nil.*
IV. South India	92,495 (12·5)	—	5·5
Mahrattas		24,304 (3·3)	5·33
Madrasi Musalmans		6,452 (0·87)	*nil.*
Tamils		16,3[illegible]0 (2·17)	*nil.*
V. Burma and Burmans	14,094 (1·9)	—	3

There are two things to be noted in connection with these figures: first, the relation of the pre-war figure to the war effort, and secondly, the relation between the war effort and the final representation on the post-war army. We shall take both these heads separately.

The first thing that strikes the eye in scrutinizing the war effort of India is the part taken in it by the Punjab. Of the total number of recruits furnished during the war about one-half was obtained from this single province, only the other half being supplied by the rest of India. This in itself was from

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one point of view a great and abiding achievement. But from another, it was neither exceptional nor surprising. As Sir Michael O'Dwyer puts it :

On the outbreak of the war, one-half of the Indian army was drawn from the Punjab, over one-sixth from the frontier and trans-border Pathans and the gallant Gurkhas of our Nepal ally, and less than one-third from the remaining Indian races.

It was therefore natural that when the demand for man-power became urgent, the military authorities should look primarily to the Punjab.*

It was the Punjab, therefore, which throughout the war felt the force of the recruit campaign at its intensest. Here the whole military and the civil machinery of the Government was mobilized for purposes of recruitment as nowhere else in India. Inducements offered to recruits and recruiters were very liberal, if not actually extravagant. One of the most effective of these was the offer of land to soldiers who would serve with distinction in the war. At its very outbreak Sir Michael O'Dwyer put at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief "180,000 acres of valuable canal-irrigated land for allotment to Indian officers and men who had served with special distinction in the field," and also "set aside 15,000 acres for reward-grants to those who gave most effective help in raising recruits." Rewards such as "would appeal to the Oriental mind, such as Indian titles of honour from 'Raja' and 'Nawab' down to 'Rai Sahib' and 'Khan Sahib'," *inams*, *khelats* and presents were lavishly distributed. Remission of land revenue "exceeding £100,000" in value was given, and in the revenue re-assessment which was going on in the Punjab at the time "favourable consideration was given to the war-services of the rural population." "By such measures it was brought home to the people that Government would reward loyal service with honour and material benefits."†

In addition to all this, the indefatigable Lieutenant-Governor himself went about the country, as he himself says. :

"Checking the crazy ones,
Coaxing on-aisy ones
Lifting the lazy ones on—
—with moral 'suasion!"§

A strong silent man himself, he even attempted speech-making. Addressing the Punjab War Conference on May 4, 1918 he said :

The brunt of any invasion [he was referring to a possible German invasion of India] must fall on the Punjab, and he asked his hearers to recall what they had heard of former invasions, of the Ravi running with blood and choked with corpses."*

He referred also to the atrocities in Belgium and the fate which the Kaiser, long before the war, had outlined for India. The audience was duly impressed by this. But as action rather than speech-making was the strongest point of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, it is quite probable that even more than the fate that the Kaiser had in store for them, the fate which Sir Michael would mete out to them impressed his listeners with a more chastened sense of what they were to do at this juncture.

The result was the recruiting figures for the Punjab in 1917 and 1918. In his complacent reminiscences Sir Michael O'Dwyer refers triumphantly to the judgment in the O'Dwyer *vs.* Sankaran Nair case as a vindication of his recruiting policy.† But neither the decision of Mr. Justice McCurdy nor the evasive conclusions of the Hunter Committee § can alter the fact that during the war the Punjab was subjected to a kind of dragooning unparallelled in the history of voluntary recruiting. Whoever might have been technically and legally responsible for this, there can be no doubt that Sir Michael O'Dwyer was the moving spirit behind the relentless pressure of the recruiting machinery. He was for the voluntary system if that would bring in the number of men he wanted (2,000,000 for 1918) ; for conscription if it would not. "The contingency of the failure of the voluntary system in certain areas," he reminded the Punjab Conference, "was there and it would be cowardice not to face it."** It would be hardly an injustice to Sir Michael O'Dwyer to add that he did not mean to be guilty of that cowardice.††

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* Sir Michael O'Dwyer—*India as I Knew It* (1925), p. 214.
† *Ibid.*, p. 222-225.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

* *The Statesman*, May 5, 1918.
† O'Dwyer—*India as I Knew It*, p. 358.
§ Report of the Committee on the Punjab Disturbances, (Cmd. 681, 1920) para. 21, p. 62.
** *The Statesman*, May 5, 1918.
†† Contrast these blusterings of Sir Michael O'Dwyer with the following clear declaration of Sir George Roos-Keppel, the Chief Commissioner of the N.-W. F. P. before a durbar at Peshawar: "One thing should be made clear, namely that there is no suggestion of employing compulsion or coercion in order to obtain recruits: enlistment is as before, entirely voluntary, and no other inducement should be required by any one who

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II

The surprising fact in connection with the Punjab recruitment therefore is not the high, but the steady proportion of the number of men supplied by it in relation to the rest of India. Not all the efforts of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration could raise the ratio of the Punjab contingent to a figure higher than that of the pre-war standard. On the contrary, as the demand for men grew more and more pressing and the recruiting campaign intensified Punjab showed signs of over-recruitment, and the proportion of the contingents from other areas went up. The Punjab and the northern areas which had a proportion of 47 p. c. in 1914, came down to 46·5 p.c. in 1918 and to 46 p. c. in 1919. During the same period the figure for Upper India proper which stood at 22 p. c. in 1914 rose to 22.7 in 1918 and 25·5 in 1919. The fall in the Punjab recruitment was, however, not material and perhaps should not be taken into account But even at that, to the end of the war, Punjab remained at a mean of 46.5 p. c., at the figure that is to say, at which it has stood almost without any break from the days of the Mutiny.

The recruiting figures of all the individual classes too show similar minor variations combined with fundamental constancy. The proportions of the Sikhs and Gurkhas which stood at 19 p. c. and 13.1 p. c. at the opening of the war fell to 15·4 and 12.2 on 1st January, 1919. The figures for the Punjabi Musalmans and U. P. Rajputs which stood at 11.1 and 6.4 p. c. in 1914 rose during the same period to 12.4 and 7.7. For the case of the other classes the reader can make his own comparisons from the figures given in the tables. The decline in the proportion of the Sikhs is perhaps more remarkable than the other variations, but otherwise, what strikes the observer most in these figures is not their fluctuations, but their remarkable coincidence with the figures for pre-war days.

This is perhaps the stage at which we can most profitably go into the question whether the size of the contingents furnished by the different provinces of India, during the war furnishes a basis for estimating their true military potentialities, and whether as the Simon Commission states, the previous restrictions on the recruitment of certain classes were sufficiently raised during the period to permit of a correct estimate of the military capacity of these classes.* In order to arrive at a definite conclusion on these points we shall have to examine in some detail the character of the effort which was required of India and which she in the end actually made.

Though during the war the strength of the Indian Army rose from 155,423 on 1st August, 1914 to 573,484 on 11th November 19 8, and though during the same period India raised 826,855 combatant recruits, thus giving an average of about 200,000 for one year in the place of the 30,000 or so required before the war, there were factors present both on the people's and the Government's side which make the war-time figures of recruiting a very unreliable index of the military potentialities of India. Of these two aspects of the question we shall only deal with the British side here, and leave the Indian side for later treatment. But generally speaking it may shortly be said of both of them that neither the one nor the other seem to our mind to justify any pessimistic anticipations with regard to India's military capacity.

At no stage of the Great War was any attempt made to mobilize the whole man-power resources of India as had been done in Great Britain or even partially in the Dominions. There was, of course, a good deal of vague talk in uninformed circles both in England and India about the unlimited man-power of the country. But the military and the civil authorities, upon whom would have fallen the task of devising practical means of utilizing it, knew very well that everything in the previous history of the Indian army made such an exceptional undertaking impracticable, if not absolutely impossible of achievement. In the first place the enlistment policy pursued consistently for the last fifty years which had borne its logical fruit, made the chances of success of a *levee en masse* absolutely negligible. Secondly, which w s more serious, the machinery of recruitment, organization

valued his own good name and the appreciation of Government." (*North-West Frontier Province and the War* compiled by Lt.-Col. W. J. Keane, pp. 19-20).

On the whole question of the war effort of the Punjab and the recruiting methods of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration see : Sir Michael O'Dwyer—*India as I Knew It*. pp. 16-23 and pp. 358 *ff* ; Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress ; *The Punjab and the War* ; and the Hunter Report.

* Simon Report, Vol. I, p. 97..

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and training as evolved in the atmosphere of economy and security favoured by the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 and endorsed by the Nicholson Committee of 1912, would have proved utterly inadequate to cope with any such contingency.

It should be borne in mind that before the war the Indian army was neither organized nor trained and equipped for a modern war on a great scale. The Nicholson Committee had limited the military obligations of India to the maintenance of internal security within her own borders, whatever that may mean, and to her own defence against local aggression and, if necessary, against an "attack on the Indian Empire by a great power until reinforcements can come from Home," and had specifically absolved her from any responsibility for co-operation in Imperial defence.

"She is not called upon," it laid down, "to maintain troops for the specific purpose of placing them at the disposal of the Home Government for wars outside the Indian sphere, although—as has happened in the past—she may lend such troops if they are otherwise available."*

In spite of this dictum, however, the General Staffs of both the countries initiated informal interchanges of view with regard to imperial co-operation without the knowledge of the higher civil authorities.† These informal talks had just given rise to an official correspondence when the war broke out.

Its outbreak found the Indian Army utterly unprepared. Not only was the equipment and training deficient but the arrangements for expanding the army were practically non-existent, and such of them as existed proved miserably inadequate even for the limited purpose of reinforcing the expeditionary forces which had been sent out.§ In these circumstances the improvisation of a large army in India, like the Kitchener Army in Great Britain, was unthinkable.

The military authorities in India therefore confined themselves throughout to traditional and prosaic lines of action. In the first two years of the war no exceptional demands were made upon India. But as the drain of the war grew in volume it was found that the pre-war recruiting methods and machinery could not cope with the situation, and accordingly early in 1917 the Army Department of the Govt. of India discarded the "class" system and adopted the "territorial" system in its place. This change which in the case of the Punjab was made in the Army Dept. letter No. 3289 dated March 5, 1917, was immediatety followed by the creation of the Central Recruiting Board in May. Under the new system strenuous efforts were made to raise as many men as was possible but on the already familiar lines and from the traditional areas of recruitment. It was only the opening of the great German offensive of March 1918 which for a moment roused the Imperial and Indian authorities to a transient paroxysm of what looked like spectacular action. Mr. Lloyd George sent a highly coloured cable to the Viceroy, who replied in the same vein, and for a few days, as *The Statesman* at the time put it, "people naturally anticipated that some of the millions of India would be called to arms, that every able-bodied European would be taken to officer these masses, and that a considerable part of the available food-supplies would be commandeered for transmission to the Allied countries. Even in Bengal conscription was earnestly debated."* But every well-informed person knew that nothing of the kind was going to take place. *The Times* deprecated the suggestion that India could raise a large body of soldiers, and *The Statesman* pooh-poohed it.† The latter laid the blame for the anti-climax which followed on the ignorance and the misguided cabling activities of Mr. Lloyd George. The War Conference which was summoned at Delhi on April 27, 1918 to devise means to meet the appeal of the Prime Minister came to extremely humdrum conclusions. It resolved that it was not necessary to resort to conscription, and in the press *communique* which was issued, it was stated that:

> The actual number of recruits which it is proposed to raise in the present year is half a million men, and provisional allotment showing the quota which it is hoped to recruit from each province is determined on the basis of *past experience* and local conditions.§ (Italics ours).

Certain exception to this policy was, however, imposed upon the authorities by sheer necessity. It was soon found that intensive recruitment was depleting the

* Report of the Army in India Committee, 19 2.
† Moberly—*The Mesopotamia Campaign*, 1914-18. Vol. I, p. 64.
§ See the severe strictures of the Mesopotamia Commission in the *Mesopotamia Commission Report* pp. 39-42: also the bitter complaints of General Willcocks in his "*With the Indians in France.*"

* *The Statesman*, April 30, 1918
† *The Times*, May 8, 1918; *The Statesman*, April 30, 1918
§ *The Statesman*, May 13, 1918.

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so-called fighting races, and the Government was compelled to tap new sources of supply. But the training of these classes which would have been a matter of time and strenuous effort even in peace time was absolutely impossible during a war, and we are not surprised to find that in the end these hurried improvisations were not taken seriously.*

We can now give our attention to the statistics which illustrate the relation of the war-effort with the post-war representation of the different classes in the Indian Army. The Punjab contingent which stood at 47 and 46 p.c. respectively in 1914 and 1919 rose to 58·5 in the reorganized army; the hill-tracts whose proportion stood at 14·8 p.c. in 1919 rose to 22 p.c.; Northern India excepting the Punjab etc. which stood at 22 p.c. at the outbreak of the war and rose to 25·5 p.c. during the war, went down to 11 p.c.; South India, which furnished 12 p.c. at the close of the war, has now only 5·5 p.c. These broad figures are illuminating enough in themselves. But the figures for certain classes are more illuminating still. The Sikhs whose proportion stood at about 19 p.c. in 1914 and who furnished 88,925 combatants during the war, now have a proportion of 13.58 p.c. The U. P. Rajputs whose proportion stood at 7·7 p. c. and who furnished 49,086 combatants to the army, have now a proportion of 2·55. The Hindustani Musalmans, the U. P. Brahmans and Tamils whose proportions stood at 4·45, 2·5 and 1·67 respectively in 1919 and who furnished 36 353 (more than half of that of the Gurkhas), 20,382, and 16,390 respectively during the war, are no longer enlisted in the Indian infantry. Further comparisons are unnecessary.

III

All these facts seem to lead to the rather depressing conclusion that the war, during which so much was heard of a new heaven and new earth for India, was only an irrelevant episode in her long and monotonous servitude. As long as it continued, the military authorities took from India whatever it was profitable and possible for them to take, but even then made no radical alteration in the traditional lines of policy, and when it was over, they completely forgot what they had taken. It might well be, as the report of the Esher Committee hints, that the post-war reshuffling of the class composition of the army had something to do with the recruiting possibilities of certain classes. But the same report states that generally speaking "recruitment since the war has not shown signs of falling off, in spite of the abnormal number recruited during the war," and also hints that some pre-conceived plans existed in this matter.* And there can be no doubt that that was in fact the case.

It remains only to see whether the fighting quality of the troops raised during the war had anything to do with the changes.

Now, there is nothing in the world more difficult to speak about, or easier to underrate than the fighting quality of an alien people. All decent men exhibit a healthy scepticism with regard to the valour of the foreigner. It is, so to say, only the other side of one's own self-respect. In the years immediately following the war *fuir comme les Anglais*—(to run away like the English) was a saying often heard in the Paris cafés, and the reminiscences of the Irish insurgents of 1920-22 are full of scornful allusions to the bravery of the English soldiery. Before the Russo-Japanese War, yellow monkey was a common epithet in the mouth of the Russians for the despicable undersized Japanese. In India, too, one comes across similar *obiter dicta*. A Dogra belonging to one of the famous regiments of the Indian Army once expressed to me his immeasurable contempt for the fighting quality of the British soldier and reported to me a saying of the Kaiser, in which he was said to have given out that given the Indian sepoy, the British tank and something else which I forget he would have beaten the world hollow and nobody could have resisted him. But one of the most edifying judgments of this kind is to be found in the officially expressed opinion of a British officer. In 1907 Captain Dumas, the British Military Attaché in Berlin, reported to the Foreign Office that in his opinion the Germans were quickly becoming a non-martial race and would not be a nation to fear in twenty years. This raised a great flutter

* On the question of the utilization of the human resources of India during the war see particularly *India's Contribution to the Great War* published by the authority of the Government of India; Moberly: *The Mesopotamia Campaign* 1914-18, Vol. I, Ch IV; Merewether and Smith *The Indian Corps in France*, pp 486-489; and the handbooks issued by the various Provincial Authorities regarding their war-efforts

* *Report of the Army in India Committee 1919-20*, pp. 62-63, p. 92.

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among the permanent officials of the Foreign Office, and at their instance, the Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, himself, directed that word should be unofficially sent to the Admiralty warning it against a too literal acceptance of the Military Attaché's prophecies.*

In the case of India, this natural tendency is trebly fortified by a will to believe in Indian incompetence, born of political and racial prejudice and considerations of interest. When it comes to a question of condemning Indians in the mass, British soldiers, administrators and writers perform the trick with the mechanical rigidity of a platoon mustered out on the parade ground or, of a troop of ballet girls on the stage. The whip cracks and the performing animal performs. It is not for him to reason why.

This may have the appearance of going too far unless instances are given. Let us then have some. Everybody is agreed that the Sikh is one of the most valiant fighters of India. I have at any rate read an English journal effusively calling him a brother in contrast of course to the debilitated, cowardly, down-country Hindu. But even brother Sikh was not always regarded with the same unmixed adoration as he was yesterday, and is *not* perhaps today. About the year 1850 he was called by the English a "boaster and a coward." and was rated lower in courage than the Kashmiris. As Cunningham relates :

> In 1842 they were held . . . to be unequal to cope with Afghans, and even to be inferior in martial qualities to the population of the Jammu Hills. In 1845, the Lahore soldiery was called a "rabble" in sober official depatches, and although subsequent descriptions allowed the regiments to be composed of the yeomen of the country, the army was still declared to be daily deteriorating as a military body. . . . . Everything contributed to strengthen a *willing* belief in the inferiority of the Sikhs as soldiers···To the apprehension of the English authorities the Sikhs were mere upstart peasants of doubtful courage, except when maddened by religious persecutions. . . . . This erroneus estimate of the Sikhs tainted British counsels until the day of Pheroo-shuhur.†

When, of course, it turned into profound respect. It is instructive to contrast this disparagement of the Sikhs with contemporary dithyrambs about the Hindustani sepoys—those "good soldiers," than whom "there are no better in the world."

"Those glorious sepoys," said one of the most distinguished of British soldiers, Sir Charles Napier, in a speech of May 21, 1849, "who have often fought side by side with their European officers, striving with them even unto death, are invincible. I feel proud whenever I see the Native soldier bearing the same medals on his breast which I wear, though his are perhaps better deserved."*

It was seven years before the Mutiny almost to the day.

We have already given some instances of the habit of British military authorities to stamp with inferiority classes whom they do not like on political or other grounds.† One more instance only will suffice here. Dhunds and Satis are two tribes of the Northern Punjab. Speaking about their quality as soldiers, Barrow's well-known manual says :

> They are handsome active men and capital soldiers. Unfortunately for them the part they played in the Mutiny has injured their reputation.§

But even apart from the question of political or racial prejudice, the military quality of a particular people is a subject on which one had better not be dogmatic. While it is not denied that some individuals and peoples are by nature better fighters than their neighbours, it should also be emphasized that to regard this quality as an unvarying racial characteristic would be a very great mistake.** In the last war, before which Prussia was regarded as the spearhead of German military energy, it came as a surprise that while this province and others supplied both good and mediocre divisions, it was Württemberg and Baden alone which supplied invariably good ones. This was the judgment of Ludendorff, himself a Prussian, and in this judgment the Allied intell gence staff whose speciality was the study of the quality of the enemy forces generally concurred. †† Yet neither in the war of 1870 nor in earlier or later wars, Württemberg had ever won any abiding reputation for quality. Of some of the complex causes which produced this result something will be said below. Here it is enough to state generally that the military quality of any particular people

* *British Documents on the Origins of War*, Vol. VI.

† Cunningham : *History of the Sikhs*, 2nd Ed., 1853, p. 242 and p. 246.

* Lee-Warner —*Life of Dalhousie*, Vol. II, p. 348

† *The Modern Review* for September, 1930, pp. 301 *ff*.

§ Barrow—*Sepoy Officers Manual* (1922), p. 237.

** See the warnings of Pitard against racial determinism as applied to the explanation of the warlike character in his *Les Races et l'Histoire*, p. 578.

†† Ludendorff—*My War Memories*, Vol. I, p. 260. Major Atkinson in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1922 Supplement), Vol. 30, p. 229.

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is a product of the *milieu*, the moment, and the race, any small maladjustments in which may produce very disappointing results. It is easy for a foreign Government having no stake in the country to take these chance failures at their face value. The application of this criterion would have condemned the Italian Army wholesale after the Great War and despaired of the resuscitation of the Turkish Army after the rout in Palestine. Yet as everybody knows, a change in the higher political direction of these countries, have produced two of the finest armies in the world from the point of view of morale.

There is also the natural inequality and the different kinds of military quality to be considered. When the British military authorities speak of the quality of Indians, they have only in mind the hand to hand fighting efficiency of the infantry soldier. The application of such a restricted standard would also bring to light some of the most glaring military deficiencies of the British people. As Mr. H. W. Nevinson says :

> I suppose that our regimental officers are the best in the world, and their excellence is due to high tradition and the habits of team-work in the schools. It may be that the same traditions and habits have stifled the genius that makes the finest generals, but we are a nation of captains.*

This was also fully brought out in the enquiry which followed the Boer War. Giving evidence before the committee of enquiry Lord Roberts said that he had been compelled to remove five Generals of Division, six Brigadiers of Cavalry, one Brigadier of Infantry, five Commanders of Cavalry regiments, and four Commanders of infantry battalions for incompetence, which was a very large number considering the number of troops employed.† He was asked by Lord Esher, the President of the Commission, whether he had ever heard whether many of the German officers had been removed in 1870 for incompetency. Lord Roberts replied that he could not say, and went on :

> Whether it is inherent in the British character, or whether it is owing to something faulty in the training of our officers, I cannot say, but the fact remains that surprisingly few of them are capable of acting on their own initative..... Many of them do very well if you can tell them exactly what to do and how to do it, but left to themselves they fail.*

But we do not think on that account anybody would seriously suggest that British troops should be led in war by French, German or Japanese commanders.

Last of all comes the question of training. In estimating the fighting quality of the troops recruited during the war it should never be forgotten that they had not the advantages of a long peace time training like the pre-war standing army. It is only a truism to say that recruits raised during the stress of war and hurriedly trained by an improvised training staff could not compare in point of efficiency with the soldiers of the pre-war army. This defect was present in the French, German and the British armies no less than in the Indian. But in the last case this initial difficulty was heightened by many additional factors, *viz.*, (1) want of a second-line army like the Territorial Force in England ; (2) the low standard of education and the illiteracy of the rural classes from which the Indian Army is recruited; (3) and the want of any enthusiasm for the cause for which the Allies were fighting. The last cause was referred to as a serious impediment to recruiting in the resolution of the Delhi War Conference,† and the "want of having a cause in the quarrel," as General Sir William Willcocks said, made the system of quick training (as had been followed in the case of the Kitchener Army) almost impracticable in India.§

The question, then, is whether all things considered the newly raised troops did well enough in the war to justify confidence in their potential military value. And there is no authority, civil or military, who has not borne eloquent testimony to the value of the Indian soldier. Classes which had not seen active service for a generation or more, and about whose efficiency serious doubts were entertained brilliantly falsified the gloomy anticipations of their commanders.** The only objection which could be brought against some of the classes that were enlisted both before and during the war did not concern their fighting quality, but their feeding arrangements. The caste prejudices of some of the Brahmans and Rajputs of the U. P. made their

* *The English*—p. 34 ; see also Lord D'Abernon's *An Ambassadors of Peace*, Vol. I, p. 8.
† Report of the Commissioners, etc., Min. of Ev., p. 446 (question, 10,520).

* *Ibid.*, p. 446. (Question 10,522—10,524).
† *The Statesman*. April 28, 29, 1918.
§ Willcocks—*With the Indians in France*, p. 29.
** Candler—*The Sepoy*.

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feeding a matter of some difficulty at the front, and owing to this fact some of the units of these classes had sometimes to be employed in garrison and line of communication duties.

This cause, if it were permanent, would, no doubt, seriously affect the military efficiency of these classes. But in the present state of opinion, and if a determined effort is made to overcome these prejudices, we do not think this disability would persist. But the British authorities in India have no interest in doing so. They have, on the contrary, been only too eager to clutch at any pretext to exclude classes whom they had regarded with suspicion for the last seventy years. In short, both before and after the war, and in spite of all that is said about purely military considerations, there is no reason to think that they have followed anything but their own notion of what was valuable in the man-power of India. What that notion is, is best expressed in the following extract from the records of the Government of India :

> The Company's troops which were purely mercenary in character, disappeared in the convulsion of 1857... ....and thereafter recruitment was limited to those castes and races which had proved their worth and steadfastness. *

IV

The broad fact which emerges out of this short and inadequate survey of the enlistment policy of the Army in India is that whatever the truth behind the theory of the martial races, it is not proved by anything in the British practice followed in this country. This latter has never been sufficiently free from considerations of political safety to permit us to take it as a genuine test of the military potentialities of India and of the military capacity of its various tribes and castes.

In this connection, it should never be forgotten that the traditional British policy of maintaining a small, permanent, highly trained army instead of a short-term conscripted army as in most Continental countries, followed in Great Britain from purely geographical and strategical reasons, and in India, as much from political as from military considerations, restricts the requirements of the Army in India to a fraction of the total manhood of India, and had this quota been drawn equally from the different provinces, as it is *not* today, it would still have imposed a serious military disability on the greater majority of able-bodied Indians.

But the harm that the Army authorities in India have actually done, is infinitely worse.

Not only have they never attempted to utilize or give scope to the whole man-power of India, but in so far as they have utilized even a portion, they have neither been fair to or economical of it. In their policy of combining absolute political safety with the maximum of military efficiency, they have categorically denied the right of serving their country to millions of Indians who have forfeited their confidence or roused their suspicions by their political activities, educational progress or intellectual ability. They have carried out this process of picking and choosing in a manner so regardless of its ultimate consequence upon the manhood of the country that its only parallel is to be found in the methods of primitive agriculturists who cleared out a jungle area and sowed it with crops in one year, and as soon as they had gathered in the harvest abandoned the wastefully depleted soil and moved on to exploit a fresh area. No country in the world can indefinitely undergo this drain. That India has been able to withstand this irresponsible exploitation to the extent that she has, and is still able to furnish a sufficient number of men adequate for the requirements of the army of her foreign rulers is due above all to her almost unlimited human resources.

Here we deliberately join issue with the dogmatically held theory of the British civil and military authorities that the human resources of India are strictly limited. This view has been very emphatically expressed by General MacMunn, a former Quarter-Master-General in India, and has also been reiterated in official documents. Now, General MacMunn's serious utterances so closely resemble the ruthless mess-room talk of a subaltern that it is impossible to take him seriously. But careful official enquiries undertaken during the war, which put the entire physically fit and available man-power of India at ten millions, *i.e.*, at one-thirtieth of the entire population of the country* [which, by the way, is more than ten

* Quoted in the *History of the Great War based on Official Documents : The Campaign in Mesopotamia 1914-18* : compiled under the direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence by Brigadier-General Moberly, Vol I, p. 65.

* Moberly—*The Campaign in Mesopotamia*, p. 64.

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times the number raised during the war] perhaps deserve more respectful attention. We shall therefore examine its basis.

The very first objection that can be raised against these estimates is that all these experts move in a groove of their own making and are unable to take a wide view of any subject. In 1912 Lord Haldane, appointed a committee presided over by one of the most distinguished administrative Generals at the War Office, Lord Nicholson, to enquire into the question whether it was possible to raise a large army in England. This committee came to the definite conclusion that it was not.* Referring to the paucity of officers who were to train and command such an army, Lord Haldane himself wrote :

> Now, before the war it was difficult enough to recruit even so many as the number we then had got, a number totally inadequate for any army larger than the small one we actually put into shape at home. Every source had been tried in my time by the able administrative generals who were working under me at the War Office.....
>
> ... to raise a great corps of officers who have voluntarily selected the career of an officer as an exclusive and absorbing profession has been possible in Germany and France. But it has only become possible there after generations of effort and under pressure of a long-standing tradition, extending from decade to decade, under which a nation, armed for the defence of its land frontiers, has expended money and its spirit in creating such an officer caste. †

Yet during the great war England raised an army of more than six million men and was able to train and officer it. In India too, the man-power situation presents no factors which makes achievements on a similar scale inherently impossible, though of course the foreign rulers of the country might not be able to accomplish them. Why they are unable to do this is due as much to the character of the army which they maintain and require in India as to the results of the deliberate policy followed by them, and this brings us to the second important reason why even apart from policy, the composition of the Army in India should not be taken as a true criterion of India's military potentialities.

As a corollary to their working hypothesis that the man-power resources of India are limited to a score or so of the so-called fighting castes, the British military authorities have always emphasized the view that the resources of even the fighting castes must be very carefully husbanded. Throughout the last fifty years they have often complained about the over-recruitment of this and that class, and any undue demand on any of them, they say, would quickly dry up the sources from which the army is recruited. There can be no doubt that from their particular point of view this note of caution is perfectly justified. Under the present military regime, the so-called fighting races of India show rapid signs of exhaustion when drawn upon to any considerable extent. This was most conspicuously observed during the last war, when the depletion of the traditional sources of recruitment, compelled the Government to adopt a modified territorial system in the place of the class system previously in force and also to turn to classes whose entry into the army they had never encouraged before. But it is a disquieting phenomenon even in peace time. It seems as if the spring of inducements the British authorities can draw upon in order to attract recruits to their army quickly run dry, and operate within very clearly defined limits. And, as if, not all the artificial encouragements and economic facilities which it is within the powers of an almost autocratic Government to bestow can keep the strength of a class at the level at which it entered the army in its early and vigorous days of vogue. Of this phenomenon the decline in the enlistment of the Sikhs is a notable example. The Sikhs who formed by far the most numerous class in the army reorganized by Lord Roberts in 1893 have come down by 1930 to the third place. And what is more this downward trend has not been checked yet.

Army authorities in India attribute this decline to the counter-attraction of industrial vocations to which Sikhs are being drawn away in ever-increasing numbers. This, no doubt, is partly true, for the economic factor which affects all voluntary armies affects to a more or less extent the Indian army also. But at the same time it should be remembered that in India there are a number of communities who devote themselves hereditarily to the profession of arms without much consideration for the economic gains of soldiering. Most of the young recruits taken into the army come of fairly well-to-do yeomen families who do not depend for their livelihood on their income as sepoys. This fact warrants some scepticism with

* Lord Haldane -*Before the War*. p. 174 *ff*.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 172-174.

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regard to the economic explanation of the difficulties of recruiting in India. Nobody will, of course, deny that this factor contributes its share of difficulties, but the real explanation of the state of affairs about which the British authorities complain in India, and for which they lay the blame on the non-martial spirit of the greater majority of the In ian people, is, we believe, to be found in more fundamental places.

The military energy of every nation proceeds, broadly speaking, from two psychological sources, derived from two simple biological instincts—the instinct of pugnacity and the instinct of defence. In origin closely interwoven and complementary to one another, they have, in course of social evolution, each of them, developed a psychological periphery of its own. The purely pugnacious instinct has combined with the spirit of adventure, and the love of physical prowess, sport and fighting for fighting's sake to form the psychological basis of the ideal professional soldier, while the instinct of defence has broadened, f rtified and sublimated itself by bringing within its scope, in addition to the idea of defending one's life and property, the idea of defending personal and national freedom, personal and national individuality, national culture, national religion and nation l honour. To a certain extent, of course, both these group of attributes are to be found intermingled in a more or less varying proportion in every soldier. But generally speaking they go to form two clearly distinguishable types of fighters—the first of which for the sake of expressiveness may be called the 'Condottiere' type, while the second can with equal justice be described as the 'Burgher' type. Though armies of the 'Burgher' type were not wholly absent in those epochs, it may broadly be stated that the standing armies of the modern States down to the eighteenth century were mostly of the 'Condottiere' type. The creation of the first national citizen army was the work of the French Revolution. Threatened by the finest professional armies of Europe, the men '92 and '93 substituted patriotism for professionalism and proclaimed the idea that the defence of the *Patrie* and all that it stood for in the field of cultural, moral and spiritual achievement was the concern of the people. The resu t was an amazing liberation of the latent military energies of the nation and the utter defeat at the hands of indisciplined levies of the army trained by Frederic the Great.* The example of France has since then been followed by almost every country of Europe, and the modern trend is to regard the armies of all States rather as the symbol of the will to live of a nation than as an assemblage of its professional fighting elements.

The question will always be debated whether it is the professional or the national army which offers the best advantages from the point of view of military efficiency.† On purely technical grounds there is perhaps more to be said for professionalism, but when it comes to moral grounds which is after all the highest asset of an army, and the practicability of indefinite expansion, the two principles cannot really be put on the same footing.

The superiority of the national principle

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* See the brilliant exposition of the spirit of the new French army in Sorel's *L'Europe et la Revolution Francaise* : de xième partie, pp. 531-549, from which only a short extract is translated below :

"War became more than a national vocation or a glorious adventure. It urned into a necessity of public safety. Before delivering foreign peoples or converting them, the French nation must save itself. The independence of the nation, the liberty even of the citizens, was at stake. This danger rose above all others, and concerned all Frenchmen....

"Thus it was that from 1791 onwards, the camps were thronged with heroic and impetuous young men. They brought with them a single passion which contained in itself the essence of all political virtues and summed them up : it was patriotism. 'O you all !' cried André Chénier, 'you whose hearts have felt all that is noble and good : you who have a motherland and know what it is to have a motherland ; you who meant what you said when you took a vow to defend her, to whom *to live free or to die* means something ; French citizens ! all of you who have children, wife, parents, brothers, friends for whom and with whom you wish to be victorious, and with whom and for whom you have resolved to die, how long shall we only talk of our liberty and remain slaves of impious factions ? Raise your voice, show yourselves, let the nation appear!' —The nation did, in fact, appear. There never was an occasion when France presented a nobler, prouder or truer image of herself than she did then in her armies. They were the symbol of her national unity, the unity which the monarchy had been building up for centuries."

No wonder that the volunteers who flocked to the standards received the bullets, as Davoût wrote, with cries of "Vive la nation ! Vivent la liberté et l'égalité."

† See the discussion from the French point of view of this question in a paper entitled "Armée nationale ou armée de metier?' by General Debeney, the Chief of the French General Staff, in his book, "Sur la Sécurité Mititaire de la France."

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was demonstrated not only in the victories of the Revolutionary armies of France over the combined armies of England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, but also in the resuscitation of the Prussian military spirit after Jena, by the stubborn resistance of the Spaniards to Napoleon, as well as by the history of the Boer War. This is also proved by the achievements of the German Army during the war. In the Army of the Reich professionalism has always had an honoured place, and it was generally believed that the Prussian element which stood highest from this point of view was the most efficient portion of the German army. Yet, as we have seen, it was not Prussia but Württemberg and Baden which, according to Ludendorff, supplied the invariably good divisions during the war. Commenting on this fact a British military historian profoundly observes :

".....in 1870 these two contingents [that of Württemberg and Baden] had a very small share in the victory, and in earlier times their troops, though figuring in many wars as components of this or that federal army, never won for themselves an outstanding reputation for high quality. On the contrary, these countries were the very home of the old German "Gemütlichkeit" and in the eighteenth century Burke quoted Württemberg as a model of a peacefully and constitutionally governed country.

In reality, two cultural waves, so to say, contributed to make the German Army what it was : first, the tide of Germanic civilization which spread from the upper Rhine and Danube countries N. E. over the mountains and into the great plains of the Slavs, and secondly, the tide of Prussian "objectivity," and efficiency which in the nineteenth century set it in reverse direction, from N. E. to S. W. And it can be said without forcing the facts, that the military quality of Germany was fundamentally soundest at those two moments in history, when, in 1813, the sense of civilization and nationality worked for the first time strongly upon the hard "East Elbians," and when in 1914-15 the spirit of business and duty imposed by these East Elbians upon the peaceful S. W. made their inborn nationalism an effective instead of an ineffective thing.

The study of these currents is, of course, practically the same as the study of German history. But one thing may here be emphasized. No other basic hypothesis than that of continuing national character can account for the fact that these two comfortable South German States were awarded the primacy in military quality by a Prussian Commander-in-Chief. Were it otherwise the quality of the various contingents would simply have been measured by the length of the period during which the respective States had been subjected to the civil and military training of Prussia. Such a criterion has in fact been applied but it proved false even in respect of the active army of the peace-time.*

* Major C. E. Atkinson in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (1922 Supplement) Vol. 30. p. 229.

This is in respect of quality. From the point of view of numbers too the same considerations apply. An army which is not based on the national cultural complex, finds itself forced more and more to depend upon the purely professional and predatory residuum of the nation to replenish its ranks. Now, in a civilized community this residuum is always a small fraction of the entire population and, as the country progresses, even this residuum goes on diminishing till the army is faced with a depletion of its resources which it is beyond its powers to make up. It must then change its whole basis or be ready to face extinction.

These general considerations apply with particular force to India. Just as in Germany the Prussian civil and military training was no criterion of the military quality of the German people, in India too British military and civil training is no criterion of the military potentialities of the Indian people. By the very nature of their requirements, the British military authorities in India are debarred from working upon the most potent springs of the military energies of the Indian people. As Lt.-General H. J. Warre said before the Army Commission of 1879 :

It must always be borne in mind that the Native army in India is purely an army of mercenaries, animated by no feelings of love for British rule, but by religion and by tradition hateful of our presence, and antagonistic to our Government. Natives give only that amount of allegiance we pay for and that amount of service we buy.*

An army of mercenaries is perhaps too harsh a word to apply to the Indian Army of today. But in any case there is no denying that it is not a national army, and that the inducements it can offer appeal only to the professional fighting man. This is not the way to secure the best kind of military service from any people. In the case of India the effects of working solely upon the mercenary and the professional motive is worsened by the fact that Indian militarism is of an essentially non-predatory, defensive type.

As far back as 1820, Sir Thomas Munro wrote that "our native troops unite the character of a standing army with that of a militia."† Commenting on this dictum,

* Appendices to the Report of the Special Commission appointed to inquire into the Organization of the Army. Vol. I p. 179.

* Peel Report : Appendices to the Min. Ev. p. 145.

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Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, wrote in 1858 :

It is to be observed that this is, or at last *was*—the case with all the best native armies that have ever existed. The Mahrattas, the Khalsa of Lahore, and, to this day, Goorkhas of Nepaul are exactly described by these words of Sir Thomas Munro. The effect of losing sight of this normal condition of the native army is, to use Sir Thomas Munro's words ; 'to convert it into a body of mere mercenaries, finding homes and families wherever they may go, and ready to join in any disturbance dangerous to the state.*

This was very truly said. The Indian fighter is at his best when fighting for a cause. The whole history of India is full of instances of inoffensive and quiet tribes turned into fierce warriors by an attack on their religion, liberties or honour. It was the religious persecution of Aurangzib which created three of the most famous fighting communities of India, the Sikhs, the Marathas and the Jats, and also rekindled the martial ardour of the Rajputs. The great Hindu epics of Ramayana and the Mahabharata are both glorifications of righteous war. The Muhammadans of India too, and particularly those of the Punjab who are mostly converted Hindus, share this non-aggressive type of military outlook. In this connection one little fact is worthy of notice. I do not say that it goes very deep but it is perhaps significant. The war-cry of the Sikh is *Fateh Guru* or *Wa Guru.* The Punjabi Musalman goes to the charge crying *Allah, Allah, Allah.* But *bal bal bal bal*, a shout as unmeaning as hurrah, is the war-cry of the Pathan for whom the Englishman professes an enthusiastic admiration, and as everybody knows the Pathan is the least reliable and the most of a freelance of all the Indian fighters.

The significance of these two facts—the purely professional character of the Indian Army of today, and the non-predatory character of Indian militarism—has never been appreciated at anything like its proper value when estimating the military potentialities of India on the basis of the existing conditions. Yet they are perhaps the key to the whole situation. Intelligent Indians find it more and more difficult to enlist in an army in which their highest yearnings for national service are not satisfied. And even the ordinary peasant from whom the army is recruited sees no ostensible object except money for which he should enlist in it. Neither his homestead nor his religion nor his honour is threatened, and he naturally looks upon the military profession as upon any other profession, and when the bond of tradition, which still inclines him to the profession of arms, is loosened, he judges it from the point of view of economic gain alone. The difficulty in the way of recruiting due to this factor was experienced to such a degree during the war that the Delhi War Conference of 1918 passed a resolution calling for special measure to enlighten the people of India as to the essentially patriotic and defensive character of the war. But neither this propaganda nor the talk about the necessity of internal security has deceived the Indian people as to the real character of the army maintained by the British in India. It is to them, as it intrinsically is and was bound to be, an army of pure professionals. Of all the noble and sordid chords in the human heart which respond to the call of war, it touches a very restricted gamut. So long therefore as it remains what it is, and human nature what it is, the vast majority of the Indian people will remain deaf to the appeal to serve in its ranks. For this their foreign rulers will surely brand them with the stamp of inferiority. But for impartial men neither India's honour nor the reputation of her people for courage will be tarnished by so irrelevant a slander.

(*To be concluded*)

* *Ibid.* p. 145.

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The Facilities of Medical Education in Paris

By Dr. B. K. SIDDHANTA, M.B. (*Cal.*), M.D. (Paris)

SUCH is the deep-rooted idea amongst many of us that Paris is a land of enjoyment and nothing more, that many of us do not know or rather never try to know that it is Paris which possesses one of the oldest and finest universities of the world. Only the learned people care to know that the most popular department in this University is undoubtedly the Faculty of Medicine.

The Faculty of Medicine of Paris, is one of the oldest and most renowned in the world. It has seen the birth of men like Pasteur, Claude Bernard, Broca, Charcot, Laennec, Widal and others. Its popularity can be judged by the fact that it alone contains about eight thousand students of which more than sixty-five per cent are foreigners. We shall show before our readers the various reasons for its popularity.

Paris, which is considered as the third greatest city of the world in point of population, and one of the most beautiful cities if not the most beautiful city of the world, possesses thirty big hospitals most of them having more than 1,500 beds. In fact, one hospital "Hôpital Salpetrièrre" is equipped with about 4,000 beds and is one of the biggest in Europe. Now each of these general hospitals has its medical, surgical and maternity department. So that each hospital can be considered like the Calcutta Medical College hospitals taken together. Besides there are two hospitals meant for the diseases of children. Each hospital can provide easily for more than 400 students, so that, in all, the medical faculty can provide places for about 12,000 students. If a student possesses the necessary qualifications to get admission into the faculty, that is to say, if he has passed his Baccalauréat (equivalent to our Intermediate Science or Arts), then he is certain to find a place. So that the question of non-admission into the faculty does not arise at all. We all know that in our Indian universities, this is one of the most difficult problems.

Now we are going to analyse another important problem, *e.g.*, the question of expenditure. A student pays for his tuition fee each trimestre (every three months) 110 francs only, which means, that during the whole year, he pays 440 francs only (about 50 rupees). In the Calcutta University we had to pay about twelve rupees per month as our tuition fee which means 110 francs monthly. Besides, there the examination fee at the year is 150 francs (about 16 rupees) which includes all the examinations at the end of the year. This clearly demonstrates that medical education is cheap and we may venture to say that it is the cheapest in the world.

We all know that the medical education in Great Britain is very expensive. This alone renders the education accessible only to well-to-do people. But France has nicely solved the problem, making this education the most humanitarian, in fact, within the reach of prince and peasant. In this connection I should like to relate an incident which may interest our readers. Some months back I had the occasion to make the acquaintance of an ordinary worker in a Paris café where after his day's work, he was taking a cup of coffee. During the course of the conversation with him I was surprised to know that his son is also a medical practitioner practising somewhere in Algeria. At first I thought that it was nothing but a mere bluff. But he clearly read my surprise on my face. He went on to add that it is no disgrace to continue his former work. His son may not like it, but he cannot live without working which is no disgrace to the prestige of his son. And it is his honest intention to stick to his job so long as his health will permit. Incidentally I may say that during my six years' medical experience in Paris and other parts of the Continent, I have been presented with an opportunity to mix with all sorts of people from the rich to a common sweeper of the street. Everywhere I have found that those who work are always respected and esteemed by others.

Next we shall discuss another important

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item concerning the expenditure of a medical student in Paris. Since the franc has been stabilized the cost of living has gone up from a foreigner's point of view. I remember when one could have 200 francs by changing one pound sterling. Now one gets 123 francs in its stead. So we can well imagine that France is no longer a paradise for a foreigner. The cost of living is not the same as it had been a few years back. In spite of all these, we may say that a medical student spends much less in than any other renowned university in Europe. A student here who is not extravagant can live decently for £12. The same style of living will cost £20 in London and £15 in Berlin. Evidently it goes without saying that those who can afford to spend more, will live more decently. I have come to know many foreign students who manage with only £8. But what I mean to say is that with £12 (about 1500 francs), a foreign student can afford to have a good room in a decent hotel with central heating and hot and cold running water. The room alone costs him about 400 francs. His daily expenses for his meals consisting of morning breakfast, lunch at noon, afternoon tea, and dinner will come to 25 francs—the total expenditure for his nourishment only being above 800 francs. The remaining 300 francs, he will require for his miscellaneous expenses. During my stay in London and Berlin, I have noticed that rent in Paris is comparatively dearer. But the striking fact in Paris is that one can have a decent meal, whether lunch or dinner, with 9 or 10 francs and to have the same thing one will have to spend half a crown (about 15 francs) in London or Berlin. Furthermore, for us Indians, the French cooking rather resembles our cooking. On the contrary the English or German cooking for us can well be said to be no cooking at all, comprising at it does chiefly boiled things.

Any way, this is the rough *tableau* of expenditure when a student in Paris lives in a hotel where as we have seen the room is rather expensive. But there is the University hostel know as *Cité Universitaire* where students of every nationality have their own hostels built by the respective countries. I have met few Indian students who lodge themselves in the *Pavillon Britannique* which is meant for the students coming from the British Empire. Here a student can have a good room at 150 francs. The only drawback is, this place is about a mile and a half from the Faculty of Medicine and moreover there is only a limited number of seats for foreign student's in their respective hostels.

Next, we come to another very important item—how much facility a foreign student can obtain here. We are going to discuss this point in some detail. I was a medical student in the Calcutta University for six years, and then it was my great privilege to have remained in touch with the Medical Faculty in Paris for a period of another six years—two years as a student, and the rest in connection with hospital and clinical work. So I have been given ample opportunities to compare the facilities obtaining in our country and a foreign city like Paris. There is a fundamental difference between the system of education prevailing in France or rather on the Continent, and that prevailing in Great Britain. The latter puts so much stress on theoretical knowledge that a student during his college career is apt to overlook his practical work. To give a concrete example, I may mention that in my final M. B. Examination in Calcutta, when appearing at the oral examination on medicine I was asked by my examiner the signs, symptoms and the treatment of scarlet fever—a disease which I had never seen in Calcutta. But fortunately for me I had read about it to pass the examination. In fact, we were taught many things which we had never seen. Had we not got by heart many scientific theories which have long been exploded, overlooking those which are tenable at present? In fact, we are repeatedly asked all these in our examinations. In France, a student attends his hospital work from the very first year, whereas during our student days in Calcutta, we began to do it from only the fourth year. We had been deprived thereby of three years' of valuable hospital work. In most of the examinations in France, the whole stress is put on the practical and oral—the only exception being Anatomy and Materia Medica, where theoretical knowledge is naturally given the first consideration. In one word, in our country the aim of our examiners is to find out what the student does *not* know, and in France, what the student *does* know. Our examiners fail to note that a medical student even when appearing for his final, does not know many things which

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he is sure to learn during his medical career later on. In fact, every conscientious medical man is bound to admit, that in every day's experience he always learns something new which cannot be learnt from our text-books.

Another great difference which we notice on the whole Continent and not in France alone, is the way in which a student is taught to take an interest in his daily work—the system of compulsion being totally absent there. How they create this interest is a thing worth noticing. We all know that a novel is interesting so long as it is read as a novel, but the day it is prescribed as a text-book the whole charm is gone, and nobody cares to read and finds the same interest in it as when it had not been a text-book. The reason is simple—the system of compulsion kills the whole interest. The same thing applies to the system of medical education. A case is always interesting to follow when it is put and explained before the student in a really interesting way, as the grand-mother relates a story to her grand-children. For example, it is the custom of Paris hospitals, when a new and interesting case comes to the ward, for the student on duty to be asked to examine the case and write short notes on what he thinks about it. Next day when the professor in charge visits the ward the student reads his observations and his diagnosis. Now comes the turn of the professor to examine the case. Then he puts a few questions to the student to justify his diagnoses. Next the house physician puts the case before everybody with the finer points and details which a student is apt to overlook. After him the chief house physician explains in his own way and expresses his own opinion. The professor in charge after having heard all these views, begins to sum up the case and finally gives his own diagnoses in such an interesting way that a student can only manage to forget it with difficulty. Thus the case is vividly implanted in the mind of the students who listen to the different views several times from the student in charge to the professor, and most of them do not require to study their text-book to know anything more about their case—the notes of the teachers alone suffice.

One thing cannot escape unnoticed, especially by foreigners and that is how a foreigner gets the same opportunities and facilities as their French colleagues enjoy. A coloured man shares the same privileges as the whites. Do we enjoy the same even in our own country, not to speak of England? To give a concrete example, I may add that the other day I had a painful experience when visiting the Lahore Medical College Hospitals. A senior medical student was accompanying me. I was shown every department excepting the European general ward where the Indians are not allowed to enter simply because the pigmentation of their skin is not the same as that of their European brethren. Such a thing actually exists in *my country*, but it does not exist in a land which is not my own *e.g.* France. Those who have visited the different countries in Europe will share my opinion when I say that France is the only country which has solved the colour problem completely—no distinction exists between black and white. Our hats are off to a nation who can foster such brotherly feeling amongst all of us and who really preaches and practises the doctrine of *Egalite, Liberte*, and *Fraternite*. We think that the time has come when we should try to think and realize that in a profession like ours, the charm of high-sounding British degrees must go. What we need in our profession is really good training combined with modern knowledge, forgetting the country where one has received his education, be it France, or Germany or England or America. Our friends should know that outside Great Britain there are countries where we get better facilities than we do actually find anywhere on the English soil. We have always heard from our infancy that whatever is British is best. After having seen much of France, and a little of Germany, I should put it in this way: whatever is British is *not* necessarily the best. It may be good, but there are others which are equally good, if not far better.

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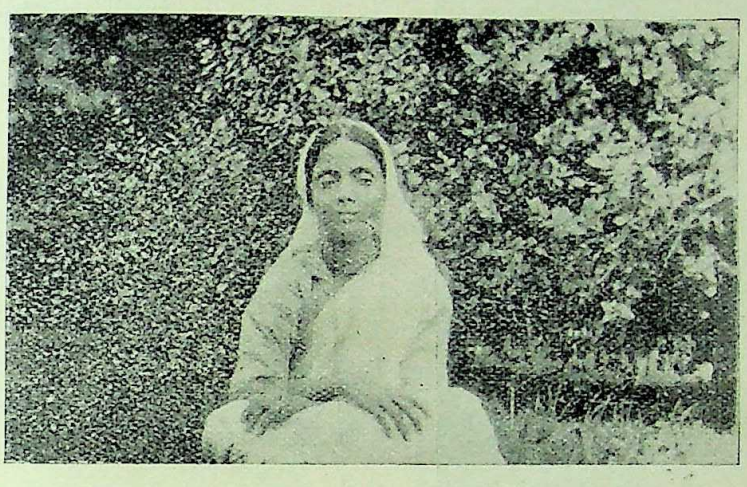
INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Ladies who have suffered for *Satyagraha*



Srimati Nandarani Dhar

Srimati Subarnabala Sen

Srimati Shovana Ray

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Srimati Kundarani Sinha

Srimati Chhaya Devi

Srimati Nirjharini Sarkar

Srimati Ila Sen

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[*Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.*—Editor, *M. R.*]

ENGLISH

BEGINNINGS OF SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND. *Cromwell and Communism, Socialism and Democracy in the Great English Revolution by Edward Bernstein, translated by H. J. Stenning. Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1930, pages 287, Price 10sh. 6d. net.*

Germans are generally considered to be thorough in all their undertakings, and the author of this book can rightly claim for himself thoroughness in his investigations. The importance of the Cromwellian era in British history cannot be exaggerated. Mr. Bernstein shows clearly and convincingly that the foundation of future social and political developments in the British Isles were well and truly laid during the Cromwellian era. The Chartist movement of the last century, the successor of which in modern times is the Labour Party, is a direct offshoot of the Levellers. "The Chartists are throughout the heirs of the Levellers, Their People's Charter, although demanding adult suffrage in response to the higher level of economic development, is in no other respect more advanced than the "Agreement of the People" of the Levellers, which Carlyle ridiculed as a premature "Bentham—Siezes—Constitution," but which its author, John Lilburne, was justified in describing as the legal foundation of popular freedom. And just as the Chartists issued from the Levellers, so the great English Utopist of the nineteenth century, Robert Owen, is in direct line from the "True Levellers."

The fascination that this book has for us is mainly due to the fact that the author does not move in the realm of abstractions. He studies in minute detail the part played in the movements of the time by outstanding personalities. John Lilburne, Winstanley, the leader of the "Digger Movement" and John Bellers are some of the personalities whose life and work is studied in detail.

John Stuart Mill assures us in his book on *Representative Government* that a country or people must possess certain essential characteristics in order to be fit to make representative institutions a success. "The first is that the rights and interests of every or any person are only secure from being disregarded, when the person interested is himself able, and habitually disposed, to stand up for them." And again he writes: "It is an inherent condition of human affairs, that no intention, however sincere, of protecting the interests of others, can make it safe or salutary to tie up their own hands." This determination on the part of the people to "stand up" for their own interests is not a natural endowment. It has to be fought for and won. Reading this book carefully, we see the various steps in the political consciousness of the British people. The very first stage towards democracy in a country just coming out of the control of the Aristocrats was to secure guarantees against abuses. The Levellers were not unnaturally suspicious of the "gentlemen" and they would not place themselves, even provisionally, in their hands without guarantees. This could be said to be the first "stand up" of the common people against the privileged positions of a particular class.

The victory was not however won in a day, nor ever in a century. It took several centuries of unremitting struggle before a new conceptio of the State and of its functions was firmly rooted and stablized in England. The State as an organ of the community, had to struggle to drive out th State as a tool of a dynasty or the instrument of a dominant aristocracy.

The book should be read by all, specially in India, who wish to study the pangs of a new birth. The only criticism we have to make is that we do not understand why the title of the book should be what it is.

P. G. BRIDGE

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INTRODUCTION TO CERAMIC INDUSTRIES: *By Hirendra Nath Bose, M. Sc., Asst. Professor of Industrial Chemistry, Benares Hindu University. Price Rs. 4. R. P. Mitra & Son, 63, Beadon Street, Calcutta.*

This book treats of the ceramic industries from a theoretical and practical point of view and will be useful not only to students for whom it is mainly intended, but also to business men interested in the subject. It contains many practical hints and formulas which will be helpful to manufacturers. An important feature is the appendix which contains short notes on raw materials occurring in various parts of India and other useful data.

In writing a book of this kind for beginners, it is safest to assume that the reader has no more than a vague idea of the subject dealt with. Technical terms and craftsmen's slang when used for the first time, ought to be explained. In this book the author has introduced many such terms without giving their meaning. Words such as 'stanniferous earthenware' (p. 2), 'slip' (p. 3),

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'threw his own ware' (p. 3), 'boiling of gypsum' (p. 61), are likely to mystify the beginner.

SUCCESS IN BUSINESS OR PRACTICAL BUSINESS HINTS. *By A. C. Ghose, M. A. S., M. R. A. S., with a foreword by Sir R. N. Mookerjee, Kt., K. C. I. E., K. C. V. O. Price Re 1-8. S. Ghose, 17, Justice Chandra Madhab Road, Calcutta.*

This book will prove very useful to persons seeking a business career and even those already in business. Success in ousiness in mainly a matter of experience and personal aptitude, and theoretical knowledge alone is of little value. Still there are principles common to business of every kind, and it is advantageous to learn these from books. A wide awake person may build up a thriving business without bothering much about system, but such an undertaking very often comes to grief when it grows beyond small limits and seldom survives the lifetime of the founders. Mr. Ghose's little book deals with fundamental principles and will help the inexperienced in acquiring clear ideas and methodical habits which are indispensable for the healthy growth of all business.

INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION OF INDIA IN RECENT TIMES: *By D. R. Gadgil, M. A., M. Litt. (Cantab.), Principal, Maganlal Thakordas Balmukunddas College, Surat. Oxford University Press. Second Revised Edition. Price Rs. 4-8.*

An instructive sketch of the economic history of India from the fifties of the last century to the present period. Mr. Gadgil has dealt with various subjects such as agriculture, handicrafts, plantation, factories, transport, irrigation etc., and has shown how the changing conditions of all these have interacted and brought about a profound transformation of the economic situation. According to the author, the 'only dramatic event in this economic transition is, perhaps, the decline of the old handicrafts. The collapse of these was indeed sudden and complete.' He points out 'the necessity of a greater impetus to the growth of industries for relieving the pressure on land,' but continues pessimistically—'the future is not so rosy as one would like to believe. No big industries requiring complicated machinery or a thorough use of by-products are likely to spring up. The chief direction of the progress will be that of the accessory industries and industries chiefly connected with agricultural operations, or with the further working up of raw agricultural produce grown in the country.' The author is chary of criticizing Government, but discloses the policy of our rulers by quoting the words of Sir George Birdwood: 'The rapid decay of the manufactures of India invests with the highest importance every attempt to increase the number of its exchangeable products.... Our best efforts, therefore, must be directed to counterbalance the decline in manufactures by a proportionate development of the agricultural wealth of the country; new raw exchangeable products must supply the place of each manufacture, as it in succession fails, if the prosperity of India is to be sustained under the circumstances of her dependent and intimate intercourse with western civilization.' This was written in 1871-72, and since then no substantial change has taken place in the attitude of the Government. Large industries are not for India—only agriculture *ad nauseum*, so long as her 'dependent and intimate intercourse' with Britain continues. Government's policy, so far as the development of industries is concerned, is, at best, *laissez faire*.

The book is highly interesting and gives in a nutshell a lucid review of the industrial evolution of India.

R. B.

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PLEASURES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE PEN: *By N. C. Kelkar, Editor the Kesari, and formerly Editor, the Mahratta. Price Rs. 5 Pp. 556.*

Mr. Kelkar is well known as a journalist and this big volume, consisting of extracts from his speeches and writings, distributed over many years shows that he is a widely read man with liberal and cosmopolitan sympathies, condensed into a volume of one-tenth its size, it would contain all that in these writings deserve preservation for the time being. Considering the voluminous nature of the articles and speeches reproduced, an index would have helped the busy critic materially. For Mr. Kelkar as a publicist we have the highest regard, but we are sorry we cannot admit the soundness of his principle of claiming privileges from the Republic of Letters when weilding the pen mainly for his own pleasure.

POLITICUS

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COLERIDGE AS PHILOSOPHER: *By John H. Muirhead, M. A., Lt. D., Emeritus Professor of Philosophy in the University of Birmingham. Published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Price 12-6 net.*

The book may claim a twofold significance: On the one hand it adds to all the wealth of contribution regarding a personality, known to the world chiefly as a poet. The aspects of his mind, hitherto little known, have been laboriously and systematically revealed so as to afford a deeper and fuller insight into so great, yet so enigmatical, a personality. Pieced together as the book is from fragmentary efforts of Coleridge, it presents a whole view of his philosophy with its manifold richness.

On the other hand, a considerable amount of light is thrown on the almost obscure evolution of philosophical speculation during the eighteenth and earliers nineteenth centuries in Great Britain. In this book, Prof. Muirhead has woven together one of the missing chapters of the history of the growth of British Idealism.

D. S.

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MAHATMA GANDHI: *The Man and his Mission, G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras, Re. 1 only.*

To understand the man is to know the movement,—yet like another man of twenty thousand years ago Mahatma Gandhi is little understood. The Britishers are not yet sure if he is a charlatan, a child, an idiot or an 'oriental' fanatic. His countrymen, a good bulk of them, are certain that he is not a man but a god and so should be worshipped but need not be followed. The intellectuals among Indians know that he is not one of them, and the patriots find him unpractical and dogmatic. His own followers are mostly busy with the externals of his life and are not ready to know him deeper. Yet, he has fired the imagination of them all and inspired more men than any other of the age to heroic actions of suffering and self-

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denial. Not a miracle-worker, still he has worked miracles, however short these might fall of his own ideal. It is necessary, therefore, to know the man in order to understand the movement he has created. Messrs. Natesan's volume which is deservedly running through its eighth edition is fitted to serve the purpose eminently. It is cheap as it ought to be, and brings the story of Mahatmaji's life up-to-date—till the break up of the Peace (or Surrender ?) Negotiations on October 15, last. The appreciations like those of Messrs. Sastri, Andrews and others are also helpful, and this clear and succient account of the man and his mission can be recommended to all people.

GOPAL HALDAR

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(1) A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIAN MATERIALISM, SENTIMENTALISM AND HEDONISM: *By Daksinaranjan Shastri. With a foreword by Dr. Aditya Nath Mukherjee. Published by the Book Company, Ltd., College Square, Calcutta.*

(2) CHARVAKA-SHASHTI (INDIAN MATERIALISM): *Foreworded by Bhagavat Kumar Shastri. Edited by Daksinaranjan Shastri. Published by the Book Company, Ltd., College Square, Calcutta.*

Such works, as are under notice, mark a distinct phase in the evolution of Indian thought and culture. Nowhere, as in India, the fact is strikingly manifest that the intermingling of varied influences, religious and secular, and their constant reciprocity, lead to the result of freedom of thought and help in the advancement of the conditions of culture and growth of mind. The pioneers and the exponents of the Charvaka school revolted against the methods of orthodox philosophy and the accepted doctrines of the traditional religion. The authority of the Vedas finds no place in their thought and the magic rites prescribed by the hierarchical ceremonialism are to them absurd and ridiculous. Their is no dreamy consciousness of the external world. They feel and accept its realities as substantial and permanent, evoking sensations and perceptions which are none the less real. It was a sign of health and vigour in the world of thought in ancient India that such a remarkable heterodoxy could be propounded in the teeth of Brahminical orthodoxy and hierarchical fraud. The youthful hedonism of the new school asserted itself certainly with some degree of success against the austerities, penance and magical rites of an effete and absurd religion.

The lucid exposition of the doctrines of this hedonistic heterodoxy in the publications under notice has much to recommend itself to the attention of the reading public. The *History* gives us in brief but bold outline the evolution of this particular phase of Indian thought from the earliest times to the present day. The author traces hedonistic ideas and conceptions among the early Vedic *suktas* and follows their development through successive ages of Indian culture and civilization. Opinions will differ with regard to the conclusions and inferences drawn from data which are of doubtful authenticity, or about treatment of certain controversial points as grounds of further inferences, but the facts have been put together very lucidly and reader can form his own opinion about points which may not appear to him sufficiently and conclusively dealt with. There are, in fact, certain points about which we cannot endorse all that the author says, and in the marshalling of data one who is accustomed to sift evidence in accordance with the strict scientific method would feel at times that that mode of reasoning which alone could enhance the worth of all deductions and inferences is somewhat lacking in the process adopted by the author. The unique character of the work and the lucidity of exposition of the subject matter are however the great assets, on which this literary execution will count, and for which it will have a permanent claim upon the indulgence of the readers who find an abiding interest in the study of the evolution of Indian thought.

The *Charvaka-Shashti* compromises a collection of the tenets, doctrines and aphorisms of the Indian materialistic school of thought. These tenets are not to be had collected together in an authoritative compendium by one of the early exponents of the school. Probably there was one which came by its suppression in the hands of advocates of gnostic esoterism. The aphorisms therefore had to be collected and put together in a manual and it involved an amount of labour and an accurate judgment of a well-balanced and a critical mind, which certainly would find an all-round appreciation. The collection is prefaced by a learned discourse from the pen of a well-known scholar and the compiler himself also adds a preliminary study on the subject of the Charvaka school of thought. These are hoped to be of great help for understanding in the right spirit the materialistic phase of the Indian mode of thinking.

It is extremely gratifying to see that a long-felt want has at last been removed by the publication of this compendium of the *Lokayatika sutras* and a lucid exposition of the doctrines of the Indian hedonists and materialists.

S. KUMAR

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BENGALI

SATANARI: *An Anthology of the poems of Karunanidhan Bandyopadhyaya. Bagchi and Sons: Calcutta. 1930.*

Mr. Karunanidhan Banerji is one of the most distinguisbed Bengali poets of the generation that has followed immediately in the wake of Rabindranath—a fact in itself suggesting the partial eclipse of many a well-deserved reputation, and Mr. Banerji has not been insistent about his claims at all. A group of friends has at last pursuaded him to bring out an anthology of his poems which, we believe, will be welcomed by all lovers of Bengali poetry and reveal to the general public a rare and delicate poetic genius.

Mr. Banerji's strength lies above all in his spontaneous lyricism, and in his evocations of the scenes and sentiments of Bengali life at their purest. One could not imagine his poems existing apart from leafy greenness of his village home. It is the keynote of the very first, as well as the last, poems of this anthology. And where they do not describe actual scenes of Bengali life, they describe the big outer world as it can only be seen through the eyes of a Bengali.

This will perhaps condemn Mr. Banerji in the eyes of many as a parochial writer. But in poetry

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as in all kinds of imaginative writing parochialism is a guarantee of the validity of the inspiration.

In addition to being one of the most faithful transcribers of Bengali life, Mr. Banerji is also the creator of some of the most beautiful verse in the not negligible repertory of first-rate Bengali poetry. He is a consummate artist in words and an almost magical manipulator of metre and rhyme. No translation can do justice to it, and we shall not make even a short citation in the original because that will be an in justice to the passages that we cannot quote.

Last of all a word of recognition is owing to the publishers who have put into our hands a very tasteful piece of book-production which adds to our enjoyment of Mr. Banerji's poetry.

N. C. C.

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UDYANLATA (THE GARDEN CREEPER): *By Santa Devi and Sita Devi. Second Edition. Prabashi Press, Calcutta. Price Rs. 1-8.*

This Bengali novel has now been made familiar to readers all over India by the English translation which is being published serially in the pages of this *Review*. The fact that it has run through its first edition shows that it has become deservedly popular in its mother tongue. The clash of the old with the new, both in the outer and the inner environments of young Bengal, is the theme of the novel. The result is a broader outlook, a mightier effort at achievement, if not a more pleasurable and contented existence. Indeed, in straining after a higher plane of social and national life, happiness is hardly a condition of success. A more elevated pain, none the less poignant because it rises above the sorrows of our everyday life, is the lot of the pioneer who would assimilate the good in the new without giving up the best in the old. None among our vernacular writers are better fitted than these two gifted daughters of the editor of this magazine to depict the best side of the inner life of Hindu women not only in towns and boarding schools of which they have personal knowledge, but also in the villages. The atmosphere of calm resignation and quiet content in which they live, move and have their being, their deep self-controlled instincts, side by side with the pernicious effects of evil social custms and want of education, have all been painted with a sureness of touch which a mere man could hardly claim. Life in the villages, more or less vegetative in character, is being rudely disturbed by feminine inroads from schools and colleges, undreamt of by our mothers and grandmothers. Like the late Mr. Montagu, in this disturbance of their placid contentment or resignation we see new signs of progress, which will be all the more quickened by Mr. Sarda's Marriage Act. That matrimony will always be considered to be as necessary for the educated woman as it is for the educated man will appear from what the authors say here and there in describing life in the boarding schools. The fear of those who think that education will make women fight shy of the only form of natural union between the sexes which holds society together and preserves and perpetuates the species seems to have little chance of materializing among a people whose traditions and instincts on the subject are so thoroughly sound and wholesome on the whole, especially in the more spiritually minded of the two sexes. A quiet humour runs through the entire story, as in describing Siveswar's obsession for reforms which makes him absurdly intolerant of trifles savouring of the old order. The style is piquant throughout, and has a gracefulness and charm all its own. The get up is absolutely first-rate, and does honour to the Prabashi Press. Its cheap price is not the least of its attractions. In these days when our Bengali literature is flooded with productions by writers, not wanting in ability, but reeking of sex and betraying a morbid and degenerate mentality, a story of this type, which all may read with profit and entertainment, written without any avowed moral purpose but albeit serving the cause of social reform, is refreshingly welcome, and the joint authors are to be congratulated on their success, and we are sure that the book will occupy a permanent niche in our literature of fiction.

POLITICUS

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MARATHI

RECORDS OF THE PESHWAS' DAFTAR, *No 2. Panipat Prakaran, 1747-1761; pp. iv+174, with one map and a page of facsimile of handwriting. Rs. 2-3 as. (Govt. Central Press, Bombay.)*

The Bombay Government has earned our thanks by bringing out so promptly a second volume of the historical records preserved in the Peshwas' Daftar (Puna), and our gratitude and delight are heightened by the fact that this volume of 150 papers deals with the all-absorbing subject of "Panipat's fatal field" and the course of events leading up to it. For, the practised eye of the veteran historian, Mr. G. S. Sardesai, who is editing the present series, has never lost sight of the fact that that battle was only the culminating point of a long course of diplomatic and military measures, and cannot be properly understood except in its setting. As he remarks in his introduction: "Rightly observed from a true historical perspective, it appears as the result not of a day or a month, but as the legitimate consequence of the aggressive policy deliberately launched by the first Peshwa and strenuously pursued by his two eminent successors." Hence this series begins in 1747.

Most of the records are letters from the Peshwas' agents at Delhi or the Rajput States and other important Maratha officials, giving information of the inner working of these Courts and the secret springs of events of which only the outer form is known to readers of history. We can trace with their help the course of Maratha diplomacy and the complicated and daily-changing problems that this Government seated in the Deccan had to face in far-off Northern India. We are forced to realize that such a far-flung paramountcy,—not to speak of actual imperial rule—was impossible to maintain with the then resources of the Maratha State and of Indian civilization, and that the splitting up of the Maratha Power into four practically independent dynasties (Sindhia, Holkar, Nagpur, and Gaekwad) during the years immediately following Panipat was a geographical necessity.

There are different ways of editing records, but the worst of them is the one followed by Rajwade.

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who wrote introductions longer than the total body of the records they introduced, and ranged over every conceivable and inconceivable subject in utter forgetfulness of relevancy. Some other Indian editors overwhelm the reader with notes and glosses which may make a parade of his learning but would bore an intelligent school-boy. A big and complete series of records may well be prefaced by a fairly long dissertation collecting the "plums" from the documents and commenting on their bearing upon the history of the subject as known before. Such an introduction really forms an original historical essay, and we may cite as its latest example the letters of George III edited by Fortescue. But such an essay only forms the dome that crowns the completed edifice, and that stage is far from being reached by the Peshwas' Daftar records whose publication is now at the initial stage. All that the reader requires at this initial stage—and nothing more ambitious—has been supplied in the concise summary (with occasional elucidation) appended to each letter and the four-page introduction,—both in English—the latter being a model of terseness and pithy condensation. This decision of the editorial board is wise and helpful. It should not also be forgotten that the Peshwas' Daftar does not contain the entire body of Marathi official records or State-papers properly so-called relating to Panipat, but that many important despatches and letters on this battle and the events leading up to it are scattered over other collections and have been printed elsewhere. A learned dessertation can appropriately introduce only a *complete* corpus of these documents, which is not what the Bombay Government Press aims at offering to the world at present, but for which it is supplying some materials.

JADUNATH SARKAR

—

GUJARATI

VIR SHAHU : *By Ambelal Naranji Joshi, B. A. Published by Jivanlal Amarshi Mehta, Ahmedabad Thick Paper Cover pp. 16-40. Price 6 as. 1930.*

This is a three act play, and is based on Miss Robinson's "Under Sentence." It refers to an incident in Maratha-Mogul history, and portrays this fraudulent abduction of minor Shivaji, the son of Shambhuji, at the hands of Aurangzib's myrmidons. The child was called Shahu, and although the Emperor wanted to convert him forcibly, he deissted from doing so at the intervention of his daughter Princess Zinot-un-nisa who had conceived a regard for this child. The child in his turn tells some home truths to the Emperor, which makes him thoroughly repentant. This in short is the plot. The story is well told: we call it a story, as, though cast in the form of dialogues, a necessary requirement of a drama, there is very little to distinguish it from a narrative except the form. The short preface, however, is a very good attempt to review in brief, the several branches of Gujarati literature, the their present state. For the first attempt of a beginner Mr. Joshi has done well.

PRAFULL : *By the late Gatulal Barfivala, printed at the Ganderi Press, Surat, thick paper cover, pp. 191. Price as. 8. 1930*

The name of late Babu Girish Chandra Ghosh is well-known to the theatre world of Bengal. He wrote a play bearing the above name, on a social subject, which was translated into Hindi, from which the book under notice is translated Mr. Gatulal Barfivala, who died young was a great reader. In the course of his reading he came across this play, which he liked so much, that he wanted his Gujarati knowing friends to read it, and hence this translation. The play is full of animating and animated scenes, witnessed often in a Hindu's social life and has done well on the stage in Bengal. The translation is done in simple, almost homely language and hence interests its readers, as the flow is even and does not tax his brain for making an effort to understand difficult words.

K. M. J.

FINANCE AND INSURANCE

How the Trustees Keep their Trust

Nearly two months ago the Calcutta Port Trust authorities went in for a loan of Rs. 60 lakhs, and curiously enough the Indian money market was kept scrupulously in the dark about the intentions of the Trustees. While financiers in India were seriously on the look out for some avenues along which their surplus funds, now lying idle on account of the depression, could be safely permitted to flow, they were surprised to know that behind their backs and without having given them any opportunity whatsoever to make their offers the whole amount of the loan was secretly arranged for through an obscure British underwriter. The Indian Merchants' Chamber made enquiries about the circumstances under which the loan was floated and the reasons for not permitting Indian capital to have free access to the port of Calcutta. All these enquiries have been summarily dismissed. It is understood that on a former occasion a premier Indian Bank had come forward with a view to underwrite a certain loan of the Calcutta Port Trust. The Trustees then refused the offer on the plea that they did not desire to go into one single hand and would

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prefer to have the holders distributed as much as possible. This time, however, dame memory deserted our Trustees and not only was the loan permitted to be underwritten by one British party, but for a long time thereafter there was no indication that any part of the loan would be made open to Indian investors. One wonders for whose interest these Trusts are administered. Do the authorities seek inspiration from their masters,—the British Trustees for India, who are sorely afflicted with the "White man's burden?" The public have a right to know.

Indian Trade Prospects

Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, Indian Trade Commissioner in London, has made a valuable study of Indian trade prospects in course of his report on the work of his department for two years ending March, 1930. The real cause of the trade depression, says Mr. Lindsay, appears to be lack of co-ordination between the producing and consuming markets, and particularly between the agricultural industry and other great industries which consume agricultural products.

Speaking in London a little more than eighteen months ago Mr. Lindsay observed that one of the main reasons for post-war price fluctuations in raw materials and agricultural produce was the exhaustion during the war years of the fund or stock to and from which traders collected the products and distributed them. It was thereafter stated that with the accumulation of stock, prices would become steady and trade would improve. The courses of post-war industrial and financial movement have however falsified Mr. Lindsay's expectations.

But apart from prophesies Mr. Lindsay draws in his report special attention to one or two modern tendencies, which are likely to influence India's export trade. These may be summarized as follows:

(1) There is a tendency towards the formation of big purchasing units in foreign countries, either through powerful co-operative organizations or through voluntary and involuntary combinations of the nature of trusts and syndicates. A necessary consequence of this is the strangulation of the produce market particularly where it is not organized enough to meet the pressure of the big purchasers.

(2) The gap which is allowed to occur between wholesale and retail prices of many commodities. Mr. Lindsay suggests that "from the point of view of India and other countries producing wholesale goods in popular retail demand in Europe and America, it is desirable that the public should get all the possible advantage from any fall of wholesale prices, for by this means and by this means alone can demand for such goods be ultimately stabilized on wide and sound levels. Retail prices bolstered up by the extensive advertising do not provide the same guarantee of sound future business as is provided by reductions of price and the consumption which normally follows."

(3) A wide disparity exists in many markets between the prices offered for superior and inferior grades of the same commodity, and this disparity may also apply to different articles competing with each other as alternative raw materials for the same industry.

(4) While standardization is so much the order of the day, there are some lines of trade, particularly those that cater to personal tastes and artistic senses, in which standardization may defeat its own objects. Indian traders will do well to keep these tendencies in mind and if they desire to improve their exports to Europe and America steps should be taken to turn these tendencies to India's advantage.

Work and Resources of the Calcutta Municipality

In the anniversary number of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* Srijut Ramananda Chatterjee draws pointed attention to the responsibilities of our city fathers when he observes that although in area Calcutta and its suburbs cannot bear comparison with even the smallest provinces and States of India or with the smallest independent countries of the world, it can very well stand comparison with them both in population as well as in resources. The population of Calcutta as compared with that of the smaller Indian provinces and the big Indian States, as also of some of the smaller independent countries of the world is given below:

Calcutta	1,142,246
Ajmer-Merwar	495,271
Baluchistan	420,648
Delhi	488,188
Indore	1,151,598
Patiala	1,499,739
Jodhpur	1,841,642
Bikaner	659,685
Udaipur	1,380,063

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Jaipur	2,636,647
Albania	1,000,000
Estonia	1,116,000
Latvia	2,000,000
Lithuania	2,000,000
Bhutan	250,000
Nejd and Hedjaz	1,000,000
Nicaragua	640,000
Paraguay	700,000

The officials of the Corporation of Calcutta are thus entrusted with duties comparable with those of many Kings, Princes and Presidents of Republics and Members of the legislature and executives of many independent States. The welfare of a pretty large number of men depends on them for its promotion, and it is incumbent on them that they should be inspired with a proper sense of duty.

The pecuniary resources of the Calcutta Corporation, again, compare very favourably with those of some Indian provinces, many Indian States, and also of several small independent countries. These are shown below :

	Year	Revenue
Calcutta	1926-27	2,63,14,432
Assam	"	2,55,77,000
Baroda	1927-28	2,62,00,000
Indore	1928-29	1,24,00,000
Gwalior	"	2,14,00,000
Patiala	1927-28	1,28,50,000
Jodhpur	"	1,36,40,000
Bikaner	"	94,20,000
Albania	1928-29	1,80,00,000
Costa Rica	1927	2,00,00,000
Honduras	1926-27	1,40,00,000
Paraguay	"	1,30,00,000

Thus, in fact, Calcutta has an income which is equal to and greater than that of some small independent kingdoms, most Indian States, and some British Indian provinces. At the same time the Calcutta Municipality has not got to maintain an army, which independent countries and most of the Indian States have got to do. Nor is it required to spend money on irrigation, agriculture, higher general and vocational education, the culture and preservation of forests, geological and other surveys, construction and maintenance of railways, management of posts and telegraphs, etc.

It appears then that the financial resources of the Corporation of Calcutta are by no means woefully insufficient for the services it has got to render. The affairs of the Municipality are certainly better managed now than when Englishmen ruled the roost here, but perhaps there still remains room for improvements.

Position of Indians in the Trade of Calcutta

Mr. M. P. Gandhi, Secretary, Indian Chamber of Commerce, writes in one of the local contemporaries that it has been estimated that the share of Indians in the foreign trade is roughly about 15 per cent, *i. e.*, out of the total value of our foreign trade, which is roughly about Rs. 600 crores per annum, the share of Indians comes to about Rs. 90 crores only. This is an estimate for the whole of India. It is all too well known that the share of Indians in inland as well as foreign trade in Bombay and Karachi is far greater than in Calcutta, where Britishers command almost monopolistic control over the handling of many commodities, like tea, jute manufactures etc. The percentage of external trade in Indian hands in Calcutta must therefore be very much below the All-India average of 15 per cent. As a consequence the economic as well as the political life in Bengal appear to be in a deplorable state of dependence on the Britishers.

The chief reason for this state of affairs is the absence of Indian Exchange Banks or any other institutions in the financing of foreign trade. It is a matter of great regret, if not of indignation, that the Exchange Banks operating at Calcatta and other Indian ports receive large deposits from the public in India, and yet these foreign British controlled banks permit practically no facilities to Indian traders. These banks have virtually monopolized the financing of our external trade, and through them Great Britain tightens her grips in directions more than one. The apathetic attitude of these Exchange Banks towards Indian business men is also reponsible for the creation of many difficulties in their way specially in connection with suitable bank references, opening of credit when importers obtain goods for non-British sources, negotiation of shipping documents, etc.

The only hope for the future lies in the starting of foreign exchange business by big Indian Banks. This will require for a period some sort of protection or impetus to work either through any legislative demand circumscribing the work of foreign Exchange Banks, or a determined action on the part of Indian business men in withdrawing their co-operation

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from foreign banking, commercial and insurance houses.

Rural Uplift in India

Sir Daniel Hamilton, on his return from England a few weeks ago, has again been devoting himself to his favourite scheme of uplifting our villages through organized co-operative credit arrangements. We do not see eye-to-eye with Sir Daniel in his rather too optimistic estimates and in his pet proposal for obtaining the nacessary capital supply. Our study of orthodox political economy prevents us from being enthusiastic about his suggestion. And yet we sympathize with him in his honest efforts and we ask our countrymen to give him necessary support. For, out of the many thousand Britishers that feed fat on the resources of India there are but few that, like Sir Daniel, not only feel that they have some duty to "the patient, humble and silent millions in India," but actually try to make practical experiments. We are told that Sir Daniel has successfully demonstrated how happy our villages can be made, through the spread of co-operative efforts in certain parts of his zemindary at Gosaba. The landlords of Bengal, at any rate, would do well to visit the place and have inspiration from Sir Daniel, both in the interest of themselves as well as in that of their ryots.

Sir Daniel's scheme of financing the work for rural uplift in India may be summarized as follows :

"There are £40,000,000 of gold securities belonging to our Gold Standard Reserve, which can be sold in London, and the gold proceeds demanded from the Bank of England. Let the Government of India demand this gold now, to strengthen India's gold base. Acting on the most up-to-date banking practice, she can turn this gold into eight times that amount of credit, and use it for the development of the country. All that India has received for the £40,000,000 of gold are British Government and Dominion Government 5 per cent paper securities. India's Provincial Government securities, or the securities of the All-India Co-operative Credit Corporation, would be of far more value. For, in addition to the five per cent, which they would yield to the Government of India, they would, if invested in irrigation canals or Bengal drainage works, or the financing of agriculture, yield one hundred per cent in crops. This is how it would work out : Provincial Government or All-India Co-operative Corporation 5 per cent securities, £40,000,000, multiplied eight times :

£ 320,000,000—5 per cent on which is	16,000,000
Add one hundred per cent of crops	320,000,000
	336,000,000

As against this probable gain we get to-day only about say 5 per cent on our £ 40,000,000 from British and Dominion Government securities, yielding therefrom only £2,000,000. Thus the *annual loss to India* by investing her Gold Standard Reserve in British Government and Dominion Government securities is £ 334,000,000.

It is to be wondered at explains Sir Daniel from the above study, that India is poor, or that Lord Linlithgow's Royal Agricultural Commission has been impressed with the poor physical condition of the agricultural worker ?

Sir Daniel Hamilton's programme of work consists in the following :

Finance being the chief immediate need of the rural population, and co-operative credit being the only possible method of financing India's huge agricultural population, the co-operative departments of the Provincial Governments should be enlarged to cover all India as soon as possible. Large training institutions should be established in every province to train up an additional body of fifty thousand men that will be wanted ultimately for the purpose.

Rupees sixty per head or Rs. six lakhs altogether will be required immediately for providing accommodation for 10,000 workers in the rural areas, while under training. The fees payable by the students would provide the salaries of the training staff, and the students would provide their own food.

One year's hard training should enable educated young men to take up the work of organizing the villages co-operatively, and their practical work in the villages will soon complete their training.

The money required for these training institutions would be lent, preferably free of interest, to the Provincial Governments by the Government of India, and would be refunded by the Provincial Governments in, say, 25 years. These local Governments

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would in turn recover the loans from the people through the co-operative societies over a like period.

Doctors, primary school teachers, and other persons to look after the health and education of the villagers would be required. In the beginning these should be provided out of taxation. But as soon as the people are organized co-operatively and are solvent, doctors and teachers will be engaged and paid by the people direct, thus obviating taxation by Government. For a few years in the beginning a loan of several crores may be required from the Central Government to pay the co-operative workers, doctors, and teachers. There need not be the slightest difficulty in recovering over a period of years, from the people, when organized co-operatively, the few crores of rupees lent by the Government of India for the building of New India.

"Banking credits cost nothing to create, and they may be absolutely indestructible." The loan proposed for the building of New India would, therefore, cost Government nothing.

How we wish we could be as robust optimists as Sir Daniel in his old age !

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

Socialist Government and Insurance

A significant step has been taken by the Socialist Government in England in enacting a legislation to participate in insurance to cover the risks on the two giant Cunard liners. The existing marine insurance market could not make necessary arrangements for the insurance and consequently the State had to intervene. It may be noted that nationalization of insurance was formerly one of the important planks in the platform of the Socialist party of Great Britain. They had specially directed their attention towards industrial life assurance referring to which as well as banking, transport, etc. the manifesto of the Labour Party at the time of the last General Election said, "These and other fundamental necessities are too vital to the welfare of the nation to be organized and exploited for private profit." The manifesto proceeds, "Without haste, but without rest with careful preparation with the use of the best technical knowledge and managerial skill and with due compensation to the persons affected, the Labour Party will vest their ownership in the nation and their administration in authorities acting on the nation's behalf." This announcement created considerable consternation among Insurance workers in England, and after prolonged controversy Ramsay MacDonald agreed not to take up the scheme of nationalization of insurance as an item in the immediate programme of his party.

The recent action of the Socialist Government raises the question if it actually strengthens the cause of State Insurance.

State Insurance

In Germany there is in every State a State Insurance scheme which is carrying on competition with private companies. State Insurance has been undertaken by the Soviet Government of Russia. In Turkey the Government have set up a State monopoly with regard to Re-insurance. In England National Health Insurance and unemployment schemes are run by the Government. (These schemes were introduced by Lloyd George in 1911. But prior to that insurances on these lines were being carried on by private enterprises.) So in the world of insurance the State is no longer considered to be a tresspasser. But a very interesting incident happened with regard to State Insurance in Queensland. The State scheme was competing with private companies. In order to beat the priyate enterprises the organizers of the State scheme resorted to cutting of rates—the public naturally rallied round the cheap premium rates. The owners of private companies were not financially strong enough to compete with the State scheme in this matter. The Government appropriated revenue of different heads to feed the Insurance scheme. Now, some intelligent insurance worker brought a suit in the High Court to restrain the Government from wasting tax-payers' money to stifle private enterprises. The injunction was granted.

Insurance and National Drain

Lala Lajpat Rai once complaining of the drain of national wealth through premiums paid to non-Indian insurance companies said that at least ten crores of rupees go out of India every year as premium on account of different classes of insurance. When Lalaji made this statement no data were available regarding the premium paid

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to non-Indian companies. But in the later issue of Insurance Year Book the Government have given some particulars about this matter from which it appears that the total premium absorbed by non-Indian companies amounted to Rs. 5½ crores.

A leading insurance monthly has supplied interesting facts to prove that there is no ground to consider the quotation of Lala Lajpat Rai as unreliable. In giving figures of premium income with regard to fire, marine and other kinds of insurance (excepting life) credit is taken only for the risks which the companies concerned have kept on their own account—this leaves out the large amount of business which is re-insured. For example, a company accepting a risk of Rs. One lakh would retain only Rs. 25,000 on its own account and re-insure the balance with other companies. In the revenue account it would take credit only for the amount of risk retained by it. Many non-Indian companies doing business in India have special arrangements for re-insurance abroad and the figures are not available from the statistics supplied by the Government. This journal remarks that the premium absorbed by non-Indian companies, though according to Government statistics comes to Rs. 128,17,000, the actual amount would be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 4 crores. If this system is followed with regard to other classes of insurance perhaps we shall have to pause and consider before we contradict the statement of Lala Lajpat Rai.

S. C. RAY

INDIANS ABROAD

BY BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Reconsideration of the Capetown Agreement

Some days ago the following cable from Capetown was published in the newspapers:

Dr. Malan an interview with Reuter repudiated the interpretation attached by the Indian press to the references to Indians in the Union in his speech at Vryheid on Oct. 16. He had only referred to the policy followed since 1921 with the approval of the Indian Government and embodied in the Capetown Agreement for the encouragement of assisted emigration. The reference to a revision of the Agreement was nothing new. It was mutually understood that five years would be a fair trial after which the Agreement was to be reconsidered. The period had nearly expired and reconsideration was about due.

Dr. Malan was reported to have said in his speech:

"The best course is to get the Indians out of of the country. With this view an agreement had been entered into with Indian Government subject to review in five years" (*Indian Opinion* Natal, Nov. 14th 1930)

Now it is as clear as day that the principal object of the Union Government in entering into an agreement with the Indian Government was to get rid of as many Indians as possible and they have already succeeded in sending away nearly eighteen thousand of them to India. Now that the Union Government is anxious to revise the Agreement we must be ready with our facts and figures so far as the condition of these eighteen thousand returned emigrants is concerned. It seems that fewer people are now taking advantage of the assisted emigration scheme and the Union Government is anxious to speed up this repatriation business. If the repatriation of one Indian costs the Union Government £40 (£20 as bonus *plus* £20 as passage and railway fare etc. it will take only two million pounds to get rid of fifty thousand Indians from South Africa—not a very big sum for that country of gold and diamonds. But are we going to oblige the Union Government in this unrighteous scheme which may mean ruin to those poor unsuspecting people who will find their lives miserable in this country? Evidently the time has now come when we must get a thorough enquiry made into the condition of these eighteen thousand returned emigrants

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and if we find that most of them have been living in a wretched condition here in India they should be repatriated back to South Africa at the cost of the Government of India. If the upliftment work of Indians resident in South Africa is to be bought at the cost of the poor repatriated emigrants by offering them a temptation of £20 then surely it is a very high price, leaving the whole question of the immorality of the business aside.

It was General Botha who said in an election address at Standerton in January 1907 that if his party were returned to power they would undertake to drive the coolies out of the country within four years. He suggested the means to that end to be the expropriation of their interests in the country by means of arbitration. And General Smuts wrote in a letter to Mr. R. Tatham :—

"The Asiatic cancer, which has already eaten so deeply into the vitals of South Africa ought to be resolutely eradicated."

Dr. Malan says the same thing to-day after twenty-four years though in milder words and in a less offensive manner. General Botha wanted to drive the coolies out of South Africa, General Smuts wanted to eradicate the Asiatic cancer, but Dr. Malan will only encourage assisted emigration! The underlying object has been the same all through these twenty-four years and it cannot be explained away by any clever use of words. It is the duty of the Indian public to insist on a thorough enquiry into the condition of these eighteen thousand repatriated emigrants.

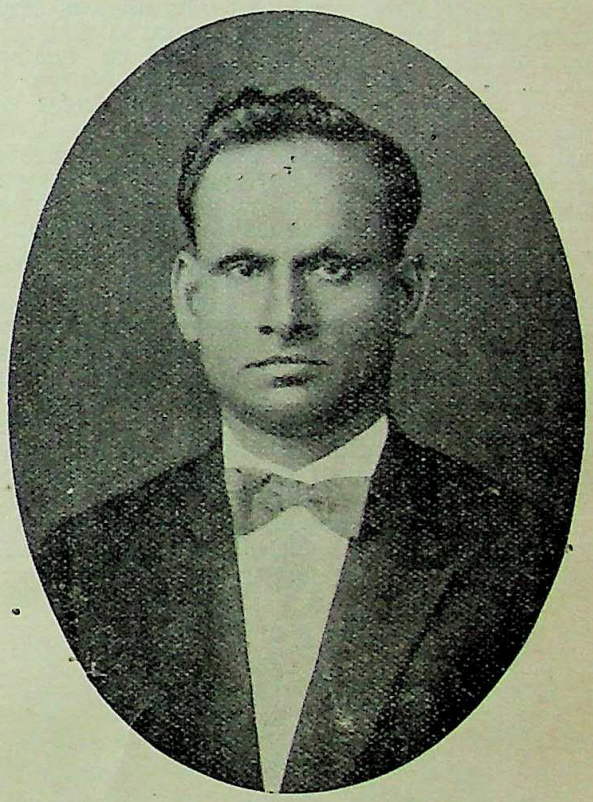
Report of Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi

The readers of the notes are aware of the fact that Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi postponed the publication of his report about the returned emigrants from South Africa, at the request of the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. Swami Bhawani Dayal has now sent word to me for its immediate publication. I shall be obliged for any information about these returned emigrants living in different parts of India.

Our Congratulations.

We congratulate Dr. Jung Bahadur Singh, President of the British Guiana East Indian Association on his success in being elected a member of the Legislative Council of that colony. Rao Saheb Kunhi Raman Nair, who worked as the officer in charge of the returned emigrants at Madras, also deserves our congratulations on his appointment as the agent of the Government of India in the Federated Malaya States.

Dr. Jung Bahadur Singh



Rao Saheb Kunhi Raman Nair

Indians in New-Zealand

I requested my friend Dr. B. S. Share M. D., D. P. H., L. R. C. P., to send me an account of our people in New Zealand. He has sent me the following note:

New Zealand, of course is not Australia. The two are distinct Self-governing Dominions with

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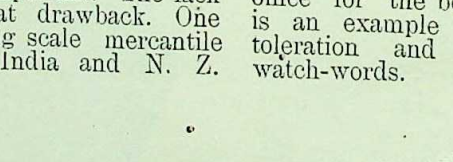
separate laws. Under the so-called "White Australia Policy" no Indians can get a permanent domicile in Australia. There is no such prohibition in the immigration laws of New Zealand, but in actual practice it seems almost impossible for an Indian to get permanent citizenship now-a-days. With great difficulty a temporary permit for a six months' visit can be secured from the "Controller of Customs, Wellington, N, Z." The only direct boat from Calcutta to Auckland is *S. S. Nerbada.* This service is very infrequent, The usual way to come is by trans-shipment at Sydney.

New Zealand has fine scenery and is a very pretty country with some nature's wonder-spots well worth a visit, but the winters are too severe for our people. There are about 500 Indians more or or less permanently settled. They are from Bombay and the Punjab. The Punjabis usually work as farm labourers, and Gujratis as fruit vendors and barbers. Work is hard to find, In almost all cases these Indians are without families in N. Z., and they usually go to India every 3 or 4 years to see their people. N. Z. gives all educational facilities to Indians and others on equal scale, and Indians enjoy full franchise according to the law. In spite of all this one finds a certain amount of prejudice sometimes from some people. This is mainly due to economic reasons. Labour competition of Asiatics is not desired by the workmen here. We have a "N. Z. Indian Central Association" with head office at Taumdrunui with an energetic General Secretary in Mr. Indar Singh Radhawa.. There are local Indian Associations in two on three main towns affiliated with the central organization.

From the point of view of the number and the social and economic conditions the Indian community in N. Z. is not important. The lack of proper family life is a great drawback. One would like to see reputable big scale mercantile enterprises working between India and N. Z. Carpets, durries, curious, handicraft, jute, sport-goods, precious stones, and other suitable commodities can be supplied by India. N. Z. produces excellent honey and dairy products. Trade should be the work of sound, sober, strong-bodied, refined and educated Indians, who alone can produce a wholesome impression about India abroad. There is unbelievable ignorance throughout the world as to what India really is. Few know that India is the birthplace of civilization and the sciences, and that India was a highly civilized and refined country when Europe was in the depths of ignorance and barbarism. To most outsiders India appears to be a country of coolies only. Some have an idea that it is half-civilized. The greatest need of the day is the preparation and publication of an album of photogrphs of modern India and its ancient monuments, etc. with short but informative letter-press in English, French, Spanish, German and Italian languages. This album or brochure should be broadcast into the world, specially into the countries where Indians live and the Indian question has an importance. The world should know the truth about the real gradneur, nobility and intellect that is in India.

There is one noteworthy phase of Indian emigration into places like Fiji, for instance, and that is the entire absence of caste and religious differences in questions of intermarriages and inter-dining. All dine together and inter-marry. This is the only way to make one nation. Society and religion must be separated. Let religion serve spiritual salvation, but let the nation be united into one homogeneous whole wherein all are equal in social dealings, and let personal merits and fitness alone decide one's office for the benefit of the entire nation. Turkey is an example worth following. Unity, love, toleration and mutual trust should be the watch-words.



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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Swami Vivekananda on Christianity in India

Prabuddha Bharata publishes an article by Swami Vivekananda on the methods of preaching Christianity in India, in course of which the great religious reformer points out the reasons why Christianity in the hands and mouths of missionaries has never made a deep appeal to Indians :

The East India Company got possession of a part of India with the idea of making hay while the sun shone. They kept the missionaries away. The Hindus were the first to bid the missionaries welcome, not the Englishmen, who were engaged in trade. I have great admiration for some of the first missionaries of the later period, who were true servants of Jesus and did not vilify the people or spread vile falsehoods about them They were gentle, kindly men. When Englishmen became masters of India, the missionary enterprise began to become stagnant, a condition which characterizes the missionary efforts in India to-day. Dr. Long, an early missionary, stood by the people. He translated a Hindu drama describing the evils perpetrated in India by indigo-planters, and what was the result? He was placed in jail by the English. Such missionaries were of benefit to the country, but they have passed away. The Suez Canal opened up a number of evils.

Now goes the missionary, a married man, who is hampered because he is married. The missionary knows nothing about the people, he cannot speak the language, so he invariably settles in the little white colony. He is forced to do this because he is married. Were he not married, he could go among the people and sleep on the ground if necessary. So he goes to India to seek company for his wife and children. He stays among the English-speaking people. The great heart of India is to-day absolutely untouched by missionary effort. Most of the missionaries are incompetent. I have not met a single missionary who understands Sanskrit. How can a man, absolutely ignorant of the people and their traditions, get into sympathy with them? I do not mean any offence, but Christians send men as missionaries, who are not persons of ability. It is sad to see the money spent to make converts when no real results of a satisfactory nature are reached.

Those who are converted, are the few who make a sort of living by hanging round the missionaries. The converts who are not kept in service in India, cease to be converts. That is about the entire matter in a nutshell. As to the way of converting, it is absolutely absurd. The money the missionaries bring is accepted. The colleges founded by the missionaries are all right, so far as the education is concerned. But with religion it is different. The Hindu is acute: he takes the bait but he avoids the hook! It is wonderful how tolerant the people are. A missionary once said; "That is the worst of the whole business. People who are self-complacent, can never be converted."

As regards the lady missionaries, they go into certain houses, get four shillings a month, teach them something of the Bible and show them how to knit. The girls of India will never be converted. Atheism and scepticism at home is what is pushing the missionary into other lands. When I came into this country I was surprised to meet so many liberal men and women. But after the Parliament of Religions a great Presbyterian paper came out and gave me the benefit of a seething article. This the editor called enthusiasm. The missionaries do not and cannot throw off nationality—they are not broad enough—and so they accomplish nothing in the way of converting, although they may have a nice sociable time among themselves. India requires help from Christ; but not from antichrist; these men are not Christ-like. They do not act like Christ; they are married and come over and settle down comfortably and make a fair livelihood. Christ and his disciples would accomplish much good in India, just as many of the Hindu saints do, but these men are not of that sacred character. The Hindus would welcome the Christ of the Christians gladly, because his life was holy and beautiful, but they cannot and will not receive the narrow utterances of the ignorant, hypocritical or self-deceiving men.

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The Problem of Juvenile Delinquency

Mr. B. K. Mukherji, Presidency Magistrate, Central Children's Court, Calcutta, describes in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon,* the methods of dealing with the juvenile offender.

The proper utilization of leisure hours is undoubtedly the first means of tackling the problem of juvenile delinquency. We may fix these hours for India as being from 4 to 7 p.m. in winter and 5 to 8 p.m. at other times. It has been recognized that the best approach to a child is through games, and hence it is the formation of the 'street-boy clubs' which will provide the best solution. Organized games and scouting, interesting magic lantern and cinema shows and instructive talks will all stimulate the young mind, and once the group has been set going, it should not be difficult to introduce an elementary knowledge of the three R's, and then to employ these in learning useful handicrafts. When the boy has caught the "team spirit" in the club, he will gradually shake off his irresponsible habits and learn industry and

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thrift. The boys' clubs in England and the street-boys' clubs in Ceylon have all been firmly established, and are now recognized as the best means of tackling the problem of juvenile delinquency, by taking street-boys in hand at a stage earlier than when they actually commence committing offences.

The origin of the juvenile court movement is found in the insight, courage and faith of the men and women who saw the harshness and inflexibility of the criminal law as applied to children, and that the parental and protective functions of the State can only be achieved by the assistance of the organizations which will take their share of consolidating that work. The juvenile court is neither an isolated institution that can function independently of other agencies, nor a mechanism that can automatically, given the proper organizations, achieve results. It is one of the many social resources that has been developed in response to evident need. Its success depends mainly on three factors :

1. Public appreciation of the service which it is in a position to render, and public support, which makes possible an adequate personnel and the necessary facilities for its separation ;

2. The general development of the child-caring programme of the community, including provision for child-study, family rehabilitation, foster-home care and institutional care.

3. The general attitude of the community towards all its children, as expressed in home life, the adaptation of the school to the needs of the children which it serves, the provision of wholesome amusements, vocational guidance aad the satisfaction of aesthetic and spiritual needs.

We have over 500 primary and vocational schools in Calcutta. We have our *maidans* or parks and play-grounds—however limited they may be in actual numbers We also have several philanthropic organizations, and many high-souled individuals who are already doing splendid work in other analogous spheres. The need of the street-boys has yet to attract the attention of the City Fathers and other men of good-will in the "Second City of the Empire."

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International Student Service

In an editorial note in *The National Christian Council Review*, attention is drawn to an organization for helping Indian students. It cites the opinion of one of the workers on the new social activities of the Indian students :

The organization set up in connection with the World's Student Christian Federation soon after the close of the war for bringing much-needed relief to students in distress in European countries was transformed a few years ago into what is now known as the International Student Service. This organization seeks among other things to develop self-help schemes for students when in college. For initiating and developing self-help schemes for students in India, the International Student Service appointed some time ago Mr. Aluwihare ; but as he had to begin work at a time when the students were greatly stirred by the national movement he has so far not been able to make any appreciable progress. In the bulletin issued by the International Student Service a letter from Mr. Aluwihare is quoted in which he says :

'You will realize that we are in the midst of circumstances which make it impossible not to take account of the national struggle. There is a new class of students gradually breaking themselves away from the main body—those that try to make a synthesis of national work and study. Hard work, if done with a view to national usefulness is "national work" too, but there is the class of students that is trying to go out into villages in their spare time, to spread propaganda and do social service. This is a movement which is not yet very well organized but it has great possibilities. It will be interesting to see how it develops. There are also some students who are giving up their whole time to political work. I have just seen a man who, with a band of his friends, has spent nearly a week going through forty-five villages. These are whole time soldiers.'

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Help for the Indian Cultivator

The condition of the Indian cultivator urgently requires that he should be given some sort of State-aid. Mr. Tarapada Das-Gupta argues the case of establishing an All-India Agricultural Bank in *The Bengal Co-operative Journal* and cites in this connection the example of Russia :

The Indian cultivators suffer from a number of handcaps which it is very difficult to remove and which are unknown to the cultivators of most other agricultural countries. But the greatest hindrance to India's agricultural prosperity—the paucity of finance for cultivators—is not an insuperable obstacle. And if this paucity could be removed, the Indian *rayat* would be a free agent, all other handicaps notwithstanding.

Present-day Russia offers an excellent example of how adequate finance can lead to agricultural prosperity. Russian agricultural production has increased by about cent per cent during the last ten years. This has been made possible by a combination of causes which have been ushered in as a result of the adoption of the New Economic Policy by the Soviet Republic. In the first place, there has been, as a result of the introduction of this policy, an unprecedented growth of the Co-operative Movement during the last ten years. The principle of co-operation has been applied to all stages of agricultural production—from the purchase and supply of seed, manure and agricultural machinery to the export and import of agricultural commodities. The total of the outstanding State-credit to agriculture amounts to more than 500 million roubles, while private or State-controlled banks also advance huge sums of money to agriculturists either through the co-operative societies or through other channels. It is a matter of no little credit to the Soviet Republic and the big Russian banks that the total of outstanding credit granted by the State and the Banks to the movement exceeds Rs. 70 crores.

In India the amount of State-credit to the movement appears a trifle by comparison, being

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only Rs. 94 lakhs, while big banks here advance nothing or next to nothing to the movement. The Russian co-op rative movement has come to be what it is to-day mainly owing to the generous policy of the State and the banks and the establishment of special types of banks for financing agriculture. In India, the co-operative movement has not been all-round in its activities. Its principal development has been on the credit side—and short-term cr dit at that—and in agricultural production we find very little application of co-operative principles. The only cause of this one-sided development is the dearth of long-term credit with which alone it is possible to establish in l rge numbers such societies as Irrigation Societies, Sale and Purchase Societies, Tractor Societies, Mortgage Societies, etc., etc.

The Indi n Banking Committee is nearly at the end of its labours. Is it too much to hope that the Committee will not fail to emphasize the necessity for establishing an all-India agricultural bank? But everything dep nds on whether the Government would or would not accept in right earnest such recommendations. It is immaterial whether the bank be a State-bank or not, but it is essential that the bank should be such as can safely issue large amounts of debentures and can attract long-term deposits. It would, th refore, be necessary that the bank should be established under a special Act and that the Government should, if necessary, underwrite the debenture-liabilities of the bank.

Besides giving long-term credit to the co-operative movement, such a bank will help the establishment of land-mortgage banks in India; and the greater proportion of its resources should be employed for relieving the perman nt indebtedness of the *rayat*. Th proposed bank cannot be expected to do any considerable business unless we have in India a bank of issue through which credit can be linked to currency. The total of agricultural indebtedness in India has been estimated at between Rs. 600 and Rs. 800 crores. The problem of this colossal indebtedness can be effectively tackled only by the issue of additional currency and utilizing it through a central agricultural bank for relieving the debts of the *rayat*.

—

Cause of the Indian Cultivator's Poverty

It has often been asserted that uncertain rainfall and increase of population lie at the root of the poverty of the Indian masses. This view is disputed in *Triveni* by Chowdhry Mukthar Singh, who writes:

Taking India as a whole, it is ascertained that failure of the monsoons on a wide scale does not occur more than once in five years. Then it amounts to this, that even with four years of rainfall, the cultivator is unable to produce enough to tide over a fifth year's calamity which may last for a few months. The Government has very big Agricultural, Chemical and Meteorological Departments all over the country. Has any attempt been made to sys ematically investigate into the causes of failure of the monsoons in this country? There is no record which is made available to the public of any such investigations and the old people tell us that the occurrence of the failure of the monsoons has increased during the last forty years. The clearance of forests and a few other causes are vaguely alluded to in this connection, but one searches in vain for any disclosures of systematic investigations. Nature has blessed this country with very big perennial rivers which are full through the greater part of the year, thanks to the heavy rainfall in the Western Ghats and the melting snows of the Himalayan ranges. If more attention had been paid to the system of cannals, it cannot be denied that at least twice the area that is protected today would have been protected and agriculture would not have remained a gamble on the monsoons, but would have provided a sure and sound means of making land yield much more than it does today. The sub-soil has hardly been studied to perfection. It is not only a question of the principles to be investigated as to how the moisture can be conserved, but of finding out means by which an ordinary cultivator can apply those principles. The question of lift-irrigation has not been tackled. The financial assistance given to the cultivators to improve their lands is practically *nil*. The extent and manner in which the Agricultural Loans Act and the Land Improvement Loans Act have hitherto been worked are matters of common knowledge and the Royal Commission on Agriculture pronounced that they have reached very few agriculturists. In these circumstances, to take shelter under the monsoons amounts to evading responsibility.

The other cause is growth of population. In every country population s increasing and the people of those countries are providing means for the growing population. If we compare the increase of population of this country with that of other countries, we shall find that the increase in India is lower than that of many other countries. If other countries been able to find out means of livelihood for the people of their country, why not India? Moreover, it seems to be quite clear that, at least up to the present times, the increase of population in India has kept pace with the increase in the area under cultivation. A comparison of the figures for 1872 with those of 1921 will bear out that the area under cultivation has increased proportionately to the increase in population and the time has not yet come when we can say that the maximum limit of pressure has been reached.

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Indians in South Africa

Rao Bahadur M. A. Tirunarayanchari writes in *The Indian Review* on the Indian colonists in South Africa and describes the achievement of the Sastri college in educating them:

Very few of the original immigrants are left, and most of the Indians in South Africa have been born there and in many cases their parents also. They have not seen India, and the place from which their forbears came are to them but a tradition. Yet their love and reverence for India are great, and they love to hear about India and especially

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about the great movement that is going on for India's independence. They worship Gandhi and claim with pride that he had his first training in South Africa. They are very hospitable to visitors from India. They do not observe caste distinctions. Hindus and Muhammadans live like brothers, although they do not intermarry. Hindu girls are generally not married before 18 or 20. They do not seem to have much sympathy with the Justice Party of Madras, which they often call the 'Injustice party.'

I had the privilege of visiting the Sastri College at Durban, and of meeting the six professors who have been sent from India. Though called a college, it is only a high school. The buildings have been built at a cost of Rs. 1,70,000 provided by the Indian residents. But the Government maintains the institution. It is intended to make it a training college for teachers. The Indian professors came from different parts of India 2 from Madras (both Malayalees), 1 from Bengal, 1 from Bombay, 1 from the United Provinces, and one is a Muhammadan. The principal spoke well of their work. He said he wanted men who could teach languages (French and Latin) but the India Government had sent science and mathematics men. Of course, it was not the latter's fault.

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A Martyr of Science

The Indian Medical World describes the case of a martyr of science who has undergone great suffering to advance the cause of X-ray work.

The self-sacrificing labour of the early pioneers in X-Ray work is emphasized by the news that Mr. Earnest Henry Harnack, who is now 65 years of age, is at present a patient in the London Hospital, awaiting operation for the removal of the remaining portion of his right hand. Already he has lost the whole of his left hand and the fingers of his right.

For over twenty-five years Mr. Harnack has been in the service of the London Hospital, where in his early days, he began as a photographer and became associated with the skin specialist, Dr. Sequeira as an early experimenter in radiography. It was the result of this pioneer work that Mr. Harnack contracted the malady—X-ray cancer—from which he has for long been a sufferer.

Some time ago it became apparent that the thumb of the right hand had become affected, and it is now necessary to amputate at the wrist. Already Mr. Harnack has undergone some dozen operations to his right hand. When he became incapacitated for further work some time ago, the Governors of the London Hospital granted Mr. Harnack a pension.

In recognition of his work of science Mr. Harnack was the recipient of a pension some years ago from the Carnegie Trustees.

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Examinations in China

China is the inventor of many a modern device in arts and crafts. But it appears from an interesting article in *The Progress of Education* that it was also one of the earliest communities to make examination a test of entry into public service :

The system of examinations, as a basis of selection of officers of civil service, has been in existence from the oldest times in China. All candidates for the higher offices were required to pass an examination, the highest offices being given to those passing with the best qualifications. Contrary to all expectations, the subjects prescribed for the examination had very little bearing upon the work which the successful candidates would be expected to perform in after-life. Religion and religious literature comprised almost the whole subject matter in which the candidates were tested. There was also a series of periodical tests which the successful candidates had to take after entry into these services. This system continued till about 1905. Then the impractical nature of the examination was made the more apparent in comparison with the knowledge secured by the Chinese graduates abroad, and the whole system was overhauled, and far-reaching changes were made. To-day the candidates will be required to answer questions about European history, or politics, or the economic condition of their country and similar other things.

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The Indian Method to Independence

Mr. John Haynes Holmes writes in *The Scholar* on the peculiarity of the method by which Mahatma Gandhi is urging his countrymen to make an effort to win political freedom :

The remarkable thing about India is not that she wants her independence. What she seeks today is only what Ireland, Egypt, Switzerland, Italy, Hungary, Poland and scores of other nations have sought before her. America's forefathers fought and died for independence from the same Empire against which the hosts of India are now contending. They are, therefore, among the first to understand and sympathize with their Eastern brethren.

No, the remarkable thing about India is not her desire for independence, but the unique method which she is using to gain that independence. Under the exalted leadership of Gandhiji, the Indian people are writing a new chapter in the story of mankind. Deliberately, by the exercise of sublime patience and at the cost of bitter suffering, they are undertaking to fight a battle for liberty without resort to violence. History has never seen anything like this before. Non-resistance has been tried by individuals like St. Francis, and by social and religious groups like the Friends and Hindus. But the revolution in India marks the first time that a nation has undertaken to lift its struggle for independence from the plane of armed force to the plane of soul-force. If only because of the exalted and triumphant application on the widest scale of the highest spiritual idealism, the Mahatma should have the support of all religious men.

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The Conflict of Cultures in Ireland

The conflict of cultures in Ireland centres round the question of the Gaelic language. In the early days of the controversy, Mr. De Valera is stated to have declared that he would "prefer the language without freedom to freedom without the language." For these extremists, according to *The New Republic*, the final justification of the treaty settlement is the development of a new culture deriving entirely from the Gaelic tradition. There are naturally men who are doubtful whether the Gaelic element alone can build up a new Ireland. Yet there is no strong opinion in Ireland against the experiment. As *The New Republic* sums up the question :

Even those who like it least do not deny that the Gaelic movement has behind it the driving force of a passionate conviction. Its advocates are positive that if they are given a free hand they can renew the glories of the golden age. This is an attitude that impresses in a country where the majority desire above all things a strong lead, and are apt to assume that the extremists however little they may appeal on the merits, will score in the long run over the moderates. The best of the language crusaders, it is true, do not under-estimate the magnitude of the enterprise upon which they have embarked. They are succeeding in their plan to make Irish the medium through which instruction is given in the schools, but as yet there are few signs that it is becoming the language of the home. In a debate on the subject in the Dail during the last season, native speakers declared, and the statement was not contradicted, that children left the language behind them at the school door. The elementary teachers on whom the heaviest burden falls, are protesting against the attempt to force the teaching of school subjects through the medium of Irish in districts where the pupils have no vernacular knowledge of the language and never hear it spoken outside of the class-room.

To complicate the problem, the ranks of native speakers are being rapidly depleted, and such ameliorative measures as the government has undertaken have done little as yet to slow down emigration from the Gaelthacht. The well-founded fear that if Irish dies in areas where it is the ordinary means of communication, the attempt to foster it elsewhere is doomed to failure, goes far to explain the relentless energy with which the enthusiasts are pressing on their campaign. They may be right in their view that the end will justify the means, but many people who are willing to work for a Gaelic-speaking Ireland are beginning to fear that the speeding-up policy which holds the field may result in condemning no small proportion of the generation to the semi-illiteracy that was the fate of Irish-speaking children who in other days were instructed in school in a language they did not speak at home.

In the long run the clash of two cultures may prove fruitful, but for the present it means a dissipation of energy in controversies that lead nowhere. The older school of Anglo-Irish writers like W. B. Yeats and George Russell sit for the most part above the battle; newer recruits like Austin Clarke, Francis Higgins and Liam O'Flaherty, though they draw inspiration from Gaelic sources which their elders knew only at second hand, continue to write in English and sell their books outside their own country. They are in sympathy with the demand for the evolution of a Gaelic culture, but with very few exceptions they oppose the view, now in favour, that prohibitions and censorships will help to this end.

Its unsparing onslaught on the Censorship Act contributed as much as anything else to close down A.E.'s paper, *The Irish Statesman* by depriving it of advertising revenue. Popular opinion in the mass undoubtedly approves drastic regulations and restrictions on writers, dramatists and artists, and this is a factor which the small band of Irish intellectuals too often ignore; thus is conveyed to the outside world an entirely false picture of Irish life and conditions. A.E. puts the truth ina sentence when, in his valedictory in *The Irish Statesman*, he says that the country has been living intellectually beyond its means.

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Child Marriage in America

The following interesting item of news about child marriage in America is published by *The Literary Digest* :

Child marriage is usually regarded as something remote, in far-off India, in the Orient, or in South-Eastern Europe.

But it is known in New York City, too.

Within the last academic year, the annual report of Superintendent of Schools discloses 483 boys and girls—the vast majority girls—were dropped from the school rolls because of marriage.

One little girl of twelve and another of thirteen, we read in the New York *Sun's* digest of the report, were among those married. At the age of fourteen twenty boys and girls left school to be wed, and eighty-three more went to the altar when they were fifteen. The majority of pupil-marriages took place at sixteen years, 342 of that

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immature age leaving school because they became husbands or wives.

A score or more were seventeen or older, but the statistics for these ages are not significant, since seventeen is the legal school leaving age; most prospective brides or bridegrooms of seventeen or more would leave school, as they have a legal right to do, without disclosing their reasons.

Something of the social environment of the youngsters is revealed by the fact, we read, that 365 of the 483 pupil-marriages were contracted in the continuation schools—schools which are maintained by the State for children who leave school to go to work before they are seventeen. It would appear, then, that child-marriages are most likely to occur among children of less prosperous families, families in which children go to work at fourteen or fifteen years.

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Black Shirts and Lynchings in America

In summing up the lynching records of the year that has just ended, *The World Tomorrow* deplores that they are the highest for many years, and attributes them to the wave of re-action that is passing over almost every country in the world:

Amid the unrest and reaction that have characterized the present year, it was inevitable that Negro-White relations in America should be caught in the general backwash. The increase of lynchings to a number double that of last year is the best evidence of this reaction—and the worst. However, it is doubtful whether the traditional attitudes of the lynchers have undergone any fundamental charge for the worse. What seems more probable is that certain influences as well as contemporary conditions have merely brought these attitudes to the surface or stirred them into hostile action.

Chief among these influences is the present economic depression. The two highwaymen lynched in Mississippi, the alleged Negro bank robber shot to death in Darien, Georgia, and the street-car bandit and murderer who narrowly escaped lynching in Atlanta, all within a month's time, suggest that economic stress may lie behind some of the crimes for which mob violence has been invocated.

In some quarters Communisism has been blamed for the recent upsurge of lynchings. Whether in any case it has provoked Negroes to violence, one cannot say. Its protagonists, to be sure, have overlooked no opportunity to broadcast a philosophy of class and race conflict, calling upon Negro workers for "organized mass resistance to White ruling-class terrorism." Negroes are naturally conservative and patient, however, and it appears unlikely that this propaganda has as yet exercised any great influence upon their conduct.

Fortunately there is another side to the picture. Never have lynchings been condemned so universally and vigorously throughout the South—by editors, ministers, church groups, civic organizations, and good citizens in general. Furthermore, arrests have been made in a number of the cases and no less than fifty persons now await trial as participants in these crimes. In the light of past experience, this fact is revolutionary. The Black Shirts present state of collapse, due to the pressure of public disapproval, is another encouraging symptom. With all its flamboyant appeals to patriotism, Americanism, and White supremacy, the movement has won no stable following. This is quite in contrast to the vast political influence and pseudo-respectability enjoyed by the Klan in its palmy days. The defeat of Senator Cole Blease of South Carolina, who based his campaign for re-election on a blatant defence of lynching, is perhaps the most encouraging evidence of the progress of Southern opinion, while that of ex-Governor Slaton of Georgia, who insisted on dragging the Negro into the senatorial race, is another straw in the wind.

Not since reconstruction days has the South faced as serious a challenge as it does today. But among the more liberal minded of its religious and civic leadership there is enough of vitality and power to make one hopeful of the ultimate outcome.

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Changing Hinduism

"The old epithet—'the unchanging East'" writes Mr. Albert J. Saunders in the *World Unity*, "is no larger applicable to India," and he attempts—in a short article to outline the changes that have come over the spirit of the Hindu religion itself. About modern Hinduism he says:

It is fair to say that in the long history of Hindu religious thought many changes have taken place in the idea of God. We have seen the animistic and polytheistic beliefs of the Vedic period. In an effort to unify their thought of God—the wonderful conception of Brahma—the World-Soul was evolved and the greatest possible achievement of the human soul is to become identified with or absorbed into the All-Soul. But in so doing God became detached, impersonal, a mere intellectual hypothesis which in course of time became entirely unsatisfactory to the mass of Indian religious men. The theistic movement brought God back again into the experience of man, gave Him personality, and to be worshipped, and the pious Hindu ever since has rejoiced in the sense of communion and fellowship with God. These are significant changes in the God-thought of Hinduism, and these changes are still going on. One can realize the truth in India of the distinguished London Editor, Mr. J. A. Spender's recent statement: "Looking back on the course of religious belief in my time, I should say that the greatest changes have been a change in the idea of God." Modern India has accepted and is working on the basis of the idea of a personal God, that is, that God has personality, has attributes and characteristics of the highest qualities, is knowable and approachable, receives worship and hears prayers, that He is a friend to man. The new idea which I wish to emphasize and which is beginning to permeate Hindu thought is the social and moral character of God. This is extension of the personal idea of the Supreme God. Among the qualities of God which Hindus have long recognized, such as wisdom and greatness and power, there is now being accepted the idea

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that God is social and moral, and consequently His people must also be socially minded and moral in their daily lives. This is the latest advance in Hindu religious thought with respect to the character of God, and its possibilities for good are tremendous.

Perhaps the greatest exponent of modern Hinduism is S. Radhakrishnan, King George V Professor of Philosophy in Calcutta University; his lectures on Indian Philosophy in England and America in 1926 made a deep impression on those who heard them, and he was recognized as a new voice interpretating the latest and highest thought of India. One naturally turns to his book—"Indian Philosophy" and "The Hindu View of Life" for indications as to the latest trend of Indian thought nor does he turn in vain. As to the nature of Hinduism Professor Radhakrishnan holds the commonly accepted position that Hinduism is not a closed creed. "Hinduism is therefore not a definite dogmatic creed, but a vast, complex, but subtly unified mass of spiritual thought and realization. Its tradition of the God-ward endeavour of the human spirit has been continuously enlarging through the ages." "Hindu believes in the evolution of our knowledge of God." Our foregoing study has shown this to be correct. As to the idea of a personal God our Indian author says: "Hinduism affirms that some of the highest and richest manifestations which religion has produced require a personal God. There is a rational compulsion to postulate the personality of the of the divine." He defines what he means by saying that the highest category we can use is that of self-conscious personality.

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The Ritual of the Unknown Soldier

Laying a wreath on the tomb of the unknown soldier had almost become a stereotyped ritual for all distinguished foreign visitors to London, when the Labour Government recently abolished the custom. This has given rise to a controversy in the world press which is summarized in the *The Literary Digest*:

Rumblings of bitter controversy threaten the peace of the Unknown Soldier's tomb. Britain's Labour Government proposes that official envoys and missions discontinue the customary ceremony of placing memorial wreaths on the tombs of the Unknown Soldier in the countries they are visiting.

The first dispatches from London announcing this proposal characterized it as a striking gesture toward "eradication of the memories of the Great War" among all nations.

The following day, however, a cable to the New York *Times* explained that the purpose of the Labour administration was "merely to relieve visiting officials of the virtual obligation to lay a wreath on an appropriate war memorial-" The same dispatch quoted Gen. Sir Ian Hamilton as saying that "if wreath-laying is to become merely a formal courtesy between governments, then it ought to be terminated." And the London *Times* said editorially:

"We wish neither to burden our visitors with an unnecessary ceremonial nor to entangle the Cenotaph with mere courtesies. So far from 'eradicating' our memories of the million dead, and of the example that must never be lost, the effect of the present proposal will be to maintain their inspiration in surer dignity and sincerity."

Although most of the foreign governments are said to have replied favourably to the British proposal, the popular reaction to it seems to be sharply divided.

"If the ceremonies have any meaning at all, it is too sacred to become a matter of rule and rote," says the Washington *Star*; and in Alabama the Birmingham *Age-Herald* insists that what was once a tender and beautiful gesture should not be allowed to become a mere formality."

But the expressions of dissent are emphatic. In Brussels *The Nation Belge* exclaims indignantly: "Even if Mr. MacDonald's government has no memory, ours has." In London *The Morning Telegraph* calls it "an act of offensive folly." Even "mere ceremonies," remarks the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, "are useful reminders of the past, which could not be ignored or forgotten without rank ingratitude."

But the bitterest protest comes from the pen of England's veteran poet, Rudyard Kipling, whose only son was kliled in the war. In a poem called "Memories," published in the London *Morning Telegraph*, Mr. Kipling accuses the Labour Government of washing its hands of the soldier dead, of wishing to destory the virtues of faith, obedience, sacrifice, honour and fortitude, and of plotting to undermine and destroy the aims of Britain in the war.

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Bernard Shaw

Mr. Harold Laski paints or rather sketches the portraits of four of the outstanding literary personalities of contemporary Britain in the *Daily Herald*. They are Rudyard Kipling, H. G. wells, Bernard Shaw and John Galsworthy. Of all of them Mr. Shaw is undoubtedly the most widely known and appreciated in this country. And here are some of his bewildering intellectual achievements as seen by Mr. Laski:

Mr. Shaw is like nothing so much as the east wind in a fury. If you can cope with its strength the most exhilarating thing in the world is a long walk in its teeth. He has been the greatest teacher of the generation. For forty years he has questioned all our accepted traditions, laughed at all our conventions, sneered at all our habits. And, in the typical British way, after thirty years' indignant refusal to accept his teaching, we have elevated him to the position of a major prophet.

There is no doubt that Mr. Shaw is a great man. That the Socialist vestryman of St. Pancras should be the idol of Mayfair shows that his position is secure and final. He has lived by exposing, for the shams they are, the conventional lies of civilization. And he has compelled most of us to see that they are shams. By tearing the

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veil from our eyes he has made us see that empire is another name for violence; that parents do their best to ruin their children; that rich men have rarely the mind to be important, and poor men more rarely still the means to be self-respecting; that flunkyism is not fine manners nor luxury art.

Further, he has told us that official churches have no necessary contact with religion; that the English are not obviously the chosen people; that our law courts administer law, which is not the same thing as justice; that the high priests of medicine are too rarely scientific. And he has done it with such incomparable verve and wit and satirical genius that we have thoroughly enjoyed the process.

Mr. Shaw realized forty years ago that men will always listen to a great preacher; and he grasped the curious fact that men, in the mass, rather enjoy being told brilliantly that they are in a state of sin. He is, in fact, a new Calvin who has substituted Shavian dogmas for those of Geneva. Like Calvin, he has a supreme certitude of temper. Like Calvin, also, he insists on destroying his opponents. Like Calvin, he has little patience with freedom because he has a patent specific for salvation.

There is nothing in him, as there was nothing in the Genevan reformer, of romantic illusion or emotional patience. He knows his way to the goal, and cares nothing for the fate of victims on the way. He has been a great tonic to this age because he has compelled it to face its hypocrisies and shams. A great satirist, he has used a pen dipped in sulphuric acid to tell his contemporaries exactly what he thought of them. He has made iconoclasm a science. Property, marriage, the family, democracy, the Church—all of these he has attacked with the vigour of one who is only content when the veil which hides their inner superstitions has been pulled away.

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Standardized Literature

Standardized thinking, standardized amusements, and standardized literature, like standardized merchandise is flooding the world of today. They have all them been attacked on one occasion or other by men who still set some store by individuality and distinction. One of the latest of these attacks is by Mr. L. Stanly Jast, the city librarian for Manchester, who, as the President of the British Library Association, made a vigorous onslaught on the literature made to prescription. The following extracts from his speech are quoted from *The Living Age*.

I pass over the menace of the cinema and the madness of the cross-word puzzle. It is not my purpose to review, even cursorily, all the forces which are steam-rolling the world into a flat and dead uniformity. They have been the theme of abler pens than mine, with larger canvases at their disposal. I come to an aspect of this process which concerns us much more nearly—namely, the reaction of the machine on literature itself. With the effect of the newspaper we are familiar enough; there we are not dealing with a tendency, but to a considerable extent with an accomplishment. The general press is already standardized, and the signs are not wanting of the gradual disappearance of the local newspaper in favour of the localized general press—a consummation, I venture to think, most devoutly to be regretted, for its disappearance will herald a further decay in local patriotism and local spirit. But the newspaper—with a few exceptions that still remain with us—is not literature. The best popular magazines are, or rather were, but the machine is rapidly reducing them to its own element.

'The point I would note here is that in standardizing the printed word you inevitably lower its level. Standardization and degradation in this field go together. In the case of the machine you can have a good and sound piece of work put on the market, because the public understands machines. If we have a flair for nothing else we have a flair for mechanism. But in art and literature the taste of the many is bad taste, or, if not bad, it is uncultivated. The librarian has been likened more than once to the priest. If he is a priest, then surely it is in the standardization of literature that he must see his most powerful enemy, and burning with the divine fury of the prophet and the missionary declare a holy war.

It is true that literature and fiction, is more resistant to the mechanical formula. More resistant but, unfortunately, not impervious. Its fell trait is beginning to be seen in other departments of the book—for example, that bastard development of the modern writer, the temperamental biography, cursed by librarians because, whether classed as biography or in fiction, it is out of place. The formula is simple: take any well-known man whose standard biography has been written,—this is necessary, because otherwise you would have to hunt up the facts yourself,—filch whatever suits your purpose, and serve with dialogue drawn from your own inner consciousness. When well done by a master, such as Maurois or Harold Nicolson, the result is amusing, even brilliant, though the subject is neither Shelley not Byron, but another man of the same name. But when done, as it is now being done, by a score of second-rate imitators the results are mischievous and debasing to the biographical currency.

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Five Years of the Russian Experiment

The editor of *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* sums up in a leading article the achievements of the last few years of the Russian revolution. The following abridged version of his article appears in *The International Digest*:

Very few people can discuss Russian affairs without bringing in their own wishes as a determining factor in the future development of this great area. Those who enjoy the adventure of wrestling in the market-place for a living, and those who have secure jobs alike find the present regime in Russia so distasteful to them that they

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see a dozen reasons why it cannot possibly succeed. And when a Russian consular or trade representative decides to throw up his job and stay abroad, there is great rejoicing among all the angels of capitalism over the repentant sinner. Of the contentment of the people, it is very difficult to judge. Some competent observers have declared that morally and even physically the Russian stands upright, proud in the consciousness of being a citizen in a great republic. On the other hand, the Tsarist regime did not insist on a man being satisfied, and if he thought he would do better in some other country he was welcome to go, and large numbers did go. Nowadays it is not so easy. But, unless it be a few Chinese or Koreans there is no immigration into Russia. The victims of European tyranny do not seek refuge there. There is no gesture of welcome such as the United States once made,—and still makes on a quota basis. The circumstances are different, it is true, but the distinction remains sharp between Russia and the rest of the world.

It is a common weakness of revolutionaries that as soon as they are successful, they think the whole world is going to follow suit. It is a psychological compulsion. They are embarked on a new adventure, the outcome of which is far from certain, and they feel keenly the need of collective companionship. It was mainly over the question of the theoretical necessity of a world revolution that the struggle came about in which Trotsky was defeated and Stalin triumphed. Trotsky insisted on all the world revolting; Stalin saw that it was not going to—not to oblige Russia, anyhow—and he took up the line (now an article of the orthodox faith) that there is no reason why Russia should not remain communist and the other States bourgeois. Of course, Trotsky was right, theoretically. It is necessary for the success of the Russian experiment that the rest of the world should follow suit. But Stalin is a practical man, and does not see the use of destroying the Soviet because of other countries' shortcomings. He therefore adopted a heresy. It is better to live a little longer even at such a price, and one never knows what may turn up.

The Russian rulers have been described as men of unshakable nerve. That may be but they show signs of considerable anxiety. They are ready to go a long way in dabbling with capitalism in order to win as quickly as possible. Their one question is: "Can we hold on long enough?" The Communist creed is an economic creed, and Communism must justify itself economically. The "Five Year Plan" is an appeal for time. "Give us five years and we will fulfill all our promises." And in order to fulfill the promises, large foreign obligations must be incurred. In Russia the business instinct, is cumbrous and slow, but the machine moves, even though it creaks in the moving. The triumphant shout that arises now and then about how some item in the Five Year Plan has been accomplished well within the time allotted is really an expression of relief from intense anxiety.

Everything, the leaders freely admit, depends upon time. They have asked for five years, and they think they can keep the people quiet for that length of time—but for no longer. Every day that can be cut off the five years is more than a day saved—it is a possible revolution averted. Hence their readiness to borrow extensively and to engage foreign experts at high rates of pay. From a capitalist point of view it is good business to get into debt remuneratively, but from the Communist point of view the method is open to objections. Up to the present, of course, the real possibilities of Communism are not being realized. If there were freedom to produce and to buy and sell, to employ and to exploit, it is probable that Russia would be producing better to-day then she is. So far, there is still only a moderate exportable surplus in certain lines: big business, though owned by the State, is financed on loans, domestic and foreign, and the necessaries of life exist in such scarcity that they have to be carefully rationed. However, in a world which, generally speaking, finds its worst embarrassments in its excessive productivity, even the cumbrous official Russian management should be able, in due course, to produce an abundance; when it does this, the great test will come. Should a general abundance be assured for Russia while other countries are in their spasms of boom and throes of depression, the Soviet may well expect to see a general demand for the following of the Russian example. But if we are right in seeing Russian boasts about the achievements made against time a symptom of the anxiety under which the Soviet rulers labour, it must be equally correct to see in the undisguised joy with which all Russian failures are greeted by the world outside, a symptom of the general dread that if the Russian experiment does succeed, then other countries will want to follow suit.

Enthusiastic Communists declare that the opportunities for service and achievement held out in Russia are ample for the fulfillment of all normal human ambition. They may be right in believing that nobody really needs the prospect of wealth as an incentive to labor. But the natural ambitions of men include the attainment of a position of complete independence, with the corresponding subjection of all those around who want to earn some of their money. How far they should be allowed to go in satisfying this ambition is always a matter of dispute. If within the five years the Russians can prove that they have a system which provides plenty and security for all, then the mass of mankind may have enough ambition to see that it enjoys the benefits of this system. If they fail to give this demonstration, there may be a revolution in Russia, but a clandestine abandonment of Communist principles is more likely. The importance of the experiment can hardly be exaggerated, and the strangest spectacle is that of men of all opinions trying to bring about their own wishes by constant repetition of their articles of faith.

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The American Hegemony and its Causes

The years immediately following the Great War have seen one fact of world significance: the rise of America as the most powerful State in the world. This supremacy is acknowledged by every nation. But is it due to the moral superiority of the United States or of her peoples? This is the question asked and answered by Mr. Edwin L. James,

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the chief European correspondent of *The New York Times* in course of two special articles which are summarized in *The International Digest* :

The material situation of the United States of America is such that the resulting political influence is enormous, so enormous that a failure to place its true value on it may be explained by the circumstance that it has not yet made its real force felt to a degree that will surely materialize.

There is no country where the power of the dollar has not reached. There is no capital which does not take the United States into consideration at almost every turn. Conversely, there is no zone where our interests are not involved. Isolation is a myth. We are not isolated and cannot be isolated. The United States is ever present.

Officially, our government stays out of world organizations. We scorn the Leage of Nations; we we continue to shy at the World Court. But such things count for less and less. We must deal with the world and the world must deal with us. Let there be an international conference, and the imponderable influences bring the United States there. A conference on reparations, we are there. The International Bank is set up, an American is made president. The World Court meets, an American is put on the bench. A naval conference gathers, and the whole business hangs largely on the American position. And so on, *ad infinitum*.

It is always the case that the American position is among the most important. Such is one of the prices of our power. Few world problems arise in which the influence of the United States will not swing the decision if we take a real interest. Opposition to the United States is a serious undertaking. Our dollars are powerful; there are so many of them....

Indeed, the position and power of this country is rapidly reaching the point when it will be said what we have gained the relative position which Great Britain held from the Battle of Waterloo up to 1914, which France held for approximately a century preceding and which through history belonged for varying period to various nations. For all the indications point to this being our century....

America's great world political position is not due primarily to our moral leadership but primarily to our wealth and economic position. That is true because it is not to our moral teachings that the rest of the world responds, but to our material power. If we were a poor and weak nation the world would to-day care no more about what we thought than did the world before the Great War.

It is not difficult to understand why the Old World does not take our exhortations to heart any more. There is the old story of the League of Nations. There is the World Court. There are other things, like the international Bank—all of which seem to represent our advice to others as to how to do their business, while we do ours some other way.

Now those who still believe that "the moral sense" of America is a real factor in international affairs will surely cite the Kellogg Pact as an example of how we do good and do it altruistically. But no one who has lived in Europe in recent years can believe in the dominant moral effect of the Kellogg Pact an active factor in world affairs. Almost the only attraction Europe ever saw in it was the line the United States signed on. No European nation promised anything in the anti-war pact that it had not already agreed to in the Covenant of the League of Nations. But there was the signature of the United States, which seemed to promise the co-operation of our great material power in curbing the aggressor in another war. And that made a powerful appeal. But this appeal lay not in any new religion the Kellogg Pact brought to a soul-hungry world. It was based on the great political power of America because of our enormous wealth and potential military and naval power.

Does any one believe seriously that the deference and respect Britain has shown for us in the past decade represent a belief in our moral superiority, a realization of a superior civilazation on this side of the Atlantic or a better system of government and social order? Not at all. Britain is extremely practical in foreign affairs. There is no new approval of America and Americans, but there is a realizatiou of our material power as something to be reckoned with seriously, and Britan does just that.

It is no exaggeration to say that Europe sees us as nationally selfish in our refusal to commit ourselves in any way as to measures to be taken to maintain peace or to restore peace if it is broken. While we say it is to preserve our precious liberty, other nations say we seek to preserve our right to trade with warring nations or to do whatever else may be to our advantage, as we see it at any given time.

Perhaps it is not becoming in some of our European critics to draw from our position the conclusion that we are worse than other nations. We follow the line of foreign policy they followed generally speaking, when they were in our relative position. There would be better support for our contention that we are no worse than they were and would be if they could. But the situation does make it difficult for us to contend successfully that we are better than other nations. They do not believe it.

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NOTES

League of Nations Solution of Minorities Problem

India is not the only country in the world which contains minority communities. Many European countries have them. In the reconstruction of post-war Europe, the problem of the minorities had to be tackled. How it has been solved by the League of Nations was described months ago by Prof. Radhakumud Mukerjee in this journal and by others, with the suggestion that India's minorities problem should be solved along the same lines. Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar, an ex-president of the Indian National Congress, wrote a note on the subject, and his suggestion that India's minorities problem should be referred to the League of Nations, was forwarded to the President of the Surat session of the Hindu Mahasabha among others. Recently the same suggestion has been made in London by Dr. Moonje in connection with the so-called Round Table Conference. Whether the League, which is dominated by the British power above all, would solve the Indian problem according to the principles adopted in the case of some thirty independent states, may be doubted. But there is no harm in asking that in the solution of India's problem the same principles be adhered to. There is no reason why they should not. This is the view taken by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha of Bihar, who has a right to speak for the Hindus of that province, as he has represented them in the old Imperial Legislative Council, the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Legislative Council. He has sent the following cable to the British Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India, and the Indian party leaders at the so-called Round Table conference :

"Bihar Hindus will not accept any communal settlement other than on lines provided in the League of Nations scheme concerning minorities to which British Commonwealth, including India, are already committed as signatories."

Mr. Sinha has also sent a communication to the Press on the subject in which, speaking for Bihar Hindus, he writes that for a permanent and final settlement of Hindu-Muslim differences they are prepared to accept the solution of such questions on the lines framed by the League of Nations, and now embodied in the constitutions of nearly thirty different states of Europe (including Turkey) which have to deal with minorities, and of which the principal features are as follows :

1. A minority legally eligible for protection must not fall numerically below the limit of 20 per cent of the total population.

2. The protection that a legally eligible minority can claim under the League scheme, is the protection of its linguistic, racial and religious interests only and no others—such as, for instance, employment in the public services etc,—and so it distinctly rules out political, social and economic considerations, for which purposes all citizens are placed on an absolutely equal footing, without any especial reservations or additional safe-guard for any minority.

Thus under the solution of the League, such contrivances as separate communal electorates, or representation in the Legislatures on a communal basis or in the Executive or the public services is clearly and completely ruled out.

There can be no question that the League scheme will satisfy the Hindus, not only of Bihar, but of all other provinces as well. It is the only solution which is calculated to promote national unity and solidarity. The solution along communalistic lives advocated by the so-called Muslim delegates to the so-called Round Table Conference and secretly favoured—and perhaps suggested—by British bureaucrats and ex-bureaucrats, can only result in establishing "in the midst of the nation a community which would remain permanently estranged from national life."

Mr. Sinha adds :

The League's scheme fully endorses equal treatment of all citizens and communities as regards all civic rights and privileges, admission to public employment, and the free exercise of professions and trade etc. It also removes all disabilities grounded on purely racial, religious, or linguistic differences with the majority community (where any such exist) and protects these on certain conditions being fulfilled.

To make the object of such protection clearer, Mr. Sinha quotes the following passage from the speech of Sir Austen Chamberlain as the representative of the British Imperial Government at the League Council meeting of 9th December, 1925 :—

"The object of the Minorities Guarantee Treaties (as framed and enforced by the League of Nations) was to secure for minorities that measure of

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protection and justice which would gradually prepare them to be merged in the national community to which they belonged. It was not to establish in the midst of a nation, a community which would remain permanently estranged from national life."

These words of Sir Austen express what the object of all Minority problem solutions ought to be. What the object of the solution proposed by Jinnah, Aga Khan and Co. is, one need not speculate. But its result must inevitably be the exact opposite of that aimed at by the League.

Mr. Sinha concludes by observing :

The pity of the situation—in so far as India is concerned—is that the solution (of the Minority problem) which is now enforced by the League of Nations in as many as thirty different states of Europe, enforced too with the approval of his Britannic Majesty's Government and of all the Dominions of the British Commonwealth, including India -the latter figuring as an original member of the League, is not being made automatically applicable to our country, which has already approved of it for the rest of the world ! The burden of proof rests on those who still say that India should make a departure from that international solution, in the case of her own Minorities. Viewed in this light I see no other way out of the deadlock now said to have been reached at the Round Table Conference (on the Hindu-Muslim question) than an almost automatic application of the scheme of the League, which is above all party or creed. And so far as the Hindus of Bihar, in particular, and India, in general, are concerned, they are, I am sure, ready to stand behind the League in this matter.

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Minorities Guarantee Treaties

Speaking at Patna on the 21st December last on the subject of the settlement of the problem of minorities in Europe, Professor Radhakumud Mukerjee said :—

The victorious Powers, assembled at the Peace Conference at Paris, stood for the principle of self-determination and its application as the only foundation for stable peace in Europe. But they found that it was not possible to apply that principle fully without settling the question of the minorities. They, therefore, proceeded with the reconstruction of Europe on the basis of the two principles of self-determination and Minority protection. The territorial re-adjustments, found necessary to give effect to these two principles, changed the boundaries and composition of some of the old states on the one hand and also gave rise to a few new states on the other.

Proceeding Dr. Mukerjee pointed out that an international solution of this most difficult problem of Minorities had already been arrived at, through protracted discussions and negotiations by the collective statesmanship of the world, represented in the League of Nations, of which India also was one of the original members. That solution was at once standardized in the form of regular Minorities Guarantee Treaties, now enforced upon all the States, as preliminary conditions of their membership of the League itself. The parties and signatories to these Treaties included all the original members of the League, including His Majesty's Government, the Dominions of the British Empire, and India.

Under the circumstances,

it was indeed a surprise and pity that the question which had been solved and closed for the world once for all should now be re-opened in the case of India. It did not stand to reason why a solution to which India herself was as much a party as any other original member of the League, should be made applicable to other countries and states and not to India herself. They should not run away with the cheap objection that what was good for Europe was not good for India. They could not take shelter under that cheap assumption, for India herself was as much responsible for that solution as any other member of the League.

The speaker concluded by saying :

The Minorities problem in India could be settled only on the lines of the League scheme. The Round Table Conference would do well to accept this ready-made scheme for the solution of the communal problem that was proving so baffling to the members of the Conference.

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Problems Created by Communalist Muslims

In several European states there were, after the war, and still are, powerful militant minorities. But, in spite of that fact, the League of Nations could formulate a scheme for the solution of the minorites problem in that continent, because the only thing to do was to protect the religious, linguistic and other cultural interests of the minorities. The political interests of both majorities and minorities were rightly assumed to be identical. But in India the communalism-ridden Moslems demand not merely the protection of minority religious and cultural interests—no non-Moslem community has ever raised any objection to such protection—but they wrongly assume that the political and economic interests of Moslems and non-Moslems are different. So they also want protection of these assumed separate interests. They do not stop there. They want that even in provinces where they are in a majority, their interests must be protected—so helpless they are ! So their demand is for both Minority and Majority Protection. But they do not stop even here. They ask that new "Governor's provinces" must be constituted in regions where Moslems are in a majority. So, though the problem of the minorities in India is not in reality more

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difficult and complicated than elsewhere, it has been made more so by the mentality of a section of Moslems under the direct and indirect, overt and covert inspiration of British bureaucrats and ex-bureaucrats.

—

Communalist Muslims Want Domination, Not Simply Protecion

In saying in the previous note that communalist Muslims want both Minority and Majority *Protection*, we have made an understatement. They want to dominate wherever they can, and to have a sort of casting vote or to be the deciding factor elsewhere by having many more representatives than their numbers would entitle them to. The latter part of our observation need not be substantiated, as the following items among Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points, in addition to claim to excessive weight ge in representation for Moslem minorities in the provinces, practically amount to it :—

"(4) In the Central Legislature Moslem representation shall not be less than one third."

(It is to be noted that, neither in "British" India nor in India as a whole, the Moslems are even one-fourth of the total population. They are 24·07 per cent in British India and 21.74 per cent in India as a whole. Ed, *M. R.*)

"(13) No cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without a proportion of Moslem ministers of at least one-third."

(The modesty and unselfishness of this demand will be understood from the fact that the Moslem population is 6·71 per cent of the total population in Madras, 19·74 in Bombay—it would be very much less if Sindh were made a separate province—14·28 in U. P., 3·80 in Burma, 10·85 in Bihar and Orissa, 4·05 in Central Provinces and Berar, and 28·96 in Assam. If other minorities in all provinces were equally modest and considerate regarding other's rights, the majorities would have to go without any seats in the Councils, and some seats would have to be borrowed from the planet Mars for satisfying all the different minority groups' demands. Ed., *M. R.*)

As regards the first part of our observation, namely, that communalist Muslims want to dominate wherever they can, we quote as proof the following passages from Mr. Fuzlul Huq's letter addressed from London "to a few friends" and published in the *Mussalman* :

> We are asked to ponder deeply over the fact that whereas the Government of India proposals would give us only 39·5 per cent of the whole number of seats in the House, the alternative proposal, if accepted, would give us an absolute majority (51 per cent of the whole House) and *we would be able to dominate the whole Council, without seeking for support from any other group.* We have to consider that *we will be perpetually in a position of an absolute majority*, with all that such a position implies in the future Councils with full responsible government in the Provinces without any chance of interference by any outside authority.
>
> Briefly, this is the problem in a nutshell. Should we cling to our Separate Electorates and remain an insignificant minority with a representation of only 39·5 or perhaps 32·8 per cent, with all the drawbacks and disabilities which such an unalterable minority implies ; or, should we accept reservation of seats on Joint Electorates to the extent of at least 51 per cent of the whole House, *occupying a dominating position due to being in an absolute majority, taking the fullest advantage (without any let or hindrance) of all those powers inseparable from the constitution of Sovereign States for which united India is fighting and which will soon be within our grasp.* (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*)

The letter from which these extracts have been made is dated November 8, 1930. The idea, therefore, of manoeuvring for being in a perpetually dominant position is not a quite new one. The plot had been hatched even before the first meeting of the so-called Round Table Conference.

Mr. Fuzlul Huq's idea has been a very catching one even to some "nationalist" Muslims. So they cabled to him their consent to make the *very great sacrifice* of forgoing separate electorates with 39·5 or 32·8 per cent of seats and condescend to be content with joint electorates with only a paltry 51 per cent of seats.

And why is a perpetual majority so attractive to Mr. Fuzlul Huq and his friends ? Not because it will enable them to serve and do good to the entire population of Bengal ; not because it will enable them to serve and do good to even only the Muslim community ; but because it will enable them to "*dominate* the whole council and *take the full advantage (without any let or hindrance) of all those powers*," etc. There is, of course, nothing to be surprised at in all this. For when there is distress owing to famine, flood, cyclone, etc., even in predominantly Muhammadan districts, relief is administered mostly by non-Moslems ; most of the philanthropic societies and charitable

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endowments in Bengal are non-Moslem ; the vast majority of non-Government educational institutions (open to all students without distinction of creed) owe their origin and maintenance to non-Moslems; and (with only one small exception) all the numerous Calcutta University endowments, etc., mostly for the benefit of all communities, have been made by non-Moslems. The communalist Moslem spirit has been usually a spirit of grab. The communalist Moslem is not pre-eminent for sacrifice even for his own community ; he is not altruistic even in that narrow sense. Men with such a spirit are not fit to be exclusively, predominantly and perpetually trusted with the destinies of a country or province.

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Democratic and Undemocratic Domination

A country may be dominated by a group of people when it has been conquered by them. Such was the case when parts of India were conquered by foreign Muhammadans. That is an example of undemocratic domination, and it has at its back the logic of the accomplished fact. But Mr. Fuzlul Huq and his friends have not conquered Bengal. Therefore, if they want to dominate the country, they must do it in the modern democratic way. Though democracy may not be the last word in political wisdom, democratic rule undoubtedly means the rule of the Majority. But the Majority which democracy contemplates is an effective and a political maj rity of adults. It does not contemplate Government by a perpetual majority of a religious community. What it does contemplate is a political majority, consisting at different times of different proportions of persons of various creeds and no creeds and classes. And these persons must be *free* adults. But in Bengal the Moslem majority consists for the most part of minors and *socially unemancipated* women secluded behind the purdah to a far greater extent than non-Moslem women.

So unless Mr. Fuzlul Huq and his friends can conquer Bengal, their dream of relatively perpetual domination without let or hindrance will not be realized. We say, "relatively perpetual," because nothing mundane is absolutely perpetual, as the passing of Moslem rule of bygone days shows.

Even if the so-called Round Table Conference confers on Mr. Huq and his friends the *sanad* of domination over the "Sovereign State" (!) of Bengal, it would come to nought ; for the so-called delegates do not represent the people of India, and even the might of the British Empire cannot prevail against the will of an awakened people.

—

Fitness for Predominant Influence

To whatever religious community or other group a man may belong, he can aspire to be a member of the most influential political group for the time being, if he has sufficient ability. That is democracy. The accidents of birth, rank, creed etc., are no insurmountable bar to the fulfilment of such aspiration. That is democracy.

Some religious community may, for the time being but not for ever, possess the largest number of persons fit to wield predominant political influence. The question is whether the Moslem Bengali community is such a community at present. As during the British period of Indian history the outstanding Bengali names in the fields of religious and social reform, political agitation, journalism, economic enterprise, industry, commerce, literature, science, art, history, philosophy, education, athletics, sport, statesmanship, philanthropy, daring, etc., are all (or, in any case, mostly) non-Moslem names, the Moslem Bengali community does not appear to contain the majority of the politically ablest persons in Bengal. The educational and other statistics relating to that community would seem to point to the same conclusion. As these are not generally known to those Indian politicians outside and even within Bengal who constitute themselves the arbiters of Bengal's destiny, we take them from an illustrated pamphlet in Bengali prepared by Khan Saheb Abul Hashem Khan Chowdhuri, M.A., Inspector of Schools, and published by the Chittagong Muhammadan Education Society, with the laudable object of ameliorating the educational and economic condition of the Moslem Bengalis. The graphic representations of the statistics by means of silhouettes are also exactly reproduced from the same pamphlet, which is named, শিক্ষাক্ষেত্রে বঙ্গীয় মুসলমানদের দুরবস্থা ও তাহার প্রতিকারের উপায়, "The sad plight of Bengal Moslems in the field of education and its remedy."*

The statistics relate to the Moslem and

* In the following diagrams N.-M. stands for Non-Moslems and M. for Moslems.

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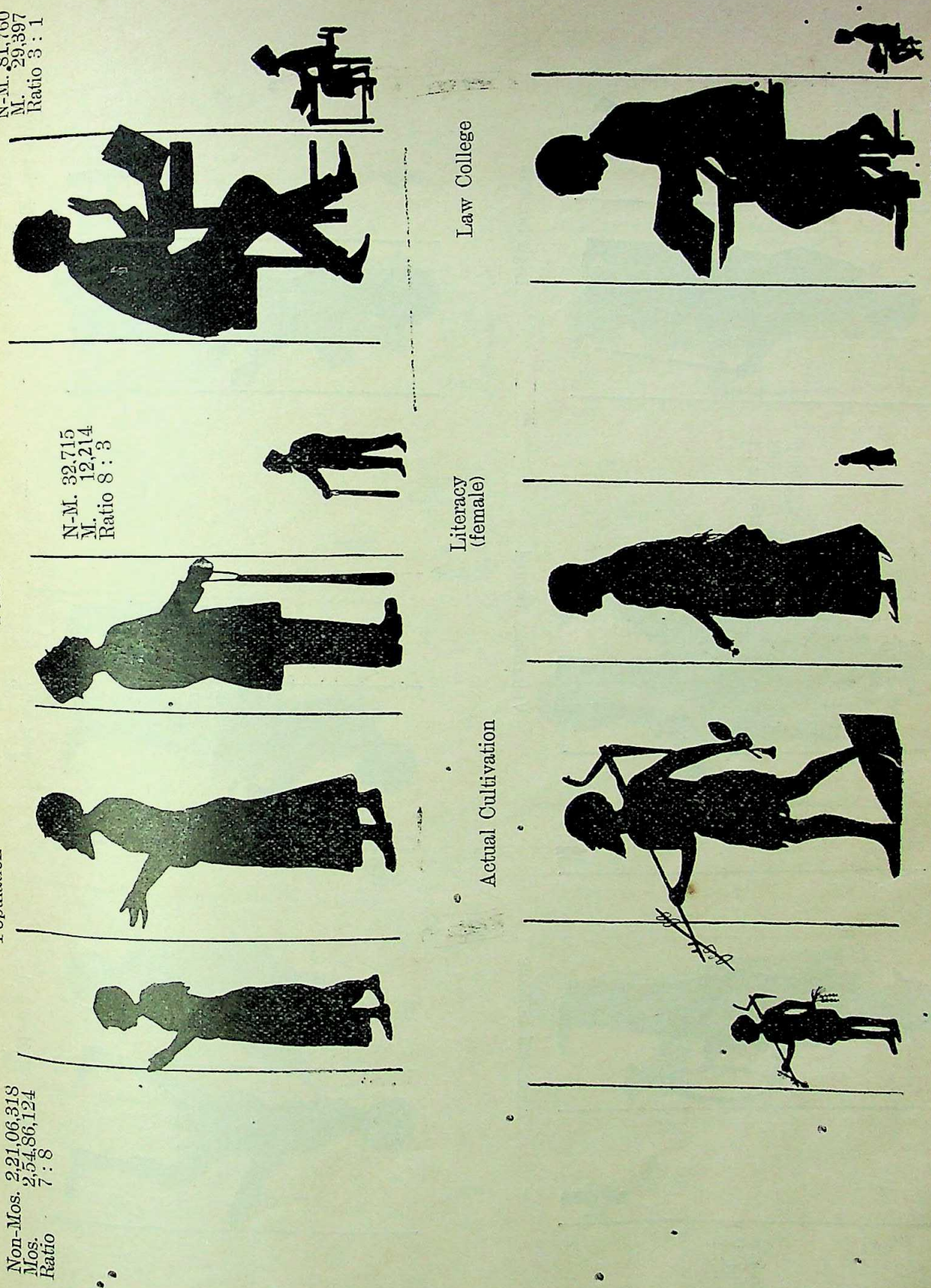

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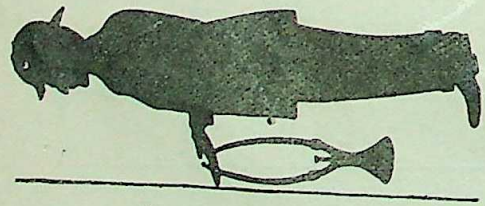
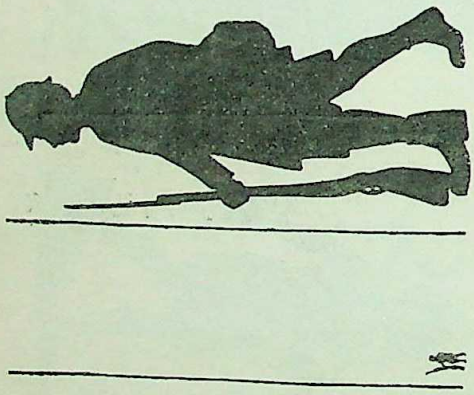
Medicine



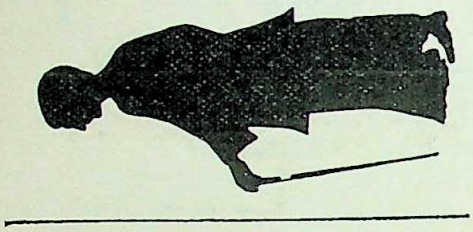
N-M.126,978
M. 25,790
Ratio 5 : 1

Military Service



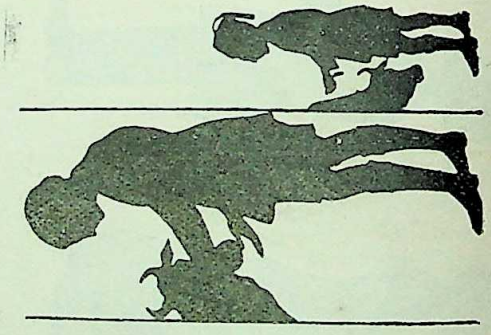
N-M. 5,631
M. 483
Ratio 12 : 1

Literacy (male).

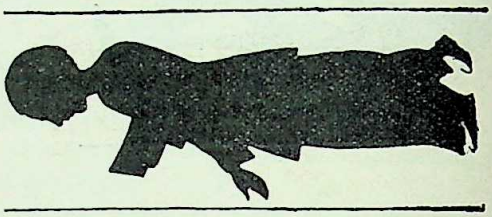


N-M.2,710,645
M. 1,104,169
Ratio 9 : 4

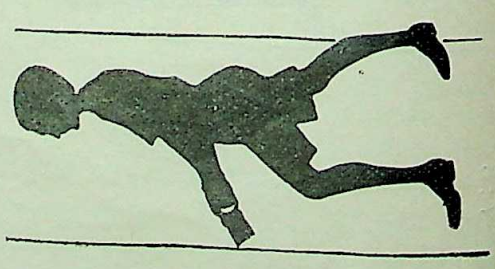
Technical Schools



Veterinary School



High Schools



N-M. 4,414
M. 928
Ratio 19 : 4

Commercial Schools and Colleges

N-M. 92
M. 52
Ratio 9 : 5

Law

N-M. 84,519
M. 15,794
Ratio 28 : 5

Colleges

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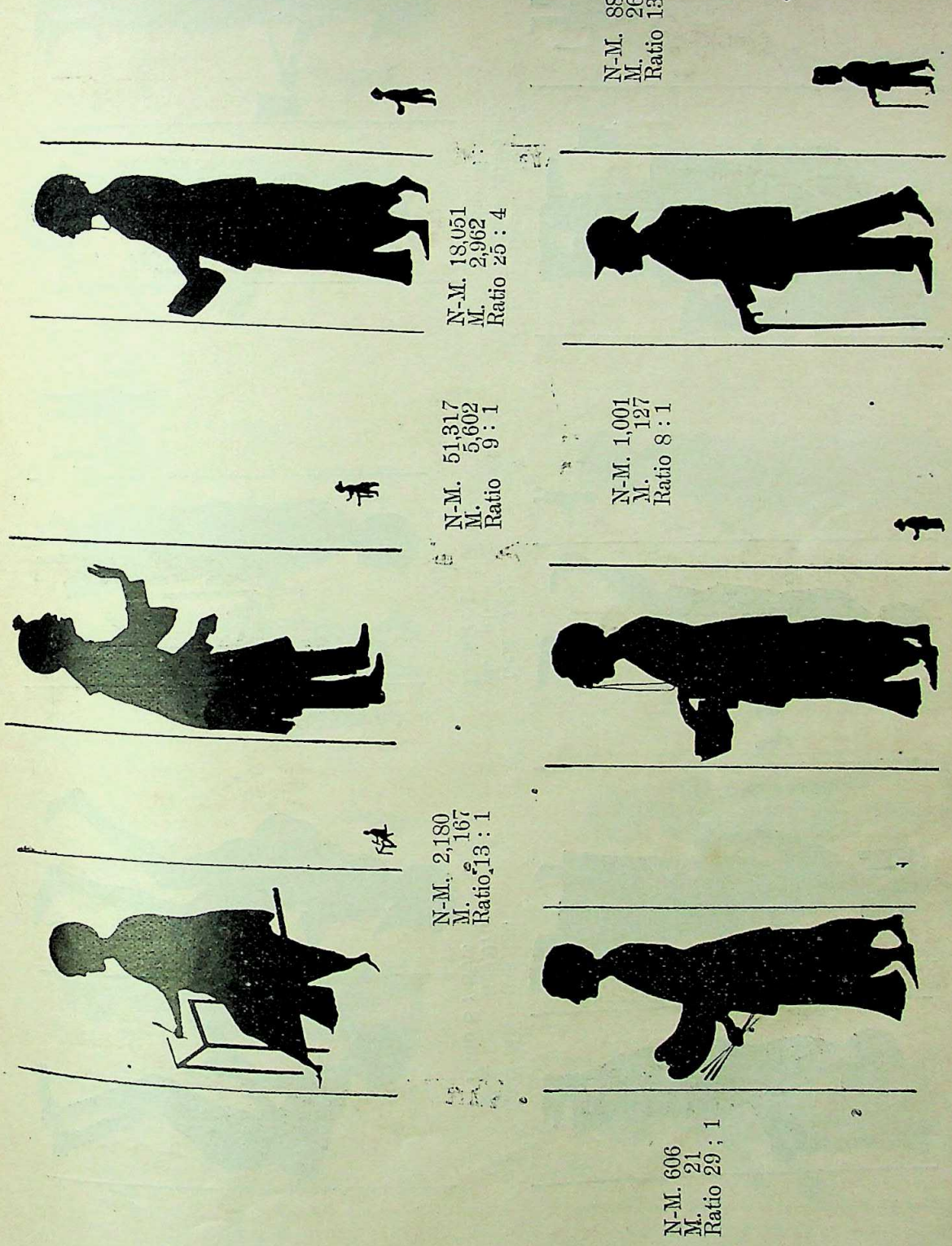

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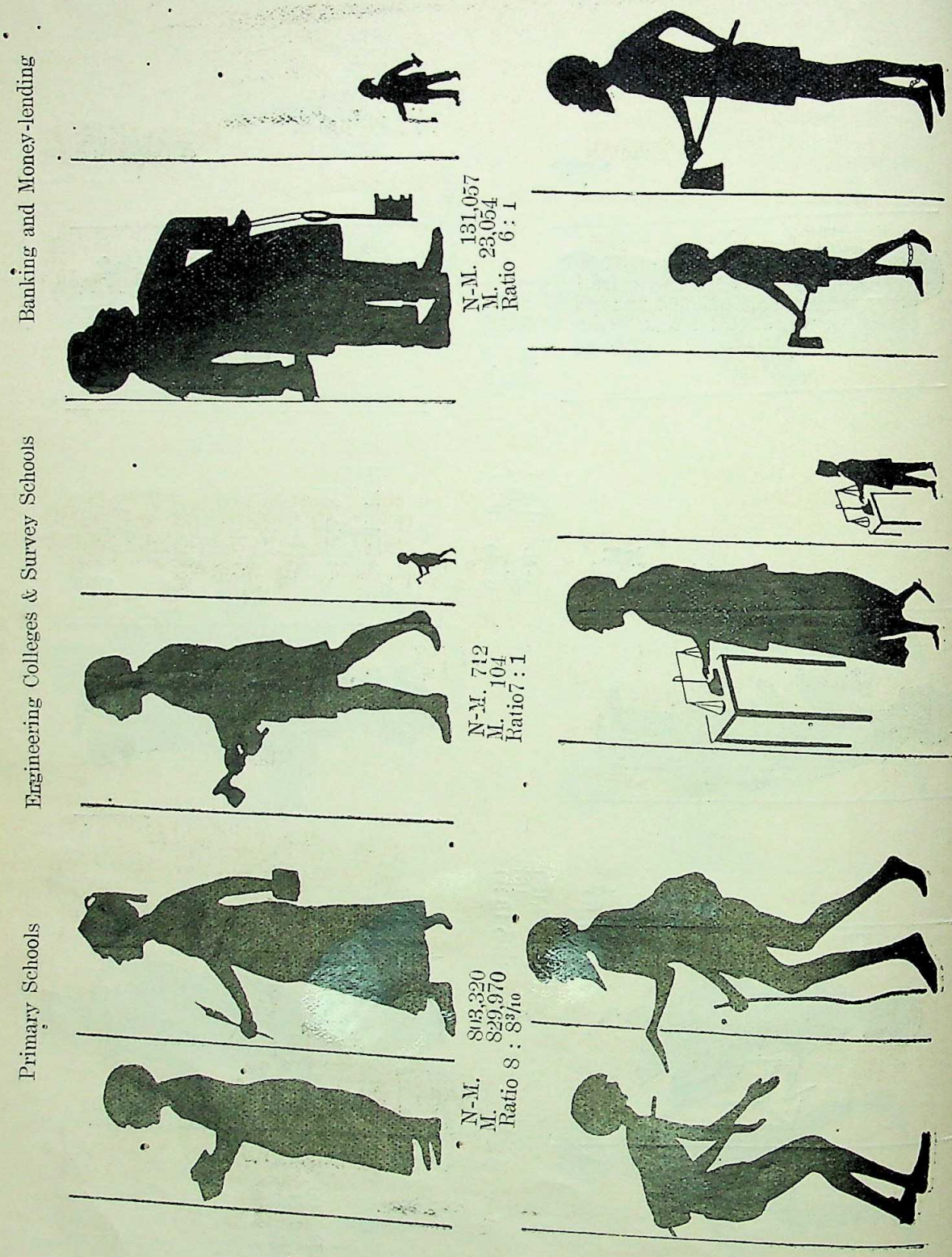

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Beggars
N-M. 187,195

Trade and Commerce
N-M. 18,45,677

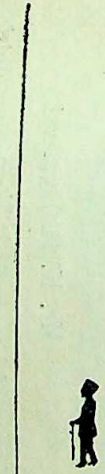
Jail Population
N-M. 5,805

Literacy in English (men)

Municipal and District Board Service

Middle Schools

N-M. 605,990
M. 127,907
Ratio 5 : 1



N-M. 19,560
M. 4,709
Ratio 25 : 6

N-M. 80,632
M. 19,857
Ratio 4 : 1

Medical College
N-M. 2,948
M. 605
Ratio 5 : 1

Literacy in English (women)
N-M. 41,878
M. 3,161
Ratio 13 : 1

Agricultural Schools
N-M. 124
M. 19
Ratio 13 : 2

Training Schools and Colleges
N-M. 2,285
M. 1,168
Ratio 2 : 1

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non-Moslem population of Bengal, their literacy, literacy in English among men and women, their numbers in the professions of teaching, law, medicine, Government service, municipal and district board service, commerce, banking and money lending, actual cultivation, police service, military service, begging, and in jail population; the numbers of students of the two sections in the primary, middle, and high schools, colleges, post-graduate classes, law colleges, Medical institutions, training schools and colleges, engineering colleges and survey schools, agricultural schools, commercial schools and colleges, technical schools, art schools and veterinary schools.

Referring to the figures in the police and military services, the author of the pamphlet says that, though Musalmans boast of their courage and physical strength, they occupy an inferior position even in those services. He quotes from the report of the Calcutta University Student Welfare Committee the following physical measurements :

	Average Height	Average Weight	Average Chest Measurement
Non-Moslem	5′ 5½″	1-15-9	1·91″
Moslem	5′ 4⅘″	1-13-0	1.67″

He mourns the very inferior position of Moslems in female education. In primary schools for girls 6 out of 11 pupils are no doubt Muslim. But in middle schools Muslim girls form only a little more than two per cent of the total number of students, in high schools less than two per cent, in colleges 1 in 70, in training schools and colleges 1 in 11, and in technical schools one in forty.

—

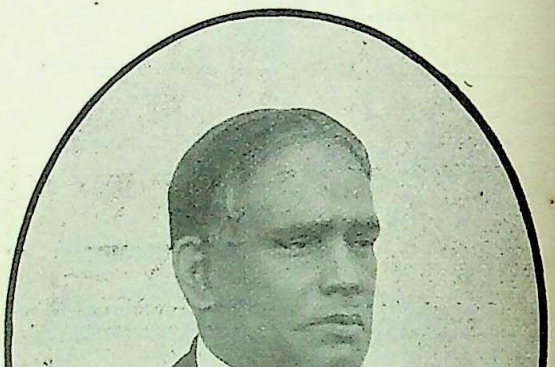
Oriental Conference at Patna

Patna, the ancient Pataliputra, capital of Bihar, the ancient Magadha, was last month the place of assembly of two learned bodies, the All-India Oriental Conference, and the Indian Historical Records Commission. Of the former, we have been favoured with the Address of Welcome by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, President of the Reception Committee, the Presidential Address by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, and an Address on Vedic Interpretation and Tradition by Pandit Vidhusekhara Sastri, president of the Vedic Section. It would not be possible to do full justice to these learned addresses in these notes. We must be content with making some extracts.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's Address

In his address Mr. K. P. Jayaswal fittingly dwelt thus on the glories of ancient Pataliputra :

When once more—we thought—the heirs of Panini and Pantanjali, Asvaghosha and Aryabhata would meet here in this capital and discuss here once more the problems of language and linguistics, literature and science, the traditions of our old city might revive. If not in our own right, certainly in the right of our eternal town—the Rome of Hindu India—to which all roads for arts, philosophies, law and sciences led for no less than ten centuries—in the right of that Pataliputra, we might claim to be your host. We thought, even if we failed in



Mr. K. P. Jayaswal

other forms of hospitality, we would entertain you by recalling to you that to-day you are in the very land and on the very site, where lived, wrote, and left to you an undying heritage your Panini, the first and still the foremost philologist of the world; your Kautilya, the Hindu Aristotle; your Asoka who chiselled on the page of history the greatest royal truth: *Real conquest is Duty*; your Patanjali, the grammarian, who has ruled over the Sanskrit language for the last two thousand years; your Umasvati (62 A. D.) who still leads in Jaina philosophy; and your Aryabhata, the astronomer and mathematician, who at the age of 23 in 498 A. D. formulated the theory of the earth's gravitation and whose science, as he himself has recorded, was honoured by the citizens of this town. Most of the best Sanskrit dramas were composed and staged at Pataliputra. In the fourth century women wrote plays here in Sanskrit with ease and elegance, and the Emperor Samudragupta, the greatest general of his time, struck his coins here with his picture in the pose of a musician, and took care to note, on stone, his literary powers along with his Alexander-like career. Full fifty

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per cent, if you make an appraisement, of your national achievement centres in and round this city.

After welcoming Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, the President of the session, Mr. Jayaswal went on to observe :

Mr. Hira Lal has been one of those workers whose results must go down to future generations As to-day we cannot do without quoting Cunningham and Buhler, Kielhorn and Fleet, Bhagwan Lal and Bhandarkar, Rajendra Lal and Haraprasad Sastri, so in future scholars of Indian History must cite Mr. Rakhaldas Banerjee and Mr. Hira Lal. These two names stand out in the generation following that of Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar and Dr. Haraprasad Sastri. Mr. R. D. Banerjee, who had been connected with the Bihar and Orissa Research Society by ties of most cordial friendship, has unfortunately been taken away from us, and we are poorer to-day in a measure beyond calculation. He and Mr. Hira Lal have filled up chapters of Indian History of which we knew mere outlines when we inherited Indology after Fleet and Kielhorn. There is not a single branch of Indology which Rai Bahadur Hira Lal has not enriched.

R. D. Banerji

The speaker then briefly described the work which is being done in the modern province of Bihar and referred to achievements in search of historical truth, some of which are his own. He then pointed out "some weak spots in our studies." For example,

Of late, some veteran numismatists, for instance Sir Richard Burn and Mr. Nevill, have left this country. Our greatest authority, Mr. R. D. Banerji, who was familiar with Indian coins of every age, has passed away. We should not forget that some chapters of Indian History are exclusively contributed by coins. It is our duty not to let this branch of study become feeble. Nor have we any right to fall behind in respect of the Vedas in the land where they were first sung, where from birth up to cremation they still sanctify our life. In the West, Professors Whitney and Macdonell have carried on the work of Panini in Vedic philology ; in India we have not yet equipped ourselves to step in and take over the Panini—Macdonell line: Persian calls for a serious band of workers ; there we have not done anything of note lately. Similarly Avestic studies should find worthy followers of Sir Jivanji Modi. Our progress in scientific study of history, epigraphy, classical philology, literature, medicine, Hindu Politics, and in philosophy—at present so ably led by Prof. Radhakrishnan—is gratifying. Hindu Sciences call for exponents, as a branch of theirs—the theory of sound—has got one in Sir C. V. Raman. Again, the spade has added a new material, a new problem. We have an unexecuted task in the tablets and seals of Mohen-jo-Daro. When they are read, then we shall know, to quote the words of an eminent English Orientalist writing to me, what Indian History is. Their solution is a trust left to us by the discoverer of Mohen-jo-Daro, Mr. R. D. Banerji.

Mr. Jayaswal then described places of historical interest in Bihar, and concluded with an account of the Patna Museum, the

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Oriental Library founded by Khan Bahadur Khudabakhsh, and Mr. P. C. Manuk's collections of Mughal paintings.

—

Rai Bahadur Hira Lal's Address

Rai Bahadur Hira Lal's presidential address is a comprehensive survey of the entire field of oriental learning. We must be content, therefore, with only making some extracts. After giving thanks for his election to the presidential chair, he said :

Before we proceed we have to bemoan the loss of a great antiquarian, whose discoveries have stirred up the scholars of the world and taken back India's historic antiquity to about five thousand years. You have all heard about Mohenjodaro, which was first brought to light by Professor R. D. Banerji, when serving in the Archaeological Department. With his singular knowledge of exploratory work, combined with epigraphical and historical learning, evidenced by his being called upon to contribute to the Cambridge History of India, Mr. Banerji rendered conspicuous service by unfolding what had remained an unknown past. He endeavoured to bring to the doors of even vernacular-knowing people a lot of ancient historical data, weeded from the traditional accretions of ages, by writing excellent books in his mother tongue, Bengali, the value of which was at once perceived, as is evident from the translations which were almost immediately made in other vernacular languages. He even went so far as to depict the society in ancient times by delectable contributions in the form of charming novels, which were also translated in other vernaculars. Mr. Banerji passed away at a comparatively young age, with a lot of contemplated work, yet unexecuted, which, if he had time to finish, would have been of tremendous value.

The Rai Bahadur then gave some idea of the presidential addresses of former presidents. On the development of modern Indian languages and literatures he observed :

In this connection the example of Bengal for the resuscitation and advancement of the Bengali language and literature is worthy of imitation. Comparatively speaking they have made a great advance, not only in the departments of *belles-lettres* in which epoch-making contributions by poets and novelists like Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Babu Dwijendra Lal Roy, Babu Sarat Chandra Chatterjee and others stand out prominently, but also in history, philology and philosophy some excellent books have been prepared, which have raised the Bengali literature. This has given an impetuss to other vernaculars including even Dravidian languages like Telugu, which have absorbed a good deal of it by translation, adaptation or otherwise. The literary Bengali being replete with Sanskrit words in their pure original form has afforded an excellent source for Hindi authors, since a turn was given to it by the great poet and writer Haris Chandra of Benares, about half a century ago. It is noteworthy that this poet at the tender age of 15 happened to pass through Bengal on his way to the sacred Jagannath Puri, and had thus an opportunity of seeing Bengali dramatic performances. This made great impression on his mind and led him to study Bengali with the result that three years later the first drama that he produced was *Vidya Sundara*, the translation of a Bengali drama. Once the start was given by a really great man, it was followed by lesser genius with great eagerness. Thus not only were many dramas and novels translated from Bengali into Hindi, but its puristic style moulded the Hindi diction to some extent. The Marathi language is considered to possess the largest number of Sanskrit words in its vocabulary, but its idioms and forms of expression are somewhat involved and do not afford such facilities for assimilation as do Bengali and Oriya, the latter being the youngest sister of Aryan languages. The cause of the current style in Hindi was much furthered by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Benares, which for a third of a century has done yeoman's service to the Hindi literature. The great work that it produced is a comprehensive dictionary of Hindi language through the unselfish efforts of a band of workers headed by one of our Sectional Presidents, Rai Sahib Syama Sundardas, its Founder President.

He paid a fitting compliment to the Osmania University at Hydarabad for the work which is being done there to develop Urdu, and proceeded to state :

In no other Indian university have matters gone so far, although vernaculars are now acknowledged as a suitable subject of study for university examinations, the lead having been given by Sir Asutosh Mookerji some years ago by admitting Bengali and other vernaculars for the M. A. and other degrees in the Calcutta University. It gave a great momentum to the philological and literary study of at least Bengali, on whose origin and development Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji has made a most valuable contribution.

As his and the late Mr. R. D. Banerji's names are mentioned together in connection with the discovery of the oldest extinct Indian civilization, the following account of the latter's work came fittingly from his lips :

It was in the year 1922 that Mr. R. D. Banerji undertook the exploration of a Buddhist *stupa* at a locality known as Mohen-jo-daro or Mohan's mound in Sind, and found that it was built on some other earlier remains. They were finally found to contain a great variety of antiquities including stone seals inscribed with legends in an unknown pictographic script, quite different from anything of the kind hitherto met in Indian art. Some of the latter when compared with those found at Susa exhibited such a close resemblance as to lead to the conclusion that they were from the same land. At any rate they showed the existence of very early relations of about 3000 B. C. between India and Mesopotamia. This led to the concentration of excavation on the spot with a number of superintendents from other circles, who finally dug up an extensive city with well-built houses furnished with their own wells and bathrooms with brick flooring and covered

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drains, betokening a social condition of the people much in advance of what was then prevailing in Mesopot mia or Egypt. Gold ornaments and other objects found in these ruins exhibited marked artistic ability as well as technical skill pointing to a very high development in civilization. In this way the finds of Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa revealed an amazing vista of prehistory, which is now being written upon by Sir John Marshall, whose *regime* as Director-General of Archaeology has initiated a scientific study of the subject in all its branches and has brought to light data, which promise to change the whole aspect of Indian history.

He expressed the opinion that the Greater India Society "is doing very useful work in bringing to prominent notice the influence of Indian civilization in the Far East.

Dr. Kalidas Nag has been so enthusiastic as to visit and re-visit some of these islands, one of which, Bali, still follows the Hindu religion. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has taken up one of the remotest Indian colonies, *viz.*, Annam, on which he has contributed a volume under its old name Champa. These colonies even reproduced Ayodhya, Kausambi, Srikshetra, Dwaravati, Mathura, Kamboja, Kalinga, Malava, Dasarna, Sarayu and Sumeru, thousands of miles away from their old namesakes. 'The numerous stone and brick temples, which in their dilapidated condition still excite our admiration, owe their existence to a mighty wave of civilization carried across the ocean from the Indian mainland. They belong to Indian creeds and were raised to the same gods, who are worshipped in India proper up to the present day.' The religious movements, says Dr. Vogel, of the Hindu-Javanese period subsist as the greatest that the national genius of Java inspired by Indian ideals has been able to produce. The stories of Mahabharata and Ramayana still form the themes of their literary works. The credit of original research in this connection is certainly due to French and Dutch scholars, but it is not less creditable to the Greater India Society, which is widely disseminating the knowledge of what was totally forgotten,

Rai Bahadur Hira Lal praised the work done by the Varendra Research Society and the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Regarding the Journal of the latter, he said :

"Here at Patna itself the high standard which the editor of the Journal of the Research Society (Mr. K. P. Jayaswal) has established has been recognized both in India and Europe. Indeed I know of nobody in India who can make the oldest sculptures and scripts to tell their tales so well as Mr. Jayaswal."

—

Pandit Vidhusekhara Sastri's Address

The address of Pandit Vidhusekhara Sastri, president of the Vedic Section of the Oriental Conference, on "Vedic Interpretation and Tradition," being recondite in character, does not lend itself easily to quotation piecemeal for the general reader. He told his audience :

Whatever might be our attitude that the Veda is really a treasure, a treasure not only for the Brahman, but also for humanity at large, a most precious inheritance of the past. And it is specially so, for us Indians, as it is the ultimate source, directly or indirectly, of whatever we have thought about and striven for the peace and happiness of man and the universe during the whole course of our existence as a people.

We are glad to learn from him that

Our scholars are not remaining idle. Since last we met at Lahore, three important Vedic publications have come out. It was in the first session of our Oriental Conference held in Poona that as many as three MSS. unpublished commentaries on the Rig-Veda, lent by the Government MSS. Library, Madras, were exhibited, one of them being that of Skanda-svamin, and anotner of Venkata Mādhava. It is now gratifying to see that the first of these two as edited by Pandit Sambasiva Sastri has been placed in our hands by the authorities of the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*. The second work has been given to us by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma Vidyabhushana. It is an important commentary on the *Taittiriya Pratisakhya*. It forms the first volume of the recently started *Madras University Sanskrit Series*. The last work comes from the North, the Panjab, the old home of Vedic culture, the people of which have once more become alive to our great ancestral heritage, specially through the inspiration of the Arya-Samaja. We all know the World-Indices of all the four Samhitas of the Veda prepared by the late Svami Visvesvarananda and Swami Nityananda, both of the Arya-Samaja. Then Pandit Hansraj of the D.A.-V. College has given us his *Vaidika-Kosa* which helps one much in Vedic studies with special reference to Brahmanas. And now Principal Visvabandhu Sastri of the Dayananda Brahma Mahavidyalay, Lahore, working in the same line, has been engaged in bringing out a complete Etymological Dictionary of the Vedic Language in Sanskrit, Hindi, and English, of which the first (specimen) fasciculus has already reached our hands. In this Conference we express our sincere thanks to all these workers.

—

Rabindranath Tagore on the Indian Situation

Last month we received from the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, for publication in this *Review*, the message which was delivered by him to the New York Press Association. Through the "Free Press of India" we sent it to the Indian dailies, many of which published it. It runs as follows :

"In answer to the question as to whether India is ready for independence I must repeat that it is the sense of responsibility which comes with freedom itself that makes a nation fit for self-rule, because this fitness is not an artificial condition imposed from without but a natural process which

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is inevitably linked up with the creative unfoldment of a nation's life. Judged by an artificial standard hardly any nation is fit for self-government and it would not be fair for any country to claim social and political perfection much less the right to rule and govern the destiny of any other country on the grounds of moral guardianship. As in the individual life so on the national plane our most important concern is to make truth operative not through coercion which kills it, but through the vital section of an awakened consciousness and this can come only from within.

"I am proud that my countrymen, to-day, under their great leader Mahatma Gandhi, have disdained to imitate the violent methods of the modern military nations in their struggle for freedom, but made moral integrity and the spirit of sacrifice, the directive power of their non-violent movement. By accepting spiritual force as their chief weapon they have already proved their superiority to the primitive mentality of unashamed pillage and man-slaughter which persists in most countries to-day, and I have no doubt that if our countrymen can keep fast to this heroism of non-violence in spite of violent provocation, they will have no difficulty in establishing freedom, which is already theirs in so far as they are true to their central ideal.

"I can tell you that the whole world to-day has to recognize the greatness of India's spiritual struggle for liberty. India has proved that human history has come to a stage when moral force has to be acknowledged even by politics. The invitation accorded to her by an imperial power which can easily coerce her to silence by a virulent maintenance of military law and order is itself a sign of the time undreamt of even a century ago. The real importance of the conference is not in the opportunity it may offer of a co-operation with the British politicians but with the soul force of the whole world. We must know that this conference is going to hold its sittings before the world tribunal whose approbation it is eager to win."

This was written and delivered to the New York Press Association in the first week of November last, before the so-called Round Table Conference had held its first meeting.

We do not know in exactly what form news of the so-called Round Table Conference and how Nationalist India looks upon it, has reached America. But the Poet seems to have laboured under some misconception regarding this Confernce. In his letter on the subject published in *The Spectator* he assumed that Mahatma Gandhi had refused the invitation to attend the Conference. But as a matter of fact, as far as we are aware, Mr. Gandhi was never formally invited, though Lord Irwin appears to have expected that if the Peace Pourparlers carried on with the Mahatma through Mr. Jayakar and Dr. Sapru terminated satisfactorily, he (Mr. Gandhi) would attend the Conference. But the Viceroy did not budge an inch from his undated and vague promise and the peace talks ended in smoke. So Gandhiji received no invitation and was not released from jail to attend the Conference. It would have been a grim joke indeed, if Gandhiji had been asked to attend the Conference on the condition that he accepted the British Government's terms and if his release were made to depend upon his acceptance of an invitation of this character.

The three paragraphs reproduced above are quite worthy of their author. We can make only one comment. The real importance of the Conference may really lie in the opportunity it may offer of a co-operation with the soul-force of the whole world. But it is only soul-force which can co-operate with soul-force. There is, however, no one among the so-called Indian delegates who can be said to be an exponent *par excellence* of India's soul-force, though they all possess souls. The "invitation" was not really an invitation to India at all. And that in two senses: "India" was not invited, for her most representative, great-souled, and self-dedicated sons and daughters were not asked to attend the Conference; and even those who are attending the Conference are only nominees of the British Government, *not* persons chosen and delegated by all or any section of the people of India.

Under the circumstances, though the Conference has been holding its sittings before the world tribunal, that tribunal will not have any correct idea of what India wants and stands for. On the contrary, owing to the astuteness with which the British rulers of India have chosen their men from among Indians, that tribunal will have a rather poor idea of India's manhood and womanhood and her sons' and daughters' power of concerted action. The British managers of the show have managed to give the world the impression that the greatest problem before the Conference is the communal problem. The British managers of the show do not want the world to know that men and women *of all creeds* in India are engaged in a bloodless struggle for self-rule, in the course of which some of them have given their lives, thousands have suffered assault and tens of thousands have gone to jail.

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"Tribute to the Indian Physicists"

Advance has published the following paragraphs under the above caption :

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In connection with the award of Nobel Prize to Prof. Sir C. V. Raman, F.R.S., the Swedish daily paper "*Svenska Dagbladet*" of the 14th November, 1930, says :

"The scientific research work in India stands now-a-days very high. At the Calcutta University, which was founded in 1857, are, besides Sir C. V. Raman, several physicists with wor d-known fame, as Prof. Debendra Mohan Bose, Ghose Professor of Pure Physics, Prof. Phanindra Nath Ghose, Ghose Professor of Applied Physics, etc.

"To the star class and the Nobel Prize candidates of the future belong the Astrophysicist Prof. Meghnad Saha of the Allahabad University.

"In connection with the centenary celebration of the Academy of Sciences, Russia, Sir C. V. Raman as a representative of India passed through Upsala in 1925. At the celebration in Russia the Soviet Government took the opportunity to show its great and strong sympathy with the Orient and the whole thing was directed against England. Sir C. V. Raman proved himself fully equal to the occasion. He made an endless number of speeches which said absolutely nothing, but delivered with lively gestures banging his fist to the table, making everybody roar with applause. After that he has been looked upon as a very temperamental and dangerous Bolshevik, although his active propaganda is only known to have been limited to his taking part in the revolution of Classical Physics. But in this bloodless revolution, he has taken a most prominent part."

—

"Fairness" of an Anglo-Indian Paper

At the last St. Andrews' Dinner, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal paid the following undeserved tribute to the non-existent fairness of *The Statesman* :

"The fair and fearless manner in which the *Statesman* endeavours to enlighten and inform public opinion in these times, so full of complexity and doubt, is worthy of the best traditions of a great profession and assures the paper that position of eminence and repute it enjoys in India."

Thereupon *Liberty* came out with the following :

The Statesman, which had the copyright for the publication in India of the late Mr. Montagu's "Indian Diary," recently published a number of interesting extracts, among which, however, the following piquant commentary on the ways of the quondam Editor of our distinguished contemporary was not to be found. Comment is needless. On page 96 of the "Indian Diary" Mr. Montagu says :

"Then after lunch great fun. Mr. Jones, a Welsh radical, who now edits the *Statesman*, came along. I began, very mildly, asking for his political views, and then read him extracts from his own paper. 'What are the principles on which journalists act in India ?' I said. 'Do you ever verify your facts ? Is it one of your traditions that it does not matter whether a thing is true or not so long as it gives you a text for a leader?' A dirty pocket handkerchief came out of his pocket, and he mopped his brow, and said : 'I should like you to be more explicit.' I said, 'You tell me in this article, that I quote, of October 17.. that I ordered the release of Mrs. Besant. Why did you say that ? Had you any paper to prove it ? Who told you that I had ordered the release of Mrs. Besant ? Why did not you believe what I and the Viceroy had said ?' 'That was my inference.'

'Have you ever corrected it, knowing it was not true ?' The dirty handkerchief came out again. Next statement, 'You say here that I had persuaded Lloyd George that it was necessary to do something in India, and that the desire for reform came from me. Have you read His Excellency's speech in the Legislative Council ? Do you know that he invited Austen Chamberlain here ? Do you know that he sent a despatch home in November, 1916 ? Why do you make these statements which are not true ? Do you not realize that Indian journalists copy the lead of British journalists ? Have you no idea of editorial responsibility ?' Nothing but muttering and murmuring and handkerchief."

Mr. Montagu was mistaken in thinking that Indian journalists could ever expect to possess the inventive genius, the ignorance of India and the utter disregard of facts which characterize the work of many distinguished British journalists.

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Revival of Two Ordinances

On December 23 last, His Excellency the Governor-General revived and promulgated the Press Ordinance in a more stringent form and the Unlawful Instigation Ordinance. He has expressed regret that having regard to the urgent necessity of taking measures to meet the present situation, he has not thought it possible to await the meeting of the Central Legislature, but it is the intention of his Government to bring these matters before it at the earliest opportunity. The Central Legislature is to meet this month. So the Governor-General could have waited for two or three weeks to place these matters before it. The ordinary laws of the land are quite sufficient for all the purposes of the administration. If any proof of that fact were needed, it is afforded by the ease with which picketers are being convicted, though the anti-picketing ordinance is no longer in force. Did the Governor-General apprehend that even in a Legislature which does not contain any Swarajist his Government might not be able to get the necessary laws passed ?

The Press Ordinance extends only to the whole of "British" India, but it affords protection to the Indian Princes and Chiefs also, whose domicile is outside British India!

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Why it does not extend similar protection to the Indian States' peoples is quite plain.

Distributing unauthorized news-sheets and newspapers have been made an offence. It should have been clearly explained that postmasters and postmen are not liable to any penalty for such distribution, for they are among the greatest distributors of such things.

Section 23 of the Press Ordinance provides for applications to High Courts to set aside orders of forfeiture. It is to be noted that section 27 requires every High Court to frame rules to regulate, among other things, the amount of the costs in the case of such applications. As in the *Bharatmen Angrezi Raj* case, tried by the Allahabad High Court, the applicant lost his case and had in addition to pay heavy costs, this section in the ordinance evidently means that when an application to set aside an order of forfeiture is not granted the applicant will have to pay costs. So the owner of a small or a big press may run the risk of having to pay a kind of heavy fine in addition to losing his press, if he has the hardihood to appeal against an executive order of forfeiture made summarily without any trial. The possibility—nay, the probability—of having to pay a heavy fine in the shape of costs will act as a deterrent against applications being made against orders of forfeiture. This may improve the chances of success of repression, but may in that case practically mean denial of justice.

When the Press Ordinance was first promulgated, we commented on it at some length, though we commented in vain. Such comments need not, therefore, be repeated. But it may be observed that it is anticipated that as the first press ordinance failed to achieve its object, as proved by the need of its revival, the second will also fail to restrain and abate the ardour for self-rule, though it will undoubtedly succeed in preventing the open dissemination of what people may consider correct news of executive and police illegalities.

In his statement of the reasons for re-promulgating the press ordinance, His Excellency the Governor-General speaks of the civil disobedience movement "rapidly developing into violent resistance to constituted authority." Of course, there has been and continues to be widespread resistance to constituted authority. But such resistance has been, for the most part, "passive," not violent. Even so moderate a man as Mr. J. N. Basu, solicitor, leader of the Bengal Liberals and a member of the so-called Round Table Conference, said in the course of his presidential address at the annual meeting of the Indian Association in Calcutta that the use of force by the police has been much more in evidence than its use by the people—we have paraphrased in mild language stronger words used by him.

Satyagrahis, as far as we can conjecture, will gladly give up resistance to constituted authority and obey it with alacrity, when it is derived from the will of the people.

Lord Irwin's statement refers to "inflammatory writings in the press." We have not seen any such writings, though there may be some use of vehement language. Nor have we come across any "direct or indirect incitement to violent and revolutionary crime," in newspapers. His Excellency says that it is not his "desire that the ordinance should restrict the just liberties of the press or should check fair criticism of the administration or of constitutional proposals." The pity of it is that "the just liberties of the press" and "fair criticism of the administration or of constitutional proposals" have nowhere been standardized or clearly defined. His Excellency has his own ideas of what they are or ought to be. But they may not necessarily be identical with what Indian public opinion or world public opinion may think they ought to be. Moreover, the ordinance will be administered, not by His Excellency, but by different officers in different provinces, who, again, will depend on the opinion of some police underlings whose business it is to read newspapers, leaflets, etc. In the "India in Bondage" case, Sir P. C. Mitter, Executive Councillor, and the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal both said in evidence that they had not read the book, nor could they say who had read it.

His Excellency has done well to add:

"Nor is it my desire that action should be taken under this ordinance in regard to writings published previous to its promulgation and I have caused the necessary instructions in this respect to be issued to Local Governments."

For when the ordinance was first promulgated, action *was* taken in regard to writings published before its promulgation.

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All Asia Educational Conference

It was a grand idea—that of an All Asia Educational Conference, betokening the birth of continental consciousness in Asia. Whoever conceived it deserves high praise. The first session of the conference commenced its sitting on the 26th December last in Benares. The choice of Benares was quite appropriate. For it deserves the name of the Eternal City much more than Rome, which had not been founded when Benares had been already famous for at least two millenniums and hoary with antiquity. A large number of foreign and Indian delegates from far and near has been attending the conference and learned papers are being read.

Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, the President, delivered an eloquent extempore address, which lasted about half an hour. It is usual for the president on such great occasions to read a well thought-out and printed address, which Professor Radhakrishnan is well qualified to do. Most probably he was not given sufficient time for that purpose. For, after it had been ascertained that the Poet Tagore would not return to India in December, the organizers of the conference at first asked Prof. Sir J. C. Bose to preside. As he could not accept the office, Sir Brajendranath Seal was next asked to do so. But being in a very poor state of health, he, too, we presume, had to decline.

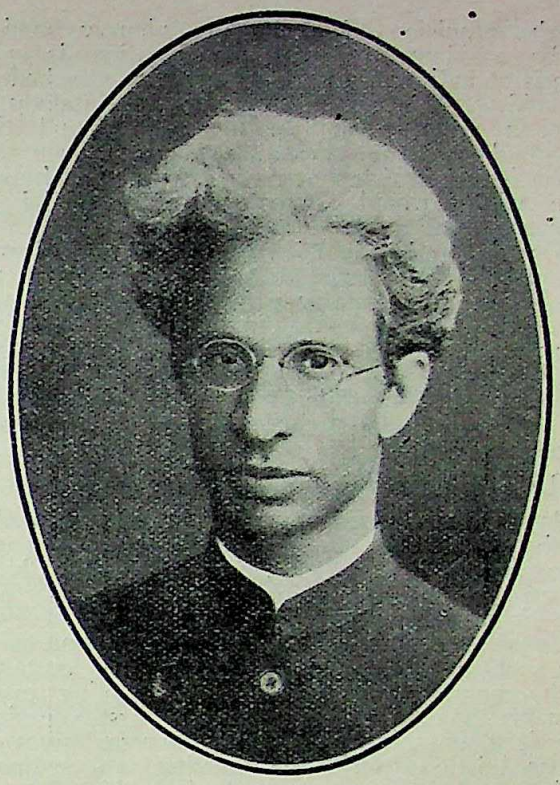
According to the "Free Press" summary of the President's speech, he said, in part:

"Why India, particularly Benares, was selected as the venue of the Conference? Because India occupies a central position in Asia. India is a place of learning, civilization, culture and spirituality from eternity, and Benares an ancient holy city and a centre of learning and spirituality which had a supremacy in eastern education. Higher education produces sages, philosophers, spiritualists in Asia, whereas it produces scientists, intellectuals and learned people in Europe. The object of education lies in the culture of the soul. Sweetness of temper and inner illumination are essential for culture. We must attain power to translate our inspiration into actualities."

The speaker then mentioned the names of Gautama Buddha and Sankaracharya, who delivered sermons for far-off countries, and quoted verses from the Gita. "Our ancient teachings and education," he said, "are talk of sublime thoughts."

Concluding the President said: "If we are to preserve our idea of education, it must have a fundamental basis of truth, morality, sweetness of temper, sanity, strength, wisdom, culture and spiritualism, which will foster unity, equality and universal brotherhood amongst mankind to build a better Asia."

The President also said:



Prof. S. Radhakrishnan

"Let us build a better India, a better Asia and a better world. If the science of the West is necessary for the comfort of the world, the wisdom of the East is necessary for the salvation of mankind."

—

Prof. Seshadri's Adress

Professor P. Seshadri welcomed the delegates to the All Asia Educational Conference in the course of his address.

He referred to Benares as the intellectual capital of India, which could boast of an unbroken tradition of learning and culture where from the earliest recorded period of History scholars and philosophers had flocked to establish the value of their discoveries or to draw fresh inspiration for advancement of their learning. He, however, regretted that the Conference was being held at a time when India was involved in the throes of a political struggle,—whose end did not seem to be within sight.

"Many of our distinguished leaders," said the speaker, "are in jail and a large number of our Ruling Princes are in England attending the Round Table Conference."

Proceeding Principal Seshadri said that adequate realization of the educational needs of the country was their primary aim and they were anxious to invite the attention of the Conference to solve some of the serious problems with which they were faced.

"Our most serious problem is that of the illiteracy of our masses," said he, "though it cannot be said that they are entirely uneducated in some matters."

Referring to female education Principal Seshadri

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said that provision of a complete plenary session for the consideration of women's education is only some faint indication of the importance attached to that subject. The problem of women's illiteracy is one of our greatest handicaps to progress, and the present disparity in education between men and women is committing havoc in many an Indian home which would otherwise be a model of happiness.

In regard to the education of the depressed classes Principal Seshadri said that there could be no great future for a country which could hold down some of its kith and kin in ignorance, avoiding their very touch as pollution. He, however, felt that, in spite of the social issues involved, they hoped that it would be possible for them to do something for the educational advancement of the depressed classes.

In conclusion Principal Seshadri said :

Before I conclude, I must offer the special thanks of the Federation, to the educationists who have come from foreign countries, from Japan and China and even from Georgia and the Philippines. We wish it had been possible for a larger number of our profession to respond to our invitation even from such distant countries, but we feel grateful for the opportunity we now have of meeting even a few of them. It is perhaps the first occasion in modern times, when cultural representatives of various Asiatic countries are meeting on a common platform and the event may become historic, as one of the landmarks in the present awakening of Asia. Though the developments of modern civilization have tended to counteract national isolation and we are all being caught up in the maelstrom of the activities of to-day, we have perhaps a sense of special kinship, being the inheritors of an almost common civilization. It is true that, except in the case of Japan, we have not such an excellent record of educational advancement to-day as some of the advanced countries of the West, but let us not meet in any spirit of the consciousness of an inherent inferiority complex. Let us remember that we lighted the torch of learning first in the history of human thought and we kept it blazing at a time when the rest of the world was steeped in the darkness of ignorance and we have achievements of the spirit to our credit which have yet to be reached by the nations of the West.

It is difficult to disguise the melancholy reflection that we are welcoming you to a land whose political status is now inferior to that of most of the other countries in Asia, but we hope you will find enough to interest you during your visit in the great antiquities of this land, its imperishable monuments of art, its numerous aspects of picturesque life, its signs of new political awakening and even in an extensive educational system.

We are living, no doubt, in a state of political subjection ; but nothing can deprive us of the freedom of the spirit. It is a great hope and a great joy that increasing numbers of our countrymen are coming into the enjoyment of that inner freedom, which enables one to cast off all fears and bondage. And we derive strength and solace from the fact that even in our depressed condition we had and have in our midst some of the greatest personalities of all time.

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Forfeiture of a Non-official Enquiry Committee's Reports

Liberty writes :

An Extraordinary issue of the *Calcutta Gazette* dated December 20, declares the forfeiture of all copies, wherever found, of the book entitled "Law and Order in Midnapore in 1930 as contained in the Reports of the Non-Official Enquiry Committee." The book has been forfeited on the ground that it contains matters "punishable under Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code." Among the signatories to the Report, which has been published under the form of a booklet, are men like Messrs. Jatindra Nath Basu, Kshitish Chandra Neogy and others. Mr. Jatindra Nath Basu was nominated as a delegate to the Round Table Conference after he signed the report. Mr Kshitish Chandra Neogy read extracts from the report in the Assembly and challenged the Home Member to refute his statements, if possible. He took upon himself full responsibility for his statements and asked the Government to prosecute him on a charge of sedition, if they liked.

If the Government had accepted Mr. K. C. Neogy's challenge and prosecuted him for sedition, there would have been a trial and both the Government and the public would have been in a position to know the value of the evidence on which the reports of the non-official enquiry committee were based. But by adopting the easier method of proscribing the book which contains the reports, the Bengal Government has lost that advantage and deprived the public also of that advantage. Nor has that Government succeeded entirely in preventing the dissemination of the contents of the book which has been proscribed. For the bulk of the first report, known as the Contai report, was read out in the Legislative Assembly by Mr. K. C. Neogy, and extracts from it appeared in many newspapers ; and extracts from the other reports, too, have appeared in the press. Under the circumstances, the Bengal Government need not be surprised if people conclude that the extracts which appeared in the press and those which are published in the official report of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly give a substantially true version of what happened in Midnapur district.

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The First Indian Travel Agency

INDIAN COMMERCIAL CORPORATION

The difficult task of establishing an Indian Travel Agency has been accomplished at length, in London, by Mr. N. N.

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Ghose. Mr. Ghose proceeded to England by the end of 1926. In 1927 he took up Aviation as his future career. After working in different aeronautical firms he joined Imperial Airways to study the economics and organization of Air Transport. During his stay with Imperial Airways he was struck by the enormous amount of money handled each year by tourists' agents in the western countries and the vast field open in India for such an organization. By the beginning of 1930 he set his hands to an adventurous task. He was successful in forming the "Indian Commercial Corporation." It has been, since then, gaining foot slowly. Mr. Ghose intends to come to India very shortly to open a few branches to facilitate travel between the East and the West. In a few days' time it will be thus possible for Indians to travel all over the world with the least difficulty. Their travel arrangements will be made henceforth by their countrymen and they will be met everywhere by their own countrymen. X.

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The "Round Table" Conference on India and "Dominion Status"

The news-item, published in *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Paris) of Nov. 29, 1930, that Hon. Dr. Moonje, M. L. A., one of the leading members of the Round Table Conference on the Indian Constitution, has expressed frankly that the term "dominion status" should be definitely included in the preamble of any document which will have any bearing on the future Constitution of India, has great significance. The significance lies in the fact that King George, in opening the conference and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in his speeches have studiously refrained from using the term "dominion status for India."

Students of international relations and agreements know well that the preamble to a treaty or a pact is as important as the articles or the reservations made through the exchange of notes. This has been the interpretation of the Kellogg Pact. If Britain is to acknowledge that the future Constitution of India will accord the same status to the Federated India or the United States of India, as is enjoyed by other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, then there is no reason why this point should not be made clear by incorporation of the term "dominion status" with the necessary explanation attached to it.

From the experience of the past, Indian Liberal leaders and Princes should be very careful in dealing with British statesmen, who have twisted their compacts to suit their interests. To be explicit, it is clear that when the Government of India Act, sponsored by the late Hon. Edwin Montagu, was adopted, there occurred in its preamble the phrase "progressive realization of full responsible government." The meaning of this phrase was interpreted to be "dominion status" for India. This explanation was accepted by Indian Liberals in good faith. But it is a matter of history that no less a person than Lord Reading, (not to speak of the leaders of the British Die-hards and members of the Indian Empire Society), until very recently tried to interpret the "progressive realization of full responsible government" as something other than "dominion status."

Indian Princes cannot forget that, although they claim to enjoy "sovereign rights" and explain that their position is nothing more or less than that of "allies" of Great Britain, no less a person than Earl Reading, the ex-Lord Chief Justice of Great Britain, the members of the Butler Commission (headed by Sir Harcourt Butler) and the members of the Simon Commission (headed by the distinguished lawyer Sir John Simon) held that the real position of Indian Princes was not that of sovereign potentates who were allies of the King of England, but *they were really vassals, subject to be dethroned at the will of the Paramount Power.* It was contended, in this connection, that the Indian Princes, through acknowledgment of the usages and traditional practices, lost their full sovereignty and thus made themselves subject to the unrestricted authority of the paramount power. Because of this, the other day, the astute and able Nawab of Bhopal made it clear that the Princes, before signing any agreement, wished to have their status clearly determined *judicially*, in conformity with their treaty-rights.

The late Lord Curzon and others declared that the proclamation of the late Queen Victoria should not be taken too seriously by Indians, because it was nothing but a diplomatic declaration. In view of these and many other incidents, and particularly the recent troubles about the

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real meaning of the Balfour Declaration and the import of the "the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine" and violation of a solemn British pledge, as it has been termed by some conservative and liberal statesmen of Great Britain, in connection with the British Government's present policy in Palestine, it will be worth while for the Indian statesmen to pay heed to the stand of Dr. Moonje and others.

Indian statesmen cannot be too careful in this matter. Unless they protect themselves and make their own position clear beyond the shadow of a doubt, they may subscribe to a policy which may later on signify something very different from what they intended. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty; and no statesman should ever take anything for granted. Things which are taken for granted are often repudiated. This is the history of international diplomacy. A recent example of it is, that it was taken for granted by German statesmen that Italy, by becoming a party to the Triple Alliance, was bound by a treaty of "offensive and defensive alliance." But when the time for the test came in 1914, Italy took a different stand; because Italy's interpretation of the treaty was different from that of Austria and Germany. Indeed Italy could take this stand, because there was no mention of "offensive and defensive" alliance in the instrument of the "Triple Alliance."

British statesmen often speak enthusiastically for "dominion status for India"; but whenever a responsible Indian statesman, be he Gandhi, Moonje, Sapru, Sastri, or Jinnah, demands that the representatives of India and Britain should draw up a constitution of India on the basis of "dominion status," they refuse to subscribe to this definite policy. Only the other day, in connection with the "Round Table" Conference, Lord Peel very frankly said that his party (Conservatives) think that "dominion status for India" was the goal; but it could not be achieved now, or in the near future. Are the representatives of the present Labour Government and of the Liberal Party of Great Britain also of the same opinion? If not, there cannot be any excuse for not using the definite expression of "dominion status" in the preamble of a document which is to deal with the future form of federation of India.

There is no need of denying that the people of India in general do not believe in the sincerity of each and every British statesman, for innumerable reasons. By not using the expression "dominion status," British statesmen help to arouse new suspicions regarding the real motive for holding the "Round Table" Conference. If the "Round Table" Conference makes the decision that India should have full dominion status now or within a definite date, this should be clearly stated in unmistakable terms; so that later on it cannot be misconstrued in any other way. If for some reasons, British statesmen refuse to agree to such a demand it will be wise for Indian statesmen that before they give their assent to any agreement, even on principle, they should explain their position fully and clearly.

TARAKNATH DAS

Cannes, France.
Nov. 30. 1930

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Attempted Political Murder Again

The murder of Lieut.-Colonel Simpson, late Inspector-General of Jails in Bengal, in the Calcutta Writers' Buildings, has been followed by the attempted murder of the Governor of the Panjab and the murder of a sub-inspector of police at the last convocation of the Panjab University. Most probably, these are terrorist outrages. They deserve to be condemned like other murders. On public grounds also they deserve to be reprobated; for they put obstacles in the way of the success of the different non-violent methods which are being adopted by different political parties to bring about the political emancipation of India. But whether they spoil the chances of success of India's non-violent struggle or not, they may diminish the respect in which India has begun to be held in foreign countries for the non-violent and spiritual heroism of many of her sons and daughters. We do not, of course, mean to say that we ought to act in any particular manner simply to win the good opinion of foreigners, though as men and social beings we value such good opinion. Whether foreigners think well of us or not, it is the highest ethical and spiritual ideal evolved in India which we should conform to; and if in doing so we gain the respect and sympathy of the world, that is no mean advantage.

Those who consider themselves "practical" men, may not care for any talk of high

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ideals. But practical considerations may be adduced, which, if pondered over, should wean terrorists and would-be terrorists from the pursuit of wrong courses of action. Of course, if revenge, public or private, be their motive in any particular case, it is only spiritual conversion that can cure the desperate among them. But if they think that they can put an end to British domination in India and liberate the country by political assassinations, they are mistaken. We do not want to make the unhistorical statement that violence has had no place in the past history of the world in national struggles for independence. But in the past successful violence for national emancipation in all cases took the form of regular warfare. Terrorist outrages and political assassinations are, however, not war. Moreover, at present the greatest political thinkers of India have for different reasons eschewed the method of war for winning self-rule for the country.

But we do not depend on their authority alone in thinking that terrorism cannot succeed in freeing India. The success of terrorist methods would depend on no men being found to take the place of murdered executive or police officers. Now, during the last twenty-five years or thereabouts, several executive and police officers, European and Indian, have been killed or seriously wounded. But the vacancies created by their death or disablement have never remained unfilled in a single instance for a single day owing to the paucity of men fearless enough to step into their shoes. What is true of the past has every chance of being true of the future. Again, if it be argued by the terrorists that their methods are likely to change the methods or behaviour of executive and police officers, it may be pointed out that the successors of the murdered or disabled officers have generally acted just like their predecessors, undismayed by the fate of the latter.

So moral, spiritual and practical considerations must alike lead all thinking men to condemn political assassinations and other terrorist methods.

The Government of India observed in effect in one of their weekly surveys of the civil disobedience movement that the failure of that movement would be likely to give a fillip to terrorism. That was a true observation. For terrorism is often born of despair of success by following other methods. But the advisers of the Government also know that in India it is easier to suppress violence, which is not organized on a large scale and cannot be widespread, than it is to suppress a countrywide movement of non-violent rebellion. Hence, preferring neither a violent nor a non-violent struggle for freedom, they may either consider themselves to be between the devil and the deep sea, or think that they are strong enough to crush both and impose their will on the people of India.

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Repudiation of a Public Debt

One of the most vigorously criticized conditions laid down by the leaders during the "peace" pourparlers carried on with Lord Irwin through Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar as intermediaries, was "the right to refer, if necessary, to an independent tribunal such of the British claims, concessions and the like, including the so-called public debt of India, as may seem to the national Government to be unjust or not in the interest of the people of India." This was interpreted by the Viceroy and most other British critics as the right to repudiate all the public debts of India, though the words quoted above do not certainly admit of such an interpretation. But we need not repeat our comments on the topic in our last October issue, p. 469. Officials and their supporters were red with anger at the mere suggestion that some of the public borrowings in India might not have been in the interest of India. But here is an instance of actual repudiation of half of a debt by a British administrator of an Indian state appointed by the Government of India. *The Leader* of Allahabad publishes the following letter, said to have been issued by Major Robson, the Administrator of the Bharatpore State, to the British Indian investors in the 5½ per cent Bharatpore State Loan, 1927-47:

of Dear Sir,—In view of the virtual bankruptcy of hathe Bharatpore State, the Government of India thve had under consideration for some time past toe whole question of the aid which they are able a afford in settling the liabilities of the Darbar, fs the State is utterly unable to liquidate the debts rom its own resources. In respect of the 5½ per cent debenture loan raised in 1927 and repayble in 1947, of which you are one of the holders, they have now been pleased to order that the debenture holders are to be offered fresh debentures on the same lines as the old ones as to rate of interest

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(which will be at 5½ per cent) and maturity, but for half the amount of the present debentures. The arrears of interest due to the end of the current year will not be paid; further interest, which will accrue on the new debentures with effect from 1st January 1931, to be paid yearly in January beginning with January 1932. The Government of India have further laid down that the holders are to be informed clearly that if they do not accept this offer within a reasonable period, which is hereby fixed as up to the 30th November, 1930, the liability of the State will be definitely written off and no further claim in this respect will be entertained.

I am accordingly to give you notice that if you do not intimate acceptance of this offer and return for necessary action, as explained above, the debentures held by you so as to reach the Financial Secretary Bharatpore, by 30th November, 1930 the debt due to you will be written off and no further claims will be entertained. The Government of India have arrived at this decision after earnest consideration of all the facts connected with the case, and the offer made is final.

Yours faithfully,
Administrator, Bharatpore State.

In commenting on this letter *The Leader* refers to Lord Irwin's attitude towards the Congress leaders' condition relating to public debt, and says :

Yet when it comes to dealing with an Indian state, of which the Government of India has assumed direct management, the Government has not hesitated to propose repudiation of a material portion of the loan, regardless of the loss which it would cause to the British Indian investors, who naturally look up to the Government of India for support. Is it right and equitable for the Government of India to insistently press and expect any Dominion Government, likely to succeed to it, to honour its obligations in full, and yet deal differently with an Indian state, when it assumes its direct administration, and ask the British Indian investors to forgo half the amount of loan and the interest for the preceding three years without making any serious attempt to develop its resources and economise its administration? We regard it as nothing but scandalous to threaten in this autocratic and arbitrary manner the British Indian investors with the writing off of their share of the loan if they do not agree to accept the terms offered. We feel pretty sure that if the Maharaja had been alive, he would not have acted in this manner towards his creditors. And if he had done so, the Political department of the Government would itself have taken strong objection to such a course being adopted.

—

Two Social Reform Bills

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty has given notice of two Bills relating to social reform, which will be introduced at the next session of the Legislative Assembly. One of these is intended to remove certain disabilities affecting the so-called untouchables in the Hindu community and provides, among other things, that no person belonging to the Hindu community will be deemed incapable by reason of his caste of securing the benefits of a religious or charitable trust created for the general benefit of persons professing the Hindu religion, notwithstanding any custom or interpretation of law to the contrary. It is claimed that the law, if passed, will remove the legal disabilities of the untouchables and pave the way to an effective removal of untouchability. That may be true. But the curse of untouchability can be destroyed root and branch only after both touchables and untouchables have received a truly rational and humane education.

The other bill aims to prevent the dedication of women as "devadasis" for service in the Hindu temples. Such dedication was made illegal in the Mysore state long ago. And more recently Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddy brought about legislation along similar lines in the Madras Legislative Council.

—

British Premier on "Outside Authority"

We do not attach any importance to the power for good of the so-called Round Table Conference. For, no settlement made by it will work unless it agrees to India having complete self-rule, and this it does not seem likely to agree to. Whatever we write about it is meant to prevent mischief and misconception. The very first thing it ought to have done is to declare that its object is to frame a full dominion constitution for India. After such declaration it ought to have proceeded to settle the details of such a constitution. Instead of doing so, it has been shunted off what ought to have been its main line of activity by the inspired or spotaneous declaration of the Princely puppets that they want a federated India. The next move by which the conference has been kept away from what ought to be its chief objective is the demand on the part of the British Prime Minister Mr. Ramsay MacDonald who is the chairman of the Conference, that the communal problem must be first settled before anything else that is important can be done. The actual words used by him are :

"It is no good your starting the working of the Indian constitution and asking any outside authority

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to settle one of the essential conditions to successful working of the constitution. Therefore I hope you will bend all your energies to creating an atmosphere of goodwill and progress."

One should, of course, take Mr. MacDonald's sincerity for granted. Therefore, assuming that his words are not diplomatic but sincere, one must conclude that he has a curiously illogical mentality. The communal problem in India is partly a product of our *karma*, partly a legacy of India's past history and partly of British manufacture—in what proportions need not be discussed here. That Britishers have had something to do with it need not be proved in detail. Only two facts need be mentioned here. Communal representation was granted to the Moslems during the administration of Lord Minto as the result of a Muhammadan deputation which waited on him. According to Maulana Mahomed Ali, who is as good an authority as can be desired, this deputation was a "command performance." And this characterization of the deputation is corroborated by Lord Morley's words addressed to Lord Minto, "You started the communal hare." So much for the origin and devolopment of the communal problem. Briefly the problem is what proportion of political power in the country is to be possessed by Moslems and other minorities and what by the non-Moslems. Mr. MacDonald wants that the division of the booty or the boon should precede the securing of the thing to be divided. In other words, the Musalmans and the Hindus are to wrangle and settle what their respective shares of the powers are to be before it is known whether the Indians as a whole are to have any ultimate powers at all, and if so, what they are going to be. If they are not to have any ultimate powers, what is the use of any deliberations relating to their division? If the powers to be given to the Indian people are not final but only of a subordinate character, then it might be comparatively easy to concede some of the demands of the obdurate communalist-Moslem minority. Ultimate powers cannot, without injuring the national cause and the prospect of the growth of national solidarity, be conceded to a minority to such an extent as to convert it really or practically to a permanently predominant majority. Therefore, before the majority and the minorities proceed to divide the boon, they must know what the boon is actually going to be. Mr. MacDonald ought not to ask the Indian "delegates" to discuss the question of precedence at a Barmecide banquet. Lord Irwin's and Mr. MacDonald's endless words about India's future have reminded wags of the first verse in the Gospel according to St. John taken in a profane Pickwickian sense.

The British Premier speaks of "your starting the working of the Indian constitution." But where and what is this Indian constitution *in esse* or *in posse*? He says, "it is no good asking an outside authority to settle one of the essential conditions to successful working of the constitution." But this "outside authority" has chosen the Indian members—particularly the communalism-ridden members—in such a way as to make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for them to agree. Mr. MacDonald found nothing inappropriate in an "outside authority" making the nominations. The Moslem nominees of the Government are giving themselves such superior airs, they have delivered their ultimatum in such an arrogant way, that all true nationalists cannot but feel disgusted. Some Indian Liberals may think that by giving the communalist-Muslims all that they want, the way to self-government is going to be paved. But that is a great mistake. They are really digging the grave of Nationalism and democracy and assisting at the birth of communalism-ridden Muslim rule in India. We have purposely used epithets before the word Muslim. Because there are in the country a good many famous and still more numerous obscure Muslims who are true nationalists. But not one of them has been invited to the Conference.

Mr. MacDonald's Government, as an "outside authority," wants to and will settle the future constitution of India, which is the most important and most essential problem before Britishers and Indians alike. This "outside authority" has also chosen and nominated the Indians who are taking part in the Conference. But this same "outside authority" insists on its Indian nominees settling the communal problem first, though it ought to know that the men of different creeds who are taking part in a common national struggle—and who have not been invited to the Conference—were the best qualified to settle the communal problem. It is a grim joke to expect "goodwill" from communalism-ridden persons distinguished for grab.

Regarding the question whether the

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Government invited or ought to have invited the Congress party to the Conference, Mr. J. A. Spender has pointed out in the *News Chronicle* that the Indian Government has not adopted the usual procedure in obtaining delegates for the (so-called) Round Table Conference. He points out that "the normal procedure would have been to invite the leaders of all parties to the London Conference and throw upon those who declined the onus of doing so and explaining why. So far as I can see, it remains open to the Congress party to say that they have not been invited and have not declined. Those who know Indian politics and consider the possibilities of the future will not think this a mere point of form."

—

The Bengal Majority Problem

It is perfectly absurd that some non-Bengali Indian Liberals have been giving away in perpetuity to Moslem Bengalis 56 or 51 per cent of the seats in the future Legislative Council of Bengal and that some Bengali Hindu members of the so-called Round Table Conference seem to have agreed to this arrangement. That is what cables to the dailies say. Many telegrams have been sent to these officious weaklings telling them that they do not represent anybody (except perhaps themselves) in Bengal, far less the Hindus of Bengal. They do not know the Bengal problem, and have either not heard of happennings in Pabna, Kishorganj and Dacca, or have clean forgotten them.

—

Separation of Burma

Those Burmans who want and have agreed to the separation of Burma from India really want that Burma should be made a separate Dominion. In other words, they do not want separation without Dominionhood. But these separatists are too simple-minded to be able to cope with British diplomats. The latter have acclaimed that part of the separatist Burmese desire which accords with their plans of domination and exploitation, but the other part of the desire of these Burmese will be given the go-by.

The separatist Burmese, however, are neither the whole nor a majority of the population of Burma. U. Chit Hlaing, President of the General Council of the Burmese Association, in his message to Mr. MacDonald thanks him for the ruling that separation cannot be regarded as the Conference finding until considered by its plenary session. He adds: "The Conference must know that its nominated delegation from Burma does not contain a single representative of Burmese Buddhists, constituting 90 per cent of the population." But the voice of a minority, under the thumb of the British official and non-official sojourners in Burma, with the Governor at their head, bids fair to be taken as the real voice of Burma.

—

"Rebellion" in Burma

Sensational details of a "rebellion" in Burma are being published in the dailies day after day. Some Burmese who know the situation thoroughly have expressed the opinion that the disturbances are not political but economic in origin. They say that they are due to exploitation by rice merchants and exporters. It is difficult to ascertain the truth from this distance.

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Martyrdom of Baburao Ganu

A swadeshi volunteer named Baburao Ganu wanted to stop a motor lorry in Bombay carrying foreign cloth. He was run over and died in hospital. His funeral procession, consisting of more than a hundred thousand persons, reminded those who witnessed it of the funeral of *Lokamanya* Tilak.

The public have paid their homage of respect to this martyr to duty.

—

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya

Government has done a graceful thing in releasing Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya from jail unconditionally owing to his serious illness there. We fervently hope he will now recover quickly.

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Hindu University Grant

The Hindu University receives its annual Government subsidy usually in September. But up to the 28th December last, it did not get the grant for 1930. The Senate

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having made representations on the subject to the Government, the latter, it is stated, suggested the acceptance of some terms by the University before the matter could be considered. It is alleged that one of these terms was the astoundingly incredible one that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya should be removed from the Vice-Chancellorship of the University. The Senate, of course, rejected this condition. We have heard that owing to financial stringency the professors of the Hindu University had resolved in case of need to forgo half of their salaries. Nothing less was expected of them. And we are sure, if the worst comes to the worst, they and many outsiders would be ready to serve on a mere subsistence allowance.

—

Prayers for Pandit Motilal Nehru

It is welcome news that Pandit Motilal Nehru is on the way to recovery. Last Sunday there were prayers for his complete recovery in many temples and other places of worship in different provinces. In Calcutta it had been announced that a public meeting would be held in the Tarasundari Park for such prayers. But the police interfered. Mr. Rajendra Lal Singh, secretary of the Barabazar Congress Committee, was arrested for announcing the meeting, and the crowd was dispersed by the police with lathis.

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Lathi Charges

Lathi charges continue in different parts of the country by way of applying "minimum force" with terrible effect.

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Sardar Patel

Sardar Patel's health in Coimbatore jail continues to cause great anxiety.

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Lala Motilal Johri

We regret to announce the death of Lala Motilal Johri, the founder of the well-known *Panjab Oriental Series* and the Bombay Sanskrit Press, Lahore. He did much to popularize Sanskrit literature all over India. He rendered a great service to the cause of Indology by publishing rare and unpublished works on ancient India in his popular series. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri M. A., C. I. E. spoke highly of his series in his presidential address at the fifth session of the India Oriental Conference held at Lahore 928.

Lala Motilal Johri

The Panjab Oriental Series has become popular in India and so far 20 books have been published in this series. Lala Motilal was a leading member of the Jain community and was elected president of the first session of Shri Atmananda Jain Mahasabha, Panjab.

—

Muslim Educational Conference

The forty-second session of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference was held last month at Benares. In course of his presidential address, the President said, "whether you or I like it or not, the economic and other forces working against the continuance of *purdah* are so great that it is safe to predict that in India purdah as an institution is now doomed." He concluded by observing :

"Had India been a land with only one language and one culture, the solution of the many difficulties with which our country as a whole is faced would have been a comparatively easy affair. But since that is not the case, and since we Mussalmans are confident that, as in the past so in the future, our culture will render great service to our Motherland, we have to see that the rich variety that surrounds us does not reduce the life of our community to a condition of complete chaos.

"The preservation of Mussalman ideals of life does not necessarily mean a state of perpetual warfare with those who do not share those ideals. I have always believed and never more strongly than today, that nothing solid can ever be built on hatred. Moreover, a community that is confident of itself and is sure of the soundness of its own culture is not one that adopts the habit of always quarrelling with its neighbours.

"We Indian Mussalmans should openly acknowledge the debt that we have received from

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Hindu civilization as much as we have ourselves contributed to it. After all, whether it be in the realm of thought or in that of Art, it is the Hindu element in our lives that has made us as a people different from the Mussalmans inhabiting the other countries of the world."

—

Combating Immoral Traffic

Mr. Dayaram Parsram Mirchandani of Hyderabad (Sind) has been doing good work for combating this serious evil. In a letter addressed to the Secretary, Bengal Women's Protection League, and the Secretary, the Calcutta Vigilance Association, he suggests the following important measures :

1. That the offence of enticing away *married women* for *immoral purposes* mentioned in section 498 of the Indian Penal Code as well as in the codes of most of the Indian States should be made extraditable.
2. That as in section 497-A of the Marwar Penal Code, the enticing away of *widows* for *immoral purposes* shall be made an offence in British India and other States too and it be made extraditable.
3. That the enticing away of *unmarried females* of any age for *immoral purposes* should be made an offence in British India as well as Indian India and the same be made extraditable, and
4. That sections like 366-A and 366-B of the Indian Penal Code should be included in the Penal Codes of various Indian States where these have not yet been included and be made extraditable.

His proposals deserve the attention of all persons having the interests of social reform at heart. The extradition agreement regarding section 498 has been made between the Bikaner State and the Government of India, and a similar demand in connection with the offences under this section was also made by the Jodhpur State about February last after Mr. Mirchandani's agitation in the *Bombay Chronicle*.

—

Viceroy at European Association's Dinner

At the European Association's Dinner at Calcutta last month Lord Irwin asked that criticism should be constructive. Indian leaders have given him much constructive advice, which, however, has not been accepted. He also said :

We should, I am satisfied, make a profound mistake if we under-estimated the genuine and powerful feeling of Nationalism that is animating much of Indian thought. And for this no simple, complete or permanent cure ever has been or ever will be found in strong action by the Government. It would no doubt be possible to apply a far more ruthless policy of repression than anyone has yet suggested and, after a space of time, be it short or long, to create a desert and call it peace.

These and certain other sentences in his speech embody admirable sentiments, which have not, however, found expression in his Government's measures. "A far more ruthless policy of repression" is conceivable. But we would ask him to enquire whether repression has not already been ruthless, creating deserts in many hearts and homes and hamlets, and whether he has not mistaken the stifling of grievances for peace.

—

Calcutta Police Commissioner's Powers

The Calcutta High Court has in the course of its judgment in the *Prabhat Feri* case pronounced the authoritative opinion that the law does not give the Police Commissioner of Calcutta power to prohibit all meetings and processions for an indefinite period. Yet Magistrates have sent a good many persons to jail for disobeying the illegal orders of the Commissioner. And these officials, who do not know the law, are guardians of law and order !

—

"The Manchester Guardian" on Terrorism

On the day following the murder of Dr. Simpson, Reuter cabled to India the *Manchester Guardian's* comments on that bloody deed, part of which ran as follows:

"As long as the Nationalist India has the sense of grievance, the methods of terrorism are liable to be used, whoever may be responsible for law and order. Fanatic excesses can best be cured by reasonableness and moderation. Injustice is the life-blood of terrorism and the work of the Round Table Conference is to put an end to injustice."

There is much truth in these words. But injustice and a sense of grievance alone do not lead to terrorism. These exist in all countries, more or less, without giving rising to terrorism everywhere. If despair of redress be added to these, then terrorism may come into existence.

—

A Great Educational Benefactor

The late Rao Bahadur D. Laxminarayana of the Central Provinces has, by his will, enriched the Nagpur University with an endowment of thirty lakhs of rupees to be utilized for education and research in applied chemistry. He has also left a lakh of rupees for the Servants of India Society. He made a fortune, we believe, mainly by extracting and dealing in manganese, and has given away the bulk of it for the educational, industrial and political advancement of the country. Men of his stamp are rare. We shall be glad if any of our readers can send us a good portrait of this munificent giver for publication in this Review.

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SUJAN DEO—JUMNA
By Jatindra Kumar Sen

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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The Vision of Life and Love

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The eternal Dream is borne on the wings
of ageless Light
that rends the veil of the vague
and goes across Time
weaving ceaseless patterns of Being.
The mystery remains dumb,
the meaning of this pilgrimage,
the endless adventure of Existence,—
whose rush along the sky
flames up into innumerable rings of paths,
till at last knowledge gleams out from the dusk
in the infinity of human spirit,
and in that dim-lighted dawn
she speechlessly gazes through the break in the mist
at the vision of Life and of Love
rising from the tumult of profound pain and joy.

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Historical and Cultural Research in Bali

By Prof. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI,
Calcutta University.

THE small island of Bali, just to the east of Java, with its population of a million (of whom ninety-nine per cent. according to official accounts are still Hindus), is one of the distant outposts of Indian culture which is even now guarding with jealous care its common heritage with us. Practically the whole of Java - rich, populous with its forty millions, and highly cultured—has accepted Islam, but without abandoning their pre-Islamic Indian culture. The other islands are either wholly or largely Muhammadan. But the people of Bali have remained faithful to the faith and the ways of their ancestors, who some twenty or fifteen centuries ago received Hindu culture and Hindu religion, and probably also some infusion of Hindu blood.

In 1927 I was privileged to tour in Bali and Java with Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, and at that time I had some opportunity of observing the Balinese people. They are pious and religious in their own way, and are intensely proud of their Hindu culture and religion. The Dutch made a complete conquest of the little island only as late as 1908, just over twenty years ago. They have treated the Balinese people in the way that a brave and chivalrous and unspoiled people deserve to be treated. They have not interfered with their laws and their ways, and there being no necessity for it they have not exploited them economically. So that the Balinese—their princes as well as the common people—seem to be quite content with their Dutch masters, whose rule does not seem to sit heavily on them and does not appear to fleece them or bleed them. During our tour we had plenty of occasion to remark upon the cordiality which obtained between the Dutch officials and the Balinese princes and people : and there was a sincerity about the affection that many of the Dutch officials we came to know felt for this most lovable people which was quite convincing.

The Balinese are receiving the education that the Dutch have brought to them as well as to the peoples of the other islands of Indonesia—in Malay, the Hindustani of Indonesia, and in Dutch. There is a great deal of inquisitiveness among this gifted people and already there are some who have managed to learn English in addition to Malay, which is fairly common, and Dutch. They are interested about their own culture and their own past as much as any other people with a heritage of which they are conscious. There is a very living touch with their national literature, which is largely of Indian and Hindu-Javanese inspiration,—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata taking an important place in this literature.

The artistic side of the life of Bali is attracting the European and American tourist and Bali is gradually being brought to the forefront. In picturesque happiness of life, Bali may be said still to be in that elysium or paradise of our dreams which we Hindus are accustomed to place in the Ancient India of Ajanta or of Amaravati, or of artistic ages earlier still. Here is a life which seems to look back to the past, but is now inevitably on the way to transformation through the forces of the Zeitgeist into something real and modern.

The sceintific curiosity of Europe has not left Bali alone. Dutch scholars of eminence, with Hendrik Kern at their head, have applied themselves to the elucidation of Balinese culture, of the present as well as of the post. And the work of the Dutch scholars in investigating the laws and life, history and antiquities, art and literature of Bali has received, it is a matter of congratulation to note, most intelligent and whole-hearted co-operation from the Balinese themselves. The local princes encourage the arts and crafts of the country with a conscious pride in them that is very refreshing to see. At Karang Asem in East Bali we found that cement castings of sculpture in the traditional way were being taken in the residence of the local prince to decorate his buildings, the stone found locally being of

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a soft volcanic composition which was not hard enough to stand weathering. The Poenggawa (Pungava) of Oeboed in Central Bali, a highly cultured gentleman who, we were told, was Kshatriya by caste and who wrote books and articles in Dutch on Balinese customs, and was the representative for Bali in the Central Legislative Assembly at Batavia to which members for the different parts of Dutch India came, made a present to the Batavia Museum of the beautiful specimens of Balinese wood-carving which decorated the the huge *wadah* or catafalque carrying the remains of his deceased uncle to the cremation ground. The earnest desire of the Balinese priests, princes and people to be once more in cultural *rapprochement* with India was manifest everywhere— as much as in Java; and in this the Dutch officers were frankly and freely sympathetic. There was a desire also among priests and the chiefs to revive the study of Sanskrit. The Balinese use a large number of Sanskrit *mantras* in their religious ritual ; but they have lost the living touch with Sanskrit by ceasing to study the language. and these *mantras* have often become corrupt, and unintelligible, and mixed with Balinese.

One of the most enlightened and sympathetic Dutch officials in Bali is the Resident (District Officer) in charge of the islands of Bali and Lombok, Mr. L. J. J. Caron, whom we met on three occasions during our sojourn in Bali ; and his cultured and genial personality is one of our pleasantest memories in our Java-Bali tour. At his instance a conference was called in June 1928 to set up a memorial to the memory of two Dutch scholars—F. A. Liefrinck and Dr. H. Neubronner van der Tuuk, who had done a great amount of pioneer's work in investigating the culture, customs and language of Bali. The memorial was to take the form of an institution to preserve one of the finest and most important things in Balinese culture—its treasures of palm-leaf MSS. The scope of such an institution naturally could not be confined to MSS. alone, and all departments of Balinese life and culture have come to be included. Dutch scholars in Java and Bali interested in the Hindu culture of Indonesia have identified themselves with this Institution, and it augurs well for this infant society that such scholars as Dr. Stutterheim, Dr. Goris and Dr. Pigeaud are among its active workers. The Balinese priests and princes have given it their whole-hearted support, and the Dutch administration has made an adequate financial contribution. The society or institution is thus an Asiatic Society in miniature for Bali and Lombok, with a collection of MSS. and art objects, and regular publications by the scholars who are conducting researches into things

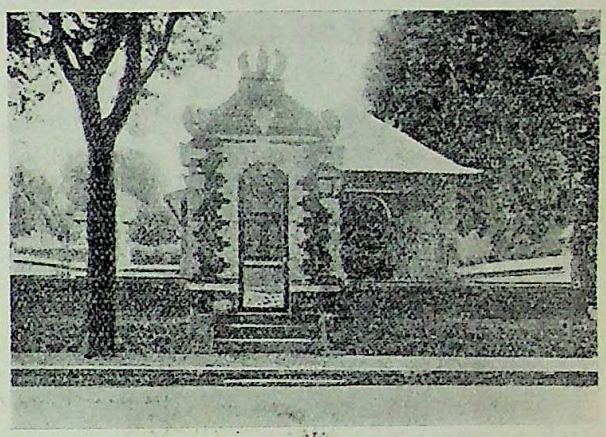

Fig. 1. The Entrance to the Kirtya Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk

Balinese. The Institution has got a house and a name. At Singaradja, the capital of Bali, a small but fine structure has been provided for it, with a fire-proof safe-room in cement and iron to store the MSS. The building was opened formally for the public by His Excellency the Governor-General of Netherlands India, Jhr. Mr. A. C. D. de Graeff, in September 1928 : the date of opening in Saka era, which obtains in Bali, is indicated by the *candra-sangkala* or pictorial method—Saka Year 1850 being indicated at the gate-way by figures—a man (=1), an elephant (=8, *asta-diggaja*), an arrow (=5, *panca-bana*) and a dead body (=zero or *sunya*). On the gateway to the left and right are figures of Rama and Sita. The memorial-institution was at first named *Stichting Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk* ; but at the suggestion of a Balinese prince, I Goesti Poetoe Djlantik of Boeleleng—who took a very keen interest in its foundation, the Dutch word *Stichting*, meaning 'foundation,' was changed for the Sanskrit-Balinese word *Kirtya* to give the proper Balinese *cachet* to the Society. The Sanskrit word *kirti* (='glory, memorial, achievement') is used in Balinese in the form *kirtya*,—the pure Sanskrit form is not employed in Balinese ; and the Society is now known as *Kirtya Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk*.

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The *Kirtya* has begun work immediately, and through its publications, which already (December 1930) have come up to five numbers, we can form some idea of the very excellent work that Dutch scholars (with the assistance of the Balinese in some cases) are doing there. Two numbers of its *Mededeelingen* or Bulletins ; one Balinese historical text, the *Kidung Pamancangah*, edited in the Roman characters with notes by C. C. Berg, as the first volume in the series of *Kirtya* editions of local texts that are contemplated ; and a fine two-volume work by Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, named *Oudheden van Bali* or 'Antiquities of Bali,' giving in its first volume an account of the State of Pedjeng and its antiquities and in its second volume some 130 plates and diagrams of these antiquities : these are already before us.

Dr. R. Goris, a young Dutch scholar, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure and privilege of making in Bali, is occupying himself with the literary and religious side of Balinese culture. He is living in Bali, in close touch with the people, studying their language and their religion ; and he is the heart and soul of the MSS. department of the *Kirtya*. A regular search for and cataloguing of MSS. is going on, and the collection at the *Kirtya* is being made not only with original MSS. whenever available but also with copies carefully made

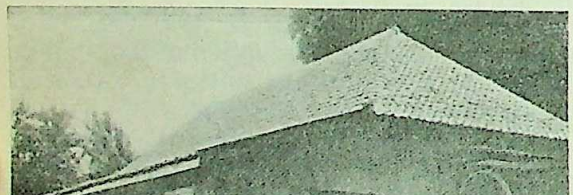

Fig. 2. The MS. Library of the Kirtya

by the *Kirtya* copyists. There are artists to make copies of the illustrated MSS. ; and palm-leaf MSS., with beautiful miniatures in the Balinese style scratched with the stylus used in writing, form a noteworthy item in Balinese art : similar miniatures on palm-leaf I have seen only in Orissa. Dr. Goris writes to me : 'You perhaps do know my method of gathering *lontars* (*i.e.* palm-leaf MSS.) ? We have started by asking from all the Poenggawas (=*pungavas*, local chiefs) of Bali (numbering about 40) full lists of the *lontars* possessed by all the people of their districts. These lists are taken as the working basis for further activities. From these lists, some *lontars* are selected ; and these selection lists are sent back to the *poenggawas*. Then after some days I am going to the districts to assemble the *lontars* asked for, I bring them home to the *Kirtya*, where they are examined and scrutinised for a possible copying. If they are complete and sufficiently well-written, they are taken to other Balinese men, spread all over the isle, who are able to copy them. This copying is paid from the funds of our *Kirtya*. After being copied, the originals are brought.

Fig. 3. Head of a Bodhisattva (?), from Kedaangan (Indo-Balinese Period : 8th—10th Centuries).

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back to their owners, and the copies are safed in our *Kirtya* ..... Our first wish is to have a *lontar*-book library as complete as possible. The further *desiderata* are: first, to make a new and more adequate catalogue of the Balinese (and Old Javanese) literature; second, to further the edition, in transcribed text, with translation and notes, of the more important texts. It is now the right moment to start with many text editions, especially the religious and historical texts.'

In the first number of the Bulletin, the Librarian-adjoint of the *Kirtya*, a Balinese gentleman named Njoman Kadjeng (a number of princes and priests are acting as additional curators of the *Kirtya* in different parts of the island) has given in Dutch a preliminary bird's-eye view of the contents of Balinese literature. In his *apercu* he has divided Balinese works into six classes: (1) Veda—by which some *mantras* and ritual formulae are meant; (2) Agama—corresponding to our *Dharma-sastras* and including the *Niti* literature; (3) *Wariga*—astrology and other sciences, including works on cosmogony, mythology, grammar and metrics, and *Smara-tantra*, as well as *Usada* (*i.e. ausadha*) or medicine; 4 *Itihasa*, epic works, in prose (*Parwa*) or in verse (*Kakawin*), on Ramayana and Mahabharata, besides stories of Javanese history and romance; (5) *Babad* or historical works; and (6) *Tantri*, or works on *Niti* like the Kamandaka, translated from Sanskrit, and local native Balinese compositions. Under the above six heads, with their subdivisions, some 915 separate works have been named. All these are waiting investigation. In Bali there are still some Sanskrit MSS. in the Balinese character. At Karang Asem, the local prince, who is a keen student of his religion and its sacred literature, showed us a Sanskrit Tantric text, which he wrote out for us in Roman characters, and Rabindranath then translated for him the meanings of some of the *slokas*, and his English version was rendered by a Dutch friend into Malay for the prince who carefully wrote this Malay translation down. We can reasonably hope that something really important and helpful, or at least interesting, might be found in Bali in the way of a Sanskrit text.

In the second number of the Bulletin, an account is given of the extent of the MS. Collection of the *Kirtya*. There are now some 251 Balinese MSS., original or copied; and there are some 13 Sasak MSS. (The

Fig. 4. Siva, from Pura Putra Batara Desa in Bedulu (Indo-Balinese Period)

Sasaks are the people of Lombok allied to the Balinese and at one ruled over time by the Balinese—now these Sasaks are Muhammadans). The Bulletins have published also short articles on different topics of Balinese history and antiquities.

The antiquarian researches in Bali are mainly in the hands of Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, well-known as the author of a fundamental work in German on the story of Rama in Indonesia. His *Pictorial Introduction to Javanese History* is an excellent popular book for the subject, with a wealth of illustrations visualising the history and culture of Java: this work, which ought to be in the history or art section of all libraries, is available in an English edition also, in addition to Dutch, Malay and Javanese editions. Dr. Stutterheim is the Principal of a Government College at Soerakarta in Java, where Javanese young people are given a good education in language, literature, history, philosophy and other cultural subjects. This school forms the nucleus of an Arts University for Java; and under the direction of Dr. Stutterheim, it specialises in the history, literature and culture of Java. While at

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Soerakarta, I had the pleasure of forming Dr. Stutterheim's acquaintance, and of giving a talk to his students; and it was a pleasant surprise for me to find that they followed my English quite well—rather a remarkable thing for young Javanese in their teens, who had to learn Dutch as their most important European language, and English was only a second foreign language for them. Readers of *Indian Arts and Letters*, the journal of the India Society of London, must have

Fig. 5. Water-spout in the form of a Woman: from Goa Gajah in Bedulu (Old Balinese Period: 10th—13th Centuries)

noticed Dr. Stutterheim's articles on archaeological researches in Bali. Dr. Stutterheim's intensive archaeological work in one district in Bali—that of Pedjeng—has given him very good results, in the shape of Sanskrit and Balinese inscriptions, and images of various sorts, beside other sculpture, beginning from the 8th century of the Christian era downwards. These inscriptions are mostly religious formulas and incantations, Buddhistic as well as Saiva and Sakta, and some of these are dated. The images are of the type found in Java, and are of the Bodhisattvas and of Siva, Devi Mahisa-mardini, Ganesa and other deities, as well as of princes and princesses; and these images will compare very favourably with the art of Java and of the Indian mainland. The first fruits of historical excavation and research in Bali are given by the *Kirtya* to the outside world in the form of these two volumes: the plates volume forms a most engrossing gallery of Hindu-Balinese Art. A sketch of Balinese history, from the earliest times for which genuine records are available down to the close of the 14th century, has also been given. The only draw-back in these publications for the ordinary Indian reader is their language; but one has to face the fact the Dutch language is indispensable for any one who wishes to study the story of Greater India in Indonesia.

Fig. 6. Durga Mahisasura-mardini: from Pura Puseh in Kutri (Old Balinese Period)

In the above sketch an attempt has been made to show what the *Kirtya* is trying to do in the investigation of Balinese history and culture which has its significance for us in India primarily as a type of our own Indian history and culture in extended India, a Greater

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India of the Islands. The people of Bali bear allegiance to the same Sanskrit culture as we do in India ; but the development of certain elements of our common cultural heritage has been, undoubtedly, on different lines among the Balinese people from what has happened in India. For the reconstruction of the World of Ancient India, the lands of Greater India will supply us with a number of most valuable points. Bali, where a good many old Hindu institutions are still a living thing, albeit in an altered or modified shape, is in this respect the most important tract in this Greater India.

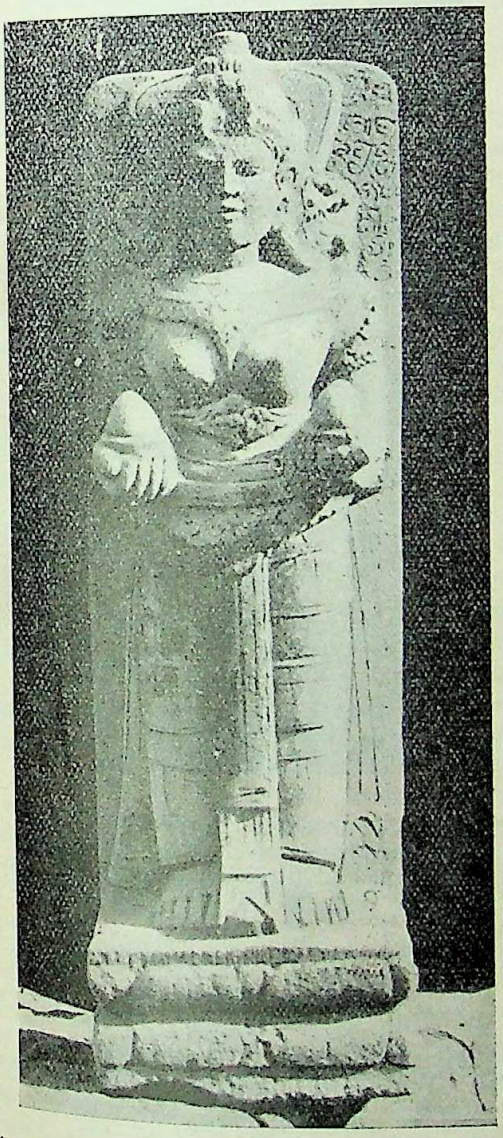

Fig. 7. Statue of a Queen or Princess : from near Pedjeng. (Middle Balinese Period : 13th—14th Centuries)

The *Kirtya* proposes to do something far more valuable for the Balinese people—and for India—than merely the antiquarian's work of conserving and studying for scientific purposes the remnants of Balinese culture. It has in its programme, mainly through the publication of a Balinese journal, the fostering and promoting of Balinese letters. This will be of very great intellectual and spiritual significance for the people of Bali. The *Kirtya* in this way will be helping to bring in a revival of Balinese culture. By doing so, the *Kirtya*, as a gift from the Dutch people in their enlightened trusteeship of the Balinese people, will be doing them perhaps the greatest service of all. For the gifts of the spirit are superior

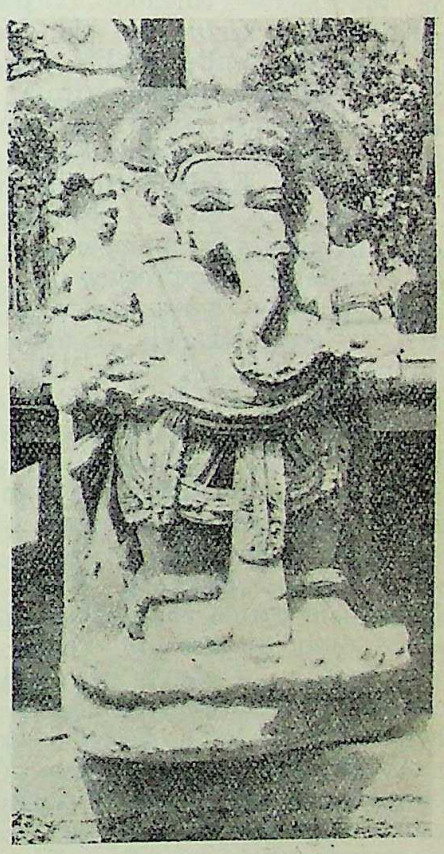

Fig. 8. Standing Ganesa from near Pedjeng (Middle Balinese Period)

to all other gifts. In this connexion, Dr. Goris writes to me (July 1930): 'Another matter that perhaps will please you to hear of, is that we are starting with the publication of a Balinese monthly, dedicated to the Culture, Religion, Art and Literature of Bali. The subscription is already opened, and many collaborators (all Balinese) have already promised or actually sent their papers. As most of the subscribers wish the monthly printed in Balinese characters, we have

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concluded to a partial use of these characters, which are already ordered from Holland: so after perhaps two months the new periodic will appear, in the Balinese and Malay languages, the Balinese partly in Balinese characters.' He further writes: 'The present Balinese have very vivid interest in the real Hinduism, and all that now to day is remaining over there (*i. e.* in India) from the old religion, culture and art; and so there exists a real desire to exchange the modern views about Hindu culture—exchange of ideas between Hindus and Balinese.'

For the above laudable purpose, what is wanted at the *Kirtya*, as the prospective focus of Balinese cultural life, books and papers on Hindu subjects from India—embracing all the aspects of the life of the Hindus in ancient, medieval and modern times. Books in English will be put to use there. There are some English-knowing Balinese, and they, as pioneers in a newly revived cultural *rapprochement* between India and Bali (a *rapprochement* that may be said to have formally commenced with Rabindranath Tagore's visit to Bali in 1927), will, in the words of Dr. Goris, 'select the most important portions of these books and translate them into Balinese (or Malay) for their brethren, so that all the interested Balinese people will share in the progress of knowledge about Hinduism as already attained by their Hindu brothers. These selected parts and compressed contents of the above-mentioned studies are to appear in the Balinese monthly, of course with full mention and citation of the original Hindu authors.'

This Sixth All-India Oriental Conference I deem, as a member of the *Kirtya*, a suitable occasion to bring formally before the notice of Indian scholars the work that has been undertaken by the *Kirtya*; and I also take this occasion to request help and co-operation from our scholars and our learned societies, our publishers and our patrons of learning, in this connection. The University of Calcutta has already sent some of its publications to the *Kirtya* on the basis of exchange: and one would wish that other learned bodies with works on Indology should do the same. As our brothers in a common culture, howsoever it might have altered now both in India and in Bali, we should recognise and show our practical sympathy with a learned body which has taken upon itself to study the origins and development of Balinese culture, and also

Fig. 9. Four-sided Figure (Catuh-Kaya), with the three eyes of Siva, the conch-shell of Vishnu and the book of Brahma. From near Pedjeng (Middle Balinese Period)

to foster it. The membership fee of the *Kirtya* is not excessive: and there are many ways of showing our sympathy for this institution. *Kirtya Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk, Singaraja, Bali, Netherlands India* is the address: and it may be hoped that the name and the work of *Kirtya* will soon become familiar to all our Indologists and our students of Indian history and culture, both at home and abroad.

* Read before the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference, Patna, December 19, 1930. (Text illustrations, with the exception of Nos. 1 and 2, are

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[A resolution was adopted at the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference offering its greetings to the *Kirtya* as the youngest Society which has Indonesian culture, as a connected subject with Indology, as its subject of research, and recommending to all oriental and learned bodies in India interesting themselves in the study of the Ancient Culture of India whole-hearted support of and co-operation with the *Kirtya*.]

from the Plates Volume of Dr. W. F. Stutterheim's *Oudheden van Bali, I*, referred to above).

Indian Freedom and World Politics

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS, ph. d.

I

DURING the sessions of the Round Table Conference on the future Indian constitution, held in London, many Indian delegates appealed to British statesmanship and generosity to enable India to attain equal status with other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Those who are depending upon British generosity to confer Dominion status on India will be sorely disappointed. However, I feel that the present condition of world politics is such that Britain will be forced to make certain concessions to India.

It is generally said that Great Britain showed extreme liberality and love of freedom by extending responsible government—Dominion status—to Canada by an Act of the British Parliament—the British North American Act. The granting of Dominion status to the Boers, within a few years after the Boer War, is regarded as an act of unparalleled generosity on the part of the British people. But the fact is that British statesmen, due to Britain's serious difficulties in world politics, were forced to make these concessions.

Long before the passage of the British North America Act, the Canadian people were seriously discontented and several revolts against British autocracy broke out in various parts of the country. For some time there existed a republican party in Canada, which advocated that Canada should join the United States of America. Furthermore Anglo-American relations, from the time of the outbreak of the American Civil War, up to the time of the settlement of the Alabama claim, was a menace to British supremacy in Canada. During the American Civil War, the British Government was in favour of the slave-owning Southern States and against the Federal Government. It is a notorious fact that Gladstone, Palmerston and Lord Russell, among others, were actually hostile to the United States and bought bonds floated in London by the Southern States. (For details, see *Education of Henry Adams*). In violation of well-recognized laws governing neutral rights, warships for Southern States were built and fitted out in British ports, for the express purpose of destruction of American commerce. It may be noted that at one time, because of the hostile attitude of Britain towards America, during the Civil War, Great Britain and America were on the verge of an armed conflict. The people and the Government of the United States felt that the Civil War was prolonged because Britain aided the slave-owning Southern States; and therefore the popular feeling in the United States was very bitter against Britain, which was indirectly responsible for the destruction of property and the loss of life. Because of this, when the American Civil War came to an end, a very influential section of American public opinion was in favour of American invasion of Canada. During this very period Britain was seriously occupied in Europe and Asia, due to Anglo-Russian hostility, engendered by the Crimean War and Russian expansion in Central Asia and also Russian policy in the Near East. At the same time, Anglo-Afghan relations and the situation in Burma and India were not favourable to Britain. Under these conditions, if the United States of America, with the veterans of the American Civil War, attacked Canada, Britain was not in a position to carry on a war successfully without Canadian support. It was also certain that Britain could not expect Canadian support unless the Canadians were given such concessions as would make them feel satisfied.

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Therefore, British statesmen, to secure loyal support of the Canadians against any possible attack on Canada by the United States, agreed to confer Dominion status by the British North America Act. To preserve British interests, through Canadian co-operation, Britain was forced to make the concession.

When the Boer War broke out, Britain was on the verge of being isolated in world politics. There is not the least doubt that both France and Russia were hostile to Britain, and German public opinion was in favour of the Boers. When the Boer War was over, British statesmen, forsaking the policy of "splendid isolation," were seeking allies and friends in America, Asia and Europe. Britain did her best to gain American friendship, by settling some of the questions of Anglo-American dispute by conceding to American claims. Then she concluded the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to curb Russian power. After the defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War, Britain had but little to fear from France or Russia, but became alarmed by the growth of the German navy and commercial competition. British statesmen settled their differences with France and concluded the Anglo-French Entente which later on developed into the Triple Entente. After the publication of Lord Haldane's memoirs, there cannot be any doubt that as early as between 1909 and 1911, British statesmen were preparing for a possible conflict with Germany, which broke out as the world war of 1914.

Long before the outbreak of the world war, when British statesmen were engaged in perfecting alliances against Germany, they fully realized that if the Boers were not given Dominion status, they would revolt against Britain when she would be engaged in a war in Europe. Had the Boers not been granted Dominion status several years before the outbreak of the world war, possibly General Botha, and others, instead of fighting the Germans, would have joined them against the British, which would certainly have affected British position in Africa very seriously. Under the prevailing conditions of world politics, British statesmen realized that concessions to the Boers—granting Dominion status—was a necessity, for the protection of British interests in Africa.

II

Many responsible British statesmen are preaching repression in India, while the Round Table Conference is in session. They advocate that Britain must not make any substantial concession towards India's attaining Dominion status or equality of status with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, in the near future. However, it seems to me that if the Indian delegates and representatives of the Princes can compose their differences and take a firm stand, they will, due to the existing internal condition of India, economic and industrial difficulties of Britain and the present situation in world politics, be able to extract substantial concessions without much difficulty. In this connection the following facts should be taken into consideration :—

(a) The Indian nationalist movement has virtually the full support of the intelligentsia and an important section of the Indian commercial class ; and it has taken root among the masses.

(b) By declaring the committees and other bodies connected with the National Congress, as unlawful bodies, the Indian nationalist movement cannot be suppressed ; because it has become nation-wide. The Indian boycott movement has done immense harm to British commerce and created an acute situation in Great Britain by increasing unemployment. The weapon of boycott has hurt British commerce and crippled Government's revenue and may do so still more in the future.

(c) The movement for the non-payment of taxes among the peasants of India is growing. With the lack of revenue and increase of expenditure for the police, military and jail administration, the Government has been forced to borrow money by millions of pounds sterling at a higher rate of interest. This would mean that there will be increase of taxation in India and this will lead to greater discontent among those who are not yet affected.

(d) It will not be surprising if after a certain time, it may not be possible for the British to depend entirely upon the Indian police to carry on its repressive measures. Today many relatives of police officials and civil servants in India are in jail. Even the near and distant female relatives of the Indian police and civil officials are taking part in the nationalist movement. This is likely to affect the men.

(e) British authorities must have realized that the doctrine of paramountcy expounded by various commissions and high officials

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is not acceptable to the Indian Princes. Some of them have begun to think as "Indians first and Princes afterwards." To be sure, Indian Princes who are willing to side with the aspirations of Indian nationalists are not many; but many of them will not be anxious to stand in the way of the realization of Indian freedom. Their self-respect demands that India must attain nationhood.

When one examines the present tendency of world politics, it becomes clear that Britain's position is not so very secure.

(a) At the outset it must be recognized that the result of the last Imperial Conference does not speak for solidarity among the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, in matters of imperial economics and commerce. This will have a very important bearing on Britain's relations with other nations.

(b) In spite of all talk and exchange of fine expressions about Anglo-American relations, naval rivalry and extreme commercial competition among the two nations exist. British statesmen fully realize that Britain cannot fight America, and so they have surrendered to American demand of naval parity.

(c) Although Anglo-Japanese relations have improved considerably during recent years, yet one must not overlook the fact that the Japanese have not forgotten Britain's giving up the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, after using Japan, during the world war. Every Japanese thinks that the British policy of building a formidable naval base at Singapore is a serious menace to his country. It is notorious that the British are hostile to Japanese commercial expansion in China, India and other markets. Japan is no longer bound by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and therefore may join any power against Britain, if that might seem advantageous to her.

(d) Britain is afraid of closer co-operation between Japan and China. After the failure of "gun-boat" diplomacy in China and the rise of Chinese nationalism, Britain has come to the conclusion that it will be wiser for her to befriend China and, if possible, use her to promote British interests. This is evident from various concessions made to China by Britain, during the last few months. It would not be surprising if Britain agreed to give up Extra-territorial Jurisdiction in China in the near future. The present Chinese Government is anxious to secure Anglo-American support in its struggle against Russian penetration and also against Japanese influence in Manchuria, and therefore it is willing to utilize Britain's friendly offers. However, China has not forgotten the Opium War and annexation of Hongkong. Chinese are not unmindful of British penetration through Burma and Chinese Turkestan and they have not forgotten the British policy of destruction of Chinese rights in Tibet. If China develops a strong central government, an Anglo-Chinese Alliance may be of some value to Britain, because it may be utilized against Japan or Russia in case of necessity. However, it must not be overlooked that any attempt on the part of the British to use China to promote British interests would provoke serious hostility in other quarters. To be sure, the Chinese Government is somewhat friendly to Britain now; but if Britain should become engaged in a serious conflict in Europe or any other part of the world China may utilize that occasion to regain some of her lost territories from Britain. At any rate the present Anglo-Chinese relations are not assets to the British position in world politics.

(e) Anglo-Afghan relations are better today than they were before the fall of Amanullah. But the overthrow of Amanullah has not made the situation safe for ever. On the contrary, there may break out some new trouble there which may affect British position in the North-West Frontiers of India.

(f) Anglo-Persian relations are more favourable today than they were a few years ago. However, the Persians do not trust British policy and are afraid of Britain's controlling Southern Persia and its resources.

(g) Anglo-Turkish relations are seemingly cordial; but the recent Kurd revolt has created a very bad impression in Turkey. Right or wrong, it is the general impression in Turkey, that, as the revolt against Amanullah in Afghanistan was directed and financed by some British master-mind who used Bachha-i-Saqau as his tool, similarly the revolting Kurds were financed and encouraged by the same master-mind, a British agent. Turkey does not trust Britain which engineered the Arab revolt and carried out the policy of the break up of the Ottoman Empire.

(h) In any serious trouble in the Near East, the Middle East or in Europe, Britain cannot depend upon any help from Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. On the contrary, these powers may take advantage of such a situation to embarrass Britain.

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The Arabs at heart do not love the British; but in the present condition of their national existence they are forced to side with the British. Britain by her treaties with Iraq and Trans-Jordania expects Arab help. Above all, she is strengthening her naval power, air power and mechanized forces in Palestine, which may be used to meet the situation in Egypt and other adjoining countries.

(i) In Europe, Britain is not committed to support any Power, except what she is obligated to by the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Locarno Agreements. However, the situation in Europe is developing into two armed camps, just as it was a few years before the outbreak of the world war. In the European arena of international diplomacy, France with her allies—Poland, Belgium, and the Little Entente group—is facing a less solid but discontented and powerful group of nations. France is opposing Germany's demands for a revision of the Treaty of Versailles. She is afraid that the existing Russo-German relations may develop into an actual alliance which may seriously endanger Poland, and therefore France, indirectly. Italy is the avowed rival of France in the Mediterranean, the Balkans and the Near East. Italy, under the leadership of Signor Mussolini, has established cordial relations with Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria and Hungary. It is stated authoritatively that Italy is willing to support Germany regarding the revision of the Treaty of Versailles and rectification of the eastern boundary of Germany in order that Upper Silesia may be re-united to Prussia. The recent visit of M. Litvinoff, the Soviet Foreign Minister, at Milan to consult with the Italian Foreign Minister, Signor Grandi, has given rise to various speculations, including the possibility of a secret treaty between Italy and Soviet Russia.

M. Litvinoff's and the Hungarian Prime Minister Count Bethlen's visit to Berlin at the same time, and the Turkish Foreign Minister Tewfik Rashdi Bey's visit to Italy and Bulgaria have strengthened the existing idea that a new alignment of Powers is in progress in Europe. Some think that in future, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Italy, Turkey and Soviet Russia may act in concert against France and her allies. This view has been strengthened by the fact that during the recent sessions of the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament, held under the auspicies of the League of Nations at Geneva, these nations have shown solidarity in opposing a certain policy championed by France, her allies and friends. It is certain that the international situation in Europe is less satisfactory than it has been any time since the world war. A clash on the Italo-Yugo-Slavian border, on the Russo-Rumanian border or on the German-Polish frontier may bring about another European war. It is generally regarded that such a European conflict may happen by 1935 or even earlier.

In any European conflict of the future, Britain will be involved seriously. It is generally expected that Britain will take a stand in favour of that group which will oppose Soviet Russia. It is to be expected that during the next European war, Britain will follow the same policy of strengthening her position in Asia as she did during the world war. Britain could play a dominant rôle, during the world war, because India supplied about a million soldiers and spent hundreds of millions of pounds sterling for the safety of the British Empire. In any conflict in Asia which may be directed against Soviet Russia and her allies Turkey, Persia and others) Britain will need two to three millions of Indian and Arab soldiers to fight for the glory of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Just as few years before the world war, Britain conferred Dominion status upon the Boers in order that they might not join with the Germans in Africa, similarly some British statesmen are anxious to bring about a new Federated India in which Indian Princes and loyalist moderates may play the rôle of the defenders of the British Empire, by supplying Britain with men and money and to prevent Indian nationalists from making common cause with Britain's enemies.

To make my position clear, I wish to emphasize the point that Britain's economic and international position is such that in any major conflict among nations in which she may be involved *without Indian support she will be doomed to failure.* Therefore the present Round Table Conference on India, held in London, is devising some means by which Indian support will be reasonably guaranteed during the coming conflict in Europe. Britain will try to convince the world and ignorant Indians that she was very generous to India and has willingly agreed to confer some kind of limited self-government, *with certain vital limitations,* upon

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the Indian people. But, the fact which the Indian public should realize, is that Britain cannot maintain her present position as a great Power economically and politically, without Indian support. (*What is the price Britain is willing to pay to secure Indian support ?*) This being the case, it is to be expected that a true Indian statesman should not act as a "beggar seeking crumbs from Britain's table." On the contrary, he should demand and secure legitimate price from Britain for Indian support in world politics. Indian statesmen, anxious to support British rule in India, should enquire from British statesmen what will be the price they are willing to pay to secure India's support in world politics.

Cannes (France)

December 3, 1930.

[This article was written for the January number of *The Modern Review* and ought to have reached us on the 28 December at the latest. But we received it on the 4th January last. Editor, *M. R.*]

Education and Internationalism

A Danish Experiment.

By PETER MANNICHE

Principal, International People's College, Elsinore.

"PEOPLE throughout the world are listening to-day to what this Eastern sage, who strongly reminds one of a prophet of old has to say. He belongs to the great figures of the world because his deep thought and feelings are rooted in a great and proud people, whose life is elevated by the traditions of past generations.

"The unhappy pursuits of the West, its selfish politics and civilization, have penetrated into the introspective Indian people. The Indian people feel that these things threaten their innermost life, and are awakening, and revolting against them. Tagore is helping in showing his people the values of the old rich civilization, and desires above all to convince them that man's riches are within himself."

With these words one of the Danish newspapers in a leading article paid a tribute to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. His visit to Denmark was greatly welcomed, and each day he was here, the newspapers reviewed his lectures very fully and the magazines printed long articles about him. The organ of the Danish folk high-school movement wrote:

"When Tagore in 1921 came to Stockholm to give the lecture respecting the Nobel prize which he had won in 1913, a large number of his works had been translated into Danish, and Danish University students arranged a torch-light procession as an expression of their admiration for his art. His poetry had answered a call of the times. People had become tired of naturalism in poetry. Its minutely real detailed descriptions tired, as did the long uniform trench reports from the front which at first wore down our nerves, and the symbolism, which displaced materialism, did not give the ordinary reader anything that he could really grasp."

Then Tagore came.

He was naïve, but genial in his naïveté; at least so he seemed to us then. He was a dreamer and as the period was tired of rugged or sharp realities, it surrendered to his beautiful reveries, and accepted his poetic art with a unanimity and enthusiasm which has fallen to the lot of few poets. His genius lay in creating plain, easily understood expressions for his dreams. Tagore, as a poet, has preserved his child mind throughout a long life. He still looks at the world with child's eyes of wonder and delight. He seems quite untouched by the sordidness and trivialities of every day life, and the world, he sees, is as if half-veiled in morning mist, coloured like rainbows, seen through rainy-wet window panes, —paradisical.

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For those who heard him read his own poems at the Students' Union it was an unforgettable experience. He knew, as few poets know how to read his poems aloud, and, in an uncommon degree, his inner personality is expressed in his physical appearance. The long—now snow-white, beard and hair, the beautiful eyes, the richly folded gown, all stamped the man and received an impress from him, and expressed the man's being.

It is necessary, however, in presenting a picture of Tagore, to give as much attension to his work as a teacher as to the poetry, and here a comparison with our own Grundtvig becomes irresistible.

Danish Youth, the organ of the Danish Youth Unions, wrote :

"Grundtvig, who has so often been called a prophet, in one of his works 'Christenhedens Syvstjerne' has presented a view of the great Christian congregations, characterizing them from the letters of the Book of Revelations. After having spoken of the six great congregations (The Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin, the Anglican, the German, and the Northern), he considers which people now have possibilities for accepting the Gospel. It must, he knows, be a people with spiritual sense and religious desire. Looking at the world he finds that the sense for that which is deepest in life lives in the Indian people."—and the paper goes on to say that the life and poetry of Dr. Tagore gives one a deep impression of the deep religious sense of the Indian people and seems to justify Grundtvig's prophesy.

At the poet's arrival in Copenhagen Mr. Cai Hegermann-Lindencrone, Secretary in the Board of Education, Mr. C. N. Hauge, Minister of Commerce, bade him welcome on behalf of the International People's College, whose guest he was. At the College itself representatives of seventeen nationalities listened to his lectures and although the university and the folk high-schools were holding vacation, several university men and folk high-school leaders came to meet him, among them the well-known professors : Vilhelm Anderson and Karl Larsen, Kopenhagen, Professor Liljegren, Greifswald University, folk high-school principals Begtrup and Rosenkjær. At the knight's hall at Kronborg, "Hamlet's Castle," where Dr. Tagore's subject was "My Religion" and at Borup's folk high-school in Copenhagen, where he spoke on "Principles in Art" many representative people were present. It was, however, as the Poet had wished, the Scandinavian youth, Danes, Norwegians and Swedes who formed the majority of the audience. The general impression was, that Dr. Tagore's visit to Denmark was an event in its life and a great honour to the International People's College.

It is not for me to give a review of Dr Tagore's lectures as the readers of this paper have full opportunity to read the poet himself. I will only try to give an idea of the cultural background of our school which he visited and of the people's colleges or folk high-schools in Denmark, the traditions of which it follows.

The International People's College was founded in 1921 as a link in the endeavours to build a bridge between the nations. It began very primitively, but has gradually grown. Some 1,000 students in all have attended the regular winter courses from November 3rd to the end of March and the summer courses from April 20th to July 10th and some 1,200 its three vacation courses from July 15th till August 25th.

During the first years the attendance of foreigners was comparatively smaller than now. Although the composition of the students during the summer courses during recent years has been fully international, it is the Danish element which predominates in the winter course. Last winter there were 17 foreigners against 71 Danes. This does not mean that the college during the five winter months has no international character. During the last two years there have been appointed permanent teachers, two Americans, two Danes, one English and one German, who work all the year round. The main subject for the foreigners and for those Danes and others who know English and German, are International Relations, Aspects of Cultural Life in the large countries, and languages. For the many artisans, who during the winter, come to the school and who cannot, as a rule, understand a foreign language, we arrange nine hours weekly teaching in technical drawing ; but nearly all the rest of the time is given to instruction in Danish, German or English, economic and cultural geography and the history of cultural life in modern civilized countries. The curriculum of the College combines with the pupil's social life in the direction of widening their horizon and promoting international understanding.

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The writer got the idea of starting an International College when he was a soldier in the Danish army during the world war, and in 1916 travelled to England in order to find support for the realization of the plan of starting such an institution, where students from different nations might meet. It should primarily appeal to intelligent young workers, teachers and university students who have gained a knowledge of their own countries' social and intellectual life, but who wished to extend their horizon through a knowledge of the foreign countries as well. It was hoped that Universal Humanity which the students discovered in each other would force disagreements into the background and that there would be created a new and richer form of education when young men and women of different temperaments and nationalities could interpret their experiences in fellowship, a form of education which corresponded to the demands which a society which builds upon co-operation and international understanding would make.

For the rest, I had no clear idea how I should treat of the scheme in detail, apart from the determination to build on the Grundtvigian high-school traditions and introduce the English tutorial system so as to make the common life of the students from different countries as intimate as possible. However, the idea gained support specially from the quakers and in the academical church—and political world of England which already at this time was much taken up by the ideas of social reconstruction which were to come after the war. They thought that Denmark was especially suitable to carry out such a plan, because it was a little and a *neutral* country, situated centrally and already possessing a developed solid high-school tradition.

When I came home to Denmark, a little circle of men worked together with me for the realization of the plan. Cai Hegermann-Lindencrone, who was our leader, became chairman of the committee we formed, and gradually we succeeded in interesting a larger circle of whom the committee elected a council with Professor, now Bishop, Vald. Ammundsen as Chairman and the present Home Secretary, Mr. Hauge as one of the members. The committee, which was to have the direct control of the school, was responsible to the council and was to be elected by the latter every year.

Four years elapsed, however, before we had collected so much money (55,000 Kroner), mainly gifts from private persons in Denmark, that we could venture to carry out our schemes. At this time it would have cost about 250,000 Kroner to erect a new building, to which sum would have been added costs of the inventory and installations; therefore we purchased an old estate, Sofienlyst near Helsinger, which some young labourers and artisans from Copenhagen (whom I had taught during the previous years at an evening school there) and myself were trying to equip for school purposes during the period between January and April. We were joined by several foreigners, and it was thus a little international working colony of students which began the school in 1921.

The first year of the college was an experiment, and as such it must be judged. The experiment succeeded in so far as it showed that it was really possible, so soon after the world war, for young people who came from countries where war prejudice was still very strong, to live together with tolerance, and derive benefit from doing so. On the other hand, we did not succeed at once in providing a curriculum which satisfied the demands which could rightly be made on an international college. Apart from the teaching of languages, the instruction which was often interrupted by manual work was rather fragmentary. Nevertheless comradeship and a good spirit prevailed, and most of the company threw themselves into the task of securing students for the second year, which began with 32 at the winter course and 42 at the summer course. Half of them were workers. From that time there has been steady progress from year to year in respect of students, accommodation and general equipment. In the second year the teaching was much more systematic and thorough. During the following years there developed a curriculum which was determined partly by the international character of the college and partly by Grundtvigian traditions.

The history of culture and literature play a large part in the college. According to the Grundtvigian view of life, history is not a meaningless mass of details, but a living continuity. History is the career of mankind, and in describing its failures and conquests, and its seeking to get at the causes, it helps young people to an understanding of the question that fills their minds, especially the question of life itself, its meaning and tasks.

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The international character of the college brings the study of international relations into the foreground. In the summer of 1928 there was provided in an introductory course, a survey of international organizations and the influence of states on international politics through national peculiarities of character and international institutions. After this came an ordinary course on international relations containing descriptions of technical, legal, political and intellectual co-operation between countries since 1815, and a discussion of the international diplomacy and activities associated with the Hague Conference, the League of Nations, the different departments of the International Labour Office, and the International Court of Justice. There was a more special course dealing with the economic side of international relations; this concerned the problems arising from the production and distribution of raw materials and food-stuffs, and also economic imperialism.

The study of modern social, political and cultural life in civilized countries always forms a part of the curriculum.

Not only do the subjects mentioned above receive an impress from the character of the college, but also the subjects which are not directly international. At a college, where not only a number of the students, but also the staff, come from great foreign countries, the teaching is given with a wider horizon than at ordinary colleges. Social problems are viewed not as those of individual countries, but as common to the whole world. The history of culture and literature becomes comparative, and burning political problems are seen from international veiw-points.

In the teaching of languages, theory and practice go hand in hand, daily intercourse with foreign students affording excellent practice, and a subject like geography gains additional interest in that one naturally wishes to learn more of the countries whose people one has met in the flesh. These are advantages, but it must be also emphasized that the international character of the college gives rise to several difficulties. In adult education a difficulty is always met in the different standpoints of the students, and, as may be readily supposed, the difficulty is greater when the students come from different countries. Differences of languages make it necessary in the beginning for the students to be divided into small groups according to nationality, but greater difficulties are caused by differences in natural temperament.

During recent years an increasing number of men and women from India, China and Japan have attended the different courses but the great majority of students have been English, Germans and Danes. The English like to take a share in the tuition, and prefer the teacher who regards himself as a co-worker, and who confesses that the whole truth is far greater than his conception of it. They are most interested in subjects for which they have direct use. The Germans, on the other hand, want to get at the whole truth. They are more thorough and more receptive than the English, and are most happy when led by a teacher whom they esteem, and who can give them a picture of the whole, and satisfy their yearning for ideas and abstract theories. The Danes prefer a teacher who is *primus inter pares*. They have no desire to be led by committees, as have the English—but feel that it is better when there is the least possible distance between the interests of teachers and students.

The international character of the college makes it difficult to satisfy all students, but on the other hand, just because the students do differ so much in character, they are valuable channels of instruction to one another. The sense of reality of the English, the industry of the Germans, the intensiveness and readiness to help of the Danes, and the tactfulness of the Swedes—all mark the life of the college and influence its individual members. The personal development which is necessary to create harmonious social life out of so many types is the same kind of development which the whole world must experience if there is to be a harmony in the international orchestra. The student must, in a small way, go through the same ethical development which is a preliminary condition before the people can enter a League of Nations in the right spirit. They develop a capacity, are better able to understand the problems to be solved, and gather from their experiences ethical values for which a new and better world has use.

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The Eternal Problem

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

II

As we name the Buddha we think at once of the innumerable imaginary pictures of the Blessed One and the statues that are to be found by the thousand. Before the mind's eye rises the image of a stately, august and noble figure—the noblest that human eyes have ever beheld—with the shaven head and yellow robes of a monk, barefooted, with the beggar's bowl in the hand that had cast away a kingdom, or the Master sitting cross-legged discoursing to his disciples, his face calm and profound as the Law that he preached.

***

The imaginations of many artists have represented the Christ as a slender figure with a face of the purest and highest Semitic type, bearded and with long hair, large expressive eyes with unfathomable depths of love and compassion. We behold the son of man with the single robe reaching from the neck down to the feet, preaching in a clear, musically modulated voice the Sermon on the Mount. And when they put upon him the purple robe in cruel mockery and the crown of thorns—a crown more glorious than any that has ever glittered upon the brow of king or emperor—Pilate stretched forth his hand and exclaimed, *Ecce Homo*, Behold the Man ! And we see him again with his tortured limbs and bleeding brows bending under the weight of the Cross on the way to Calvary !

***

In the history of humanity there have been no two other personalities that have been a higher inspiration or a nobler incentive to art. The imagination of the artist who conceived the image of the Buddha or the Christ had the exaltation of religious fervour, and the hand that painted or carved the likeness ceased to be profane. When we see a face resembling a picture of the Christ we exclaim, How Christ-like ! Another face of the ancient Aryan type with the wonderful calm of the Buddha stamped upon it reminds us of him.

***

That would be no recognition but only a trick of the fancy. No true likeness of either of these teachers of humanity is in existence, none was taken in their lifetime. All that we see today is the work of subjective art, idealized portraits projected by the imagination of gifted artists and caught by their brush or chisel. Thus, if the Buddha or the Christ were to appear again among men in the shape in which they moved while on earth they would not be recognized

Again and again the only identity we can think of is the physical shape of a man, but that is not his self, the essence of his being. The Buddha and the Christ did what they were destined to do and for them there will be no more travail of birth or pang of death. But in the need of the world others like them may come.

***

What we really see when we behold a man is the veil behind which the ego is hidden and we constantly speak of ourselves without knowing what we are. The eye deludes us even when we look outside ourselves. The truth dawns upon us only when we look into the inside of things and we learn the truth about our own selves when we gaze deep down into our being.

***

A mirage is an optical illusion, the sudden appearance of stretches of cool water and shady trees and hospitable houses in the arid and parched desert before the eyes of the weary and thirsty traveller. *Maya* is the mirage before the vision of the mind. So long as the mirage is visible the illusion is complete and the shadows suspended in the sky cannot be distinguished from reality. So *maya* invests all things with the appearance of hard reality and the twisted rope lying on a dark path causes as much fear as a living serpent.

***

The seeker of the truth says, Get thee behind me, *Maya*, lift this veil of many folds and let me stand face to face with the Truth ! Beguile me not with the wiles

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of unreality, stand aside and let me enter the Holy of holies ! I will not be denied, I will not be baffled, I will know !

***

Maya is mystery. She touches our eyelids with the spikenard of delusion and we move in a world of shadows, the light dancing in our eyes and again vanishing into the depths of the night, fantastic shapes of light and shade passing before our puzzled vision. At every turn the senses are deceived. We put out our hands to touch a rock and we feel nothing more solid than air. We hear music that we cannot interpret and voices that we do not understand.

***

Mystery ripples in the rays of the bright sunlight, mystery broods in the lowering darkness of the night, mystery trembles and thrills in the twinkling stars, lightfooted mystery trips along the Milky Way. The flower that has not bloomed holds mystery in its folded petals, mystery murmurs in the brook and booms in the sea, mystery dwells in forests and caves, and the universe revolves in a maze of mystery.

***

This all-enveloping mystery and the deeper mystery of the self pass most of us by, but to a few they are a challenge inviting a solution and arresting thought. And the solution is to be found in our own selves and nowhere else.

***

There are only two ways of penetrating the veil of *maya*. It is a knowledge that either comes to us of itself, or is imparted to us by another. The first is a process of self-illumination. Thought is so concentrated that the sense of all outward things is lost and only the inmost consciousness keeps awake.

***

The world outside is lost like a thing that does not exist, the senses cease functioning, the body becomes rigid and is in a state of suspended animation. The complete restfulness of the outer man indicates the extraordinary activity of thought within as a top revolving at great speed seems to be standing still. The will focuses all thought into compressed introspection. Deeper and deeper plunges the thinker until the mind itself is lost and is superseded by the subtler medium of the spirit.

Suddenly the depths are illuminated, a bright searchlight sweeps the dark recesses of the deep and all darkness becomes light. The diver rises with the oyster-pearl in his hand. The seeker exclaims, I am He ! and the quest is at an end.

Where the light from within is lacking the teacher, one like Socrates, turns to the disciple and says, Know thyself. He lets it rest at that. He would not divulge what the self is. He indicates the objective of knowledge, but the attainment of it was left to the learner. That was the Socratic method. He brought knowledge out of the learner, but did not drive it in. The sceptic was convinced by being confounded.

***

Another teacher, an Aryan-like Socrates but descended from an older branch of the stock, made the knowledge quite plain and there was a reason. The disciple was learned but had acquired no knowledge of self. With learning he had acquired pride and the teacher wished to divest him of it, for the disciple was the son and the teacher was the father.

***

Uddalaka Aruni, the *Rishi*, was wiser than most wise men. He had a son named Swetaketu, who was sent away to the *Guru* when he was twelve years of age. For twelve years the boy studied with the teacher, learned all the *Vedas* and became very proud of his learning. When at the age of twenty-four Swetaketu returned home Uddalaka noticed that his son had not grown up like himself, with humility in his heart, but had come back a vain young man.

***

Uddalaka asked his son Swetaketu whether his teacher had taught him to be proud of his learning, whether he had acquired any knowledge of the Brahman, the Lord, and whether he had learned the lore of the self, for without this knowledge all learning was as naught. Swetaketu was mystified for he had been taught nothing about self.

***

And then Uddalaka taught Swetaketu how to know himself. Nine times, by different illustrations and parables, Uddalaka taught his son that he was identified with the All-Soul, the Brahman, who pervades the universe, the one Being who alone exists, and who is manifest in all things. At the conclusion of each argument and illustration Uddalaka spoke of the Brahman and told Swetaketu, "That thou art," *Tattwamasi*.

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By nine different methods was this lesson impressed upon Swetaketu, and when he was enlightened the pride of learning, which was the darkness of ignorance, passed from him as the night passes at the approach of the sun.

***

The other expression, I am He ! *Soham*, has been heard in many lands and among many peoples. These words issued out of the *Rishi*, of Zoroaster, who said, *Ahmi Yad, Ahmi Mazdao*, I am the Lord or I am that I am, of Moses, who claimed that God spoke out of his mouth and declared that His name was 'I am that I am', of Mansur, who affirmed *Un al Haq*, I am the Truth, or I am the Lord.

***

For a man to identify himself with God would appear to be the height of presumption and the limit of blasphemy. This notion is dissipated by the striking story of Swetaketu. His father had the knowledge of self and he communicated it to his son in order that the young man should cease to be presumptuous. Uddalaka had noticed that his son had become conceited and he wished him to be humble.

***

Pride struts about with the ignorance that mistakes itself for the real self. The "I" that is always on our lips and fills our minds, that draws our eyes to the mirror in self-admiration, is merely a phantom of the *maya* that surrounds us. The real self abides deep down, waiting for the patient and painstaking seeker.

***

When the self is discovered and found to be one with the Absolute, the one Reality, the single Existence, there can be no room for presumption or pride. There can be no blasphemy in Truth. Pride or a sense of superiority proceeds from a process of comparison. For the purpose of comparison there must be two or more things.

***

The "I" in us is so insistent and assertive because we are constantly comparing ourselves with others. The basis of the comparison may be anything : it may be knowledge, wealth or power. In one respect or another we fancy ourselves superior to others. But when we realize that we have no independent being, that the ego is not a separate entity but identical with the supreme and single Ego, that there is nothing higher or lower, better or worse, that there is only One without a second, that the concept of many beings is like the many reflections of the single moon on the broken waves of the sea, there is no standard of comparison left and no cause for self-consciousness or pride.

***

Instead, the only feeling that we can have must be one of profound humility inseparable from the realization of error. When we step across the threshold of the temple of Truth *maya* vanishes like a mist dispersed by the penetrating rays of the sun. There is neither elation nor dejection in the knowledge of the truth. We pass beyond all doubts and vexations to where there is peace. And, therefore, at the conclusion of every teaching of the *Upanishads* the one word peace is repeated and stressed three times.

***

Thus the immortality of the soul is realized in tranquillity. It is no part of the creation, it is unconditioned by time and space. The soul is one, impartible, uncreate. In the Rig-Veda, in a *mantram* of great solemnity, there is a conception of time before the creation when "there was neither Existence nor Non-existence." Yet "then there was only That resting within Itself ; apart from It there was not anything."

***

What the *Veda* dimly perceived becomes a clear concept in the Vedanta. The "That" and the "It" of the Veda is the "I am He" and "Thou art That" of the *Upanishads* and is repeated in the scriptures of the Jews and the Zoroastrians, and the creed of the *Sufis*. It is, in fact, a truth realized by those who have held deep communion with themselves, irrespective of race and country.

***

These few words, the affirmation of existence, are ponderable. Time has no movement in respect of the soul. So far as the soul is concerned the partitions of time fall away. The verb "to be" has only one tense—the present. There is no past, no future.

***

The soul-principle is ever-existent, ever-present. All time stands still, rooted and fixed, confronting the soul. Time cannot run away from it, nor can it get behind it.

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The soul faces time all ways. All else is, and again, is not. The whole objective universe, the starry constellations and all visible phenomena are a revolving and disolving phantasmagoria.

***

Through the sequence of lives runs the account of *karma*, the reaping of the harvest against the sowing of the seed. At every birth and during every life the entries on the credit and debit sides always vary, the profit and loss account is ever changing and showing different figures. No man comes into life with a bankrupt soul.

***

How else are we to account for the strange disparity between man and man, why is one lifted high above his squalid and sordid surroundings and another is cast down from a glittering eminence? Why are birth and station in life of no consequence in the attainment of greatness?

***

There is no such thing as an accident or a freak in the ordering of life. At each birth every man is ushered into life with a spiritual banking account, all entries having been made up as regards his previous incarnations. Some come rich with the wealth of the spirit, others impoverished. We are free to squander what we bring with us or to add to it.

***

If the doctrine of *karma* is rejected how can we explain the violent conflict between environment and achievement? Why was Srikrishna brought up in a family of cowherds and why did he spend his youth in tending cattle? Whence came to him the unparalleled wisdom expounded in the Bhagavadgita? If Srikrishna was an incarnation of Vishnu he was also human.

***

Why, again, was the Buddha born as a king's son and nurtured in luxury when his appointed destiny called him to the renunciation of the world and to live on the alms of charitable people? Why did it become necessary for him to wrench himself free from throne, wife and child? If he had been born as the son of *Rishi* dwelling in the forest the mantle of an itinerant preacher would have fallen upon him easily and naturally.

***

Was it in the fitness of things that Jesus of Nazareth should have been born a carpenter's son? He had come to call sinners to repentance and to announce the advent of the Kingdom of Heaven. His work would perhaps have been easier and he might not have been pursued with such bitterness even unto his death on the cross had he been born the son of a rabbi or a priest of the temple.

***

Karma is all-powerful, not in the doing of it but in its effect. The field is free for the sower to sow what he will. He has his choice between the tare and the cornseed: the one will run to weed, the other will yield a harvest of corn. In the reaping there is no choice, for as you have sown so shall you reap. And a nectarine seed will yield its own luscious fruit even if sown in a bed of nettles.

***

Accumulating through the wheeling cycle of births *karma* and the momentum and force it generates become irresistible and heedless of environment and circumstance. With the wisdom acquired through many births the Buddha would have been the Buddha and the Christ the Christ wherever they happened to be born in this particular incarnation.

***

The belief that the spirits of men and women haunt the earth after death merely touches the fringe of the larger and deeper truth about the immortality of the soul. The identity here is in reference to the individual as known in life. The medium gets *en rapport* with the spirits of the dead, who materialize before the eyes of the beholders as shadowy images floating in the air, a kind of disembodied aura retaining a semblance of the living.

***

The believer cannot get away from the conditions of this life. The dead appear as the misty images of the living, they speak with the voices of the living. The dead speak of this world in the same manner as the living, relationships are remembered as in life. A son beholds his dead mother, a bereaved wife sees her departed husband. It is a protraction of the illusion of *maya*, the projection of the trivialities of life beyond this life. The mind moves in uncertain and long twilight of the gods.

***

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The kinship of blood is unconcerned with the soul, the untrammelled ego to which all time is as a present moment. The experience of life is that blood is both thicker than water and thinner than air. A son may be devoted as well as ungrateful, a father may not bear the sight of a son. According to one scripture the first blood-guiltiness of man was fratricide. There is no relationship that can stand between the murderer and his victim.

***

The faith in the appearance of the dead before living eyes rests on the belief that this life is the beginning of all things. No thought is taken of what may lie behind the living, it is not realized that this life is merely a link in a chain of which the length is lost in the past. Is it not obvious that the past exercises a potent influence upon the present, and, to a certain extent, moulds the future ?

***

It is fascinating, this vision of the spirit-world, the borderland across which the released spirits pass into purgatory or paradise. For a time they linger in the world, though not of the world, reluctant to cut themselves entirely adrift from the moorings that held them bound to the flesh and the kinships of the flesh. It is thrilling to think that they move about in the air and the other unperceived, like silent phantom ships passing in the night.

***

The recurrence of births is not the repeated appearance of the individual as he was known and recognized in his generation. The true self remains unknown in one birth as much as in another. The fleshly garb in which the self is clothed and hidden is neither reborn nor duplicated. The marks of identity by which alone we distinguish one individual from another disappear with the flesh.

***

The miracle of the dead coming to life is a paradox. A man may be seized by a cataleptic fit or fall into a trance and he looks like one dead. All animation may be suspended, the eyes may be glazed, the heart and the pulse may cease beating. To all outward appearance the man is dead.

***

Specially must this have been the case when the science of medicine and the art of healing were in their infancy. A man lying in such a state was easily mistaken for dead and when he was recalled to life and living consciousness it was regarded as a miracle. A touch might do it or a voice reaching his sub-consciousness.

***

The paradox lies in the fact that for the soul there is no death and, for the flesh that is dead there is no revival, no resurrection. A holy man possessing psychic or mesmeric power may be able to heal disease and infirmity by his touch or spoken word, but it is no miracle. It is the exercise of a highly developed gift denied to ordinary people.

***

Besides, the miracle of the dead coming to life does not confer immunity from death. If a man who is dead is called back to life he dies again and a second miracle does not happen. If by a miracle a dead man reappears among the living it does not mean that he will not die again. The belief in such a miracle is due to the desire for deathlessness in the flesh, but this is not possible for the flesh must die.

***

Far more miraculous, if a miracle were possible, is the teaching of a prophet or Messiah that ministers generation after generation to the mind and the spirit, the helping of unbelief, the guiding of the hesitant mind. The weary are at rest and the troubled are at peace, and the healing agency consists of words spoken long ago. There is no touch of a vanished hand, no spectral apparition before the eyes, but only living words, words charged with power and full of blessing.

***

There is no miracle even in this. The man who comes as a teacher and an exemplar brings his equipment of wisdom from the store laid by in previous lives, his power is the accumulated result of his *karma*, the good thoughts and deeds of former incarnations. He cherished and fed the immortal flame of knowledge through the ages and hence his words possess the vitality and potency of immortality.

***

What can be more miraculous than the daily rising and setting of the sun amidst scenes and a background of unparalleled splendour ? Is it any wonder that the ancient Aryans hailed the sun every morning with hymns of praise and wonder, and the

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gayatri, the holiest of incantations, relates to the power emanating from the sun? In the Memphite system of ancient Egyptian mythology *Ra* was the supreme sun-god. It was to the same god that the Greeks dedicated one of their most beautiful temples.

* * *

Since, however, it is a daily recurrent phenomenon the sunrise scarcely stirs the imagination. In so far as a miracle is supposed to supersede the ordinary course of nature it is neither right nor wholesome. The desire to witness a miracle is a craving for the abnormal and what is abnormal is not right.

* * *

This is why the Buddha so energetically repudiated and condemned all miracles and insisted upon all occasions and in all his teachings on the upholding of the norm. It is the normal that is true, though the normal may not always be obvious. So illusive and deceptive are our surroundings that it is often difficult to ascertain even the normal.

* * *

When Jesus went into the wilderness and fasted forty days and forty nights the devil tempted him and said, If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread. But Jesus refused and said, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. The subsequent miracles attributed to the Christ were mainly cases of psychic healing, and it was usual to believe that prophets performed miracles. Moses and Aaron being among them. It is worth noting that the first suggestion to Jesus to perform a miracle came from the devil.

* * *

Why seek for a miracle when the whole creation is an inexhaustible repertory of miracles? Are the wonders around us so few that we needs must long for others that violate the laws of nature? If we had to choose between the miracles attributed to Jesus Christ and the Sermon on the Mount would there be a moment's hesitation in our choice? To speak of such miracles as controlling the luminaries of heaven is not merely absurd but highly dangerous. To think of arresting the sun or the moon in its course is an impious defiance that can proceed only from Lucifer, the fallen archangel.

* * *

Miracles are supposed to strengthen the claim for supernatural or divine powers, but no man is considered a prophet or a messenger of God by the performance of miracles alone. His chief power lies in his teaching, in his exposition of the truth, in his mission of compassion, in his love for mankind. Divested of these qualities no man is remembered or revered merely as an exhibitor of miracles.

Jurisdiction

A study in its problems

By T. CHATTERJI, *Bar-at-Law*

THE problem of proper jurisdiction gives trouble not only to trained lawyers but also to laymen in their daily life. Sometimes the lawyers are better off in this sphere; for instance, the lawyer knows that the Court has some definite functions to perform in the exercise of its matrimonial jurisdiction, but it is safer for a layman not to tackle the problems of this particular jurisdiction over domestic affairs.

The lawyer does not often experience in court the difficulties which a friend told me he had to face. This gentleman unfortunately had his shop burgled. Opposite his shop there was a police station on the other side of the road My friend telephoned to the officer-in-charge.

"Yes, what is the matter.....?" My friend heard a drawling voice speak.

"A burglary? ..... Yes? But where is it?"

"Opposite the station? ..... But our jurisdiction does not extend beyond this

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side of the road. Sorry! ..... You will have to inform the B—thana."

The telephone went off with a click, and the officer back to his disturbed sleep. My friend ought to have known better.

The lawyers practising in Calcutta proper know that the Courts' jurisdiction does not extend beyond the Calcutta side of Lower Circular Road. If your motor car happened to be smashed by a careless bus-driver within an inch beyond this limit, you will have to go to the Alipore Court for having the offending driver punished. So if you have against you a decree of the Calcutta High Court you have simply to cross over Lower Circular Road with all your earthly possessions, and the long arm of the High Court does not reach you. The decree will have to travel through the mazes of the Alipore Court before execution can be levied. And if you are a wise man you can work wonders within the time the decree takes its course to be ready for execution.

Though Bhowanipore, Alipore, Ballygunge and even Entally have all the amenities of modern life, except a decent supply of filtered water, according to Calcutta lawyers you live in the moffussil if you happen to reside anywhere there.

If you wish to raise a loan from a Calcutta man on mortgage of your property, you will ordinarily find it a difficult thing unless you add to your property a small piece of land, however tiny a bit it may be, on the right side of Lower Circular Road. For the High Court cannot entertain a suit for land lying wholly outside its jurisdiction.

On the other hand, if you happen to have a Calcutta man for your creditor, he will have to go across Lower Circular Road to the Alipore Court to catch you, unless he can show that "part of the cause of action arose within the jurisdiction of the Hon'ble High Court" namely, that the debt is payable or that the loan was made within its jurisdiction. This alone is also not sufficient, for in such a case the creditor has to apply for and obtain special leave to institute his suit in the High Court.

Although the law gives the High Court of Calcutta inherent jurisdiction over everything within the Bengal Presidency, the Court is very reluctant to assume jurisdiction. Only the other day a lunatic could not be declared a lunatic, because he did not reside within the legal boundaries of Calcutta.

Learned judges coming fresh from England are, however, apt to assume too much jurisdiction.

"What!" exclaimed one of the learned judges to counsel who had taken the defence of want of jurisdiction, "do you mean to say that a Subordinate Judge will decide the case better than a High Court Judge?" and he proceeded to hear the suit. His judgment was reversed on appeal, and the Appellate Court held that the question was not whether a High Court Judge was more competent to decide a case, but whether he should try an action which a Subordinate Judge could.

When one comes to think of the problem of jurisdiction in the right spirit, jurisdiction appears to be nothing more than a division of labour. It has its uses.

If a creditor has a doubtful claim or a troublesome debtor, he should, in order to get a speedy settlement of his claim, bring his action in an out-of-the-way district court. The debtor, who probably has so far been content with leaving all his legal troubles to his solicitor and counsel, will at once find himself in deep water. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred such a debtor will not face the music but will meet his opponent half way and square accounts with him. His action will be considered wise by all who are in the know. It would have fetched him no consolation if the action against him was ultimately dismissed for want of jurisdiction.

In the district courts the point of jurisdiction is not decided first but the whole suit is heard on its merits before it is found out at the end that the Court has no jurisdiction to try the action.

The indiscreet debtor who has not already settled with his creditor will soon see that his costs are mounting up to more than the claim itself. When the case is over, he will be told that he can legally recover only a quarter of what he has spent and is still left with the chance of meeting his adversary again in a court which has jurisdiction to deal with the claim.

A study of the jurisdiction of courts, therefore, is of great help to those who are contemplating a plunge into legal actions. But the problems of jurisdiction are deep and intricate. Let no reader,

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however, have the delusion that an attempt has been made in this article to solve the vexed problems. If his curiosity is evoked, there are at least a dozen good-sized books bound in half-calf any of which will satisfy the most energetic of readers.

Rama Raja

A Pioneer Worker on Ancient Indian Architecture.

By PRIYABANJAN SEN

ARCHITECTURE is in our country an unknown science today and is also suffered to remain in comparative obscurity. Men do not care to provide for the beauty of their dwelling place, so to speak, and the very fact that an attempt is being made in these days to change this usual indifference and to point to a better state of things shows that those who are pioneers in the field are conscious of this defect in our character. But if it is worth while to console ourselves, we may say we have seen better days, days now honoured in the gross but not known in particular, save and except by those silent witnesses of our ancient greatness—the temples of India that, situated so as to reap all the advantages of nature's grandeur, proclaim at the same time the richness of invention, the eminently practical nature, the passion for beauty that might be said to have possessed the enthusiastic souls of that glorious band of men of whom we feel so proud and who had once graced the soil of our country.

We are certainly grateful to those of us who in these degenerate times strive earnestly to reconstruct the past, and of such, Rama Raja is one of the earliest. His work is overlaid with the dust of about a century, but it still remains rich in information which a hundred years has done very little in making antiquated. His *Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus*, published through the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 1834, shows a grasp of the subject and the 48 plates which are annexed to it are an evidence of the pains which he took to impart to his readers the knowledge he had gathered in the temples teeming in architectural beauties. The book is generally inaccessible, for the subject has perhaps scared away those who haunt our popular circulating libraries, but to the earnest student it is a rich treasure-house, a source of great delight.

Rama Raja was born sometime about 1790 and was a native of Tanjore. After getting some schooling in the English language which just enabled him to read and write in it, he sought to improve his fortunes by taking service with one of the infantry regiments as a clerk; but his ability and intelligence destined him for higher and better things, and he became at first a vakil to the regiment and then in 1815 we find him attached to the office of the military Auditor-General. His successful translation from Mahratta into English of a code of regulations for the guidance of revenue officers compiled under Tipu Sultan threw him into the good graces of his superior officer who placed him in a suitable position in the College of Fort St. George. There he was at first the head of the college office and then the head English master for the Indian students of the institution. It is gratifying to note that he finally rose to be a judge and magistrate at Bangalore.

From a letter written in October, 1827, to Richard Clarke by Rama Raja we learn that he was even then engaged in writing an essay on the architecture of the Hindus. He hoped to finish his task in quite a short time, but in this it seems he was labouring under an erroneous idea; the work was rendered difficult, for many of the terms used baffled explanation. He was lucky in securing the assistance of a good sculptor, a native of Tanjore, who helped him in solving many difficulties and understanding numerous technical terms used in the art.

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But in another letter written to the same Mr Richard Clarke in January, 1828, we find him fully conscious of the difficulties that lay before him and he names them; we find now that he has a clear idea of his work. Help from the pundits was not forthcoming, for such scholarship was not in their line: "It is true I have procured several treatises on architecture, sculpture, etc.; but our best pundits have given them up as altogether inexplicable; and although these works are all composed in Sanskrit, yet the whole is no more intelligible than the darkest oracles are, at least, to those who are unacquainted with the science itself." The dictionaries were useless; for, as he says, "Our best dictionaries do not contain a single architectural term"; the workmen have given up their own style of building as it does not pay and people must earn a living; and the few manuscripts as are available abound in errors, even the correction of which may involve the risk of disfiguring the text still more.

Such were the difficulties before him; but, modestly estimating his own abilities, he yet resolved to be honest and diligent in his performance, and that is, as we know, of sterling worth in the prosecution of any plan Though the *origin* of Indian architecture was the question fashionably asked in those days and so was the possible influence of Egypt on Indian architecture, he held and held rightly that the time was not yet ripe for the solution of such problems and the best thing that could be, or for that matter, can be done was to "collect information" as he phrased it and on this he set his heart.

The *Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus*, ambitious as its title sounds, extends over sixty-four folio pages, and consists of notes, which seemed important to the essayist, collected from indigenous texts and illustrated by means of plates taken from actual temples of the Carnatic. The author's findings have been based on considerable portions of Manasara, Mayamata, Kasyapa and Vaikhanasa and a few unconnected chapters or sections of Sakaladhikara Visvakarmiya, Sanat-Kumara, Sarasvatyam, Pancharatram, etc. Manasara, a treatise named after the author and consisting of fifty-eight chapters, of which only forty-one were contained in his copy, has been his general or main guide. The measures used in architecture are given in the Manasara, but only the proportions are cited in most other books. The measurements that must have been in common use are also there, and so are the necessary qualifications of an ideal architect. After laying down some directions with regard to the soil, he then proceeds to tell how the ground might be made ready for erecting temples, etc. Rama Raja does not proceed with a detailed analysis of the successive chapters of the Manasara or of any other text, but confines himself to the chapters in the Manasara on pedestals, bases, pillars, and then turns to reproduce some observations on the building of villages and cities. He next dwells at some length on the different varieties of Vimanas and Gopuras, Dwarasalas and Dwaraprasadas, quoting rules in an intelligible way and illustrating them by means of plates taken from actual temples like those of Sri Rangam and Rajarajyeswaram, in which the various parts are pointed out and according to his text, thus showing the proportions which the parts bear to one another and expl ining the technical terms which would have been otherwise unintelligible. The chief value of his work lies here; what he did was done in the right method. We may pass by the passages in which he strives to compare, evidently against the principle with which he had set out, Indian columns with Greek or Tuscan or where he contrasts Indian pyramidic concepts with Egyptian, as well as the concluding portions in which he labours to show that *chunam* mixed with jaggery water, *i.e.*, water and the molasses, makes for strength.

From a letter written by his widowed wife in 1833 we are given to understand that Rama Raja died before he could see the publication of his bo k; his work should not, however, be passed over as he was one of the pioneer workers in the field. His life is none the less noble for his not having lived to reap the benefits of his labour in a field where he was in his time, for aught we know, the sole worker. It is but proper to admit, though at this distance of time, the meed of fame which rightly belongs to him.

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The Students and Communism in China

By AGNES SMEDLEY

THE student movement of China, which furnished the motive power for the first wave of the national revolution in 1919, and again played a colossal rôle as the organizer of the labour and peasant movement from 1925-27, has again flared up. As in 1919 and in 1925-27, so today, and in exactly the same manner, the ruling power is using any and every means in their attempt to suppress this movement. The earth of China is again being literally soaked with the blood of rebellious students. Formerly it was the old Government that carried out massacres; today it is the Nanking as well as Manchurian generals. The extent of what the Nanking Government—which rode to power with the help of students—calls the "student menace" is best seen by the latest action of General Chiang Kai-shek in making himself temporary Minister of Education with the express purpose of crushing the student movement. This General, the supreme Fascist dictator of China, holds not only all the key positions in military and civil life, but appointed himself Minister of Education on December 6th. Accordingly, on December 7th and again on December 12th he issued two long manifestos of warning to students throughout the country, telling them that his "heart is pained" because they "have fallen prey to Communism and have sometimes gone the length of calling meetings, distributing handbills and involving themselves in party conflicts. They have opposed their Presidents and to oppose their Presidents is tantamount to oppose the Government." All students are warned—and as a gentle reminder the General has continued a policy that is not new—the wholesale execution of students in almost every important city of China.

A boy who has been arrested in Shanghai because he shouted "Down with Imperialism"

However, the student movement continues and this time instead of being directed against the old feudal Peking Government, it is directed against the new Fascist Nanking regime. In November and December alone, the daily press

Students on their way to death

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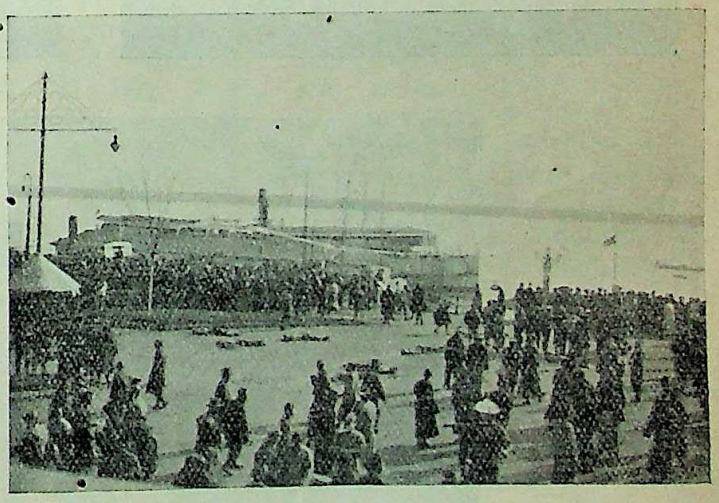
reported University strikes, often of both students and teachers, throughout the country—from Canton, Peking, Kaifeng, Shanghai, and from cities and even entire provinces throughout the Yangtze Valley and in Szechuen. In Shanghai alone, the

Arrest of two Students and two Workers in Shanghai

students of the Universities of Woosung, Nanyang Medical, Tung Wen, Chinan, and Kwang Hwa carried out strikes during November and December, the reasons being both political and financial. In most cases the strikes were due to the arrest and imprisonment of students or teachers accused of Communism; in other cases, the Presidents were accused of financial corruption and refusal to give accounts of public finances. In Nanking there was a protracted struggle in the Government University, the Central Nanking University, whose students have been previously engaged in co-operation with workers of a British factory during a strike. A number of students had been shot by Chiang Kai-shek because of these activities. In Chekiang and Kiangsu provinces there have been protracted student struggles with all schools of every kind closing down, because the military authorities have used all educational funds for war purposes.

But perhaps the most terrible record of human butchery in the history of the world, either east or west, comes from the Szechuen province at the present time. Before me lies clippings from the Chinese press from various Chinese cities, including Nanking, also Chungching and Chengtu, Szechuen Province. Reports from the *Commercial Daily News* of Chungching, for November 14, 20, 23, and from the *Central Daily News* of Nanking of November 28 and December 3, as well as many Chinese dailies of Shanghai, report the following news, without one word of objection being raised. The military authorities of Szechuen have posted public notices that any one who discovers or catches a Communist will be rewarded with $ 50, and all soldiers and policemen who discover Communists are not only rewarded with $ 50 per head, but are given the right to kill on the spot. Soldiers and police of good records in this manner will be promoted. The result was that within a few hours after the order had been posted, 200 men and women, almost all of them students, were arrested, shot and beheaded in Chengtu, the capital of Szechuen. Eleven students came from the



In Hankow the Soldiers took the Communist Students before the Customs House Building and executed them without trial

Szechuen University, 3 from the Middle School department, 12 from the Teachers College, 2 girls from the Middle School, 2 girls from the Teachers Middle School,

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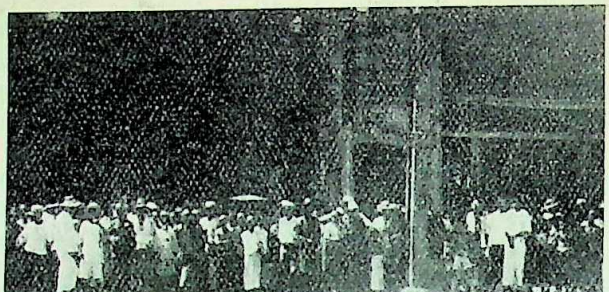
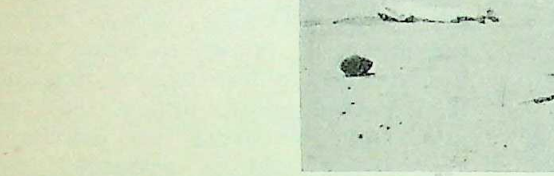
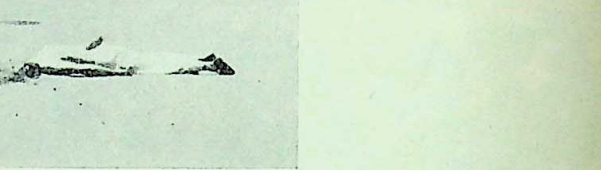
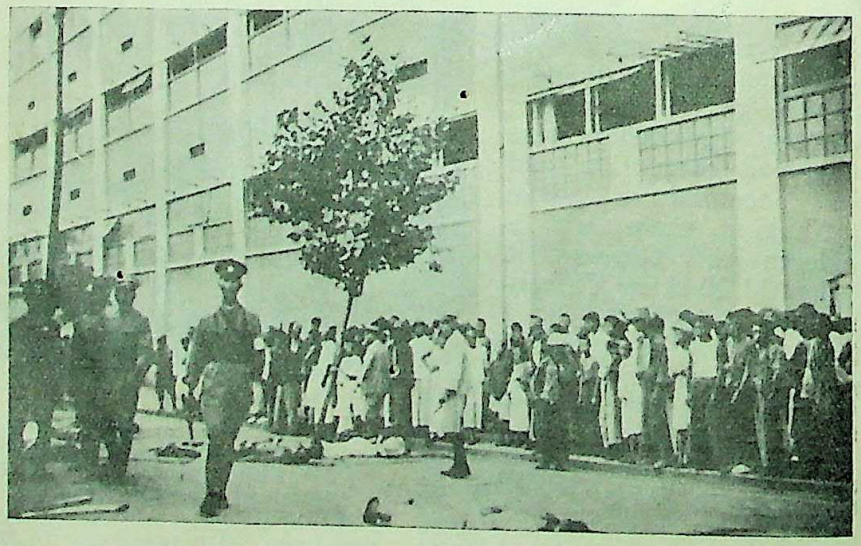
The White Terror in Hankow









The bodies of the executed men lying in the streets. A British Press report from Hankow reads : "The Chinese chop off the heads of Communists and leave the bodies lying in the streets for days. This is a very disagreeable sight for ladies on their way to the race course

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10 girls from the Teachers University, 10 students from the Sericulture College, and 10 from the Art College. This report was on November 18th. On November 8th also the Agricultural College was searched by hundreds of soldiers and 7 men students and 2 girl students arrested and beheaded before the school. On November 16th, a report says, two young girl students 18 years of age took a walk arm in arm near the Nantai Temple in Chengtu. They were set upon by soldiers who shot them down, then cut off their heads because the girls were still breathing. The soldiers then carved the words "Communist" on the legs of the girls, and claimed $ 50 per head for their work. They were paid. On November 17th, says the *Commercial Press* of Chungching, a young man looking like a student was walking through the streets and met a number of military officers. What words passed between the student and the military men is not recorded, but one officer drew his knife and killed the student on the spot, and the other officers added the finishing touches by stabbing the dead-body. Then the officers sauntered away. The report reads: "Everyone passing on the street tried to escape even the glance of the officers lest they be accused of being Communists and killed. The same report says that a student of Szechuen University was killed in the streets by a soldier because he had long hair. So great is the terror that schools and shops have closed and the streets are filled only with soldiers and police. The number of killed is not known, but though so many have been killed, few were Communists. Instead, handbills of the Communists appeared throughout the city calling upon the people to revolt.

Other reports from Szechuen give such details as these: A group of soldiers and police searched Chengtu University on November 14th and arrested and killed the chief Librarian and the Director of Publication. All schools and colleges have been searched by soldiers and students found with any book on Socialism or the social sciences have been taken before the University and beheaded. The streets are red with blood, say the reports, and the number of killed is not known. No trials are held, no proof demanded. After the students or other suspects are killed, the Chinese characters for "Communist" is carved in their flesh with knives. One report says: "A hole is also made in the stomach with a knife, and a little flag bearing the word "Communist" is stuck in the hole."

The foreign and Chinese press is filled with similar reports from Hankow, at present the centre of the white terror in the Yangtze. Without trial, without a minute being lost, students suspected of being Communists are taken out and beheaded in the streets and their bodies left lying where all can see. One report of December 17th says that one girl who was pregnant was not beheaded with her 13 other comrades on that day; first she will give birth to her baby and then be beheaded. The schools and universities are searched periodically. Police and soldiers and all anxious to establish good records in what is called Communist suppression, good records meaning the highest number of deaths of suspected Communists to their credit. The result is the most murderous man-hunt in human history carried out with barbarous cruelties known only to the feudal mind. On the top of these already intensified barbarities, comes manifestos of Chiang Kai-shek threatening new deaths. The foreign press expresses its deep satisfaction with this student suppression. On December 10th, the *Shanghai Evening Post*, an American daily, and on December 13th the *Peking and Tientsin Times*, the powerful British "die-hard" daily, both had editorials expressing satisfaction that at last efforts are being made to suppress student "insubordination and lack of discipline." It is significant that while the foreign reactionary press of China—and no liberal press exists—condones and encourages the Chinese authorities in their butchery of students, at the same time these very newspapers use these butcheries as proof why foreign powers should keep extra-territorial rights in China. In a recent controversy on the abolition of extrality, one of these same editorial writers declared that extrality should not be abolished because every day in China the authorities put suspected Communitists to death without any semblance of trial; it also said that not only do they butcher suspected persons, but there have been cases "where they have eaten the hearts of their victims" after putting them to death.

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Fifty Years of Indo-British Trade (1875-1925)

By S. C. BOSE

I

ONE of the most remarkable facts in connection with the growth of the foreign trade of India is that the percentage share of the United Kingdom has almost continuously been on the decline for the last fifty years or more, though the actual amount of Indo-British trade has shown very great development. This means that the progress of Indo-British trade has not kept pace with that of our total trade; in other words, trade with non-British countries has grown at a faster rate than that with Great Britain. Till the middle of the 19th century, the growth of our foreign commerce was practically synonymous with the development in our trade with the United Kingdom. It lies beyond the scope of the present article to trace the beginnings of our commerce with Great Britain which led to her occupying the almost monopolistic position in India's foreign trade.* The subsequent developments have been in the direction of a gradual divergence of both our imports and exports from the United Kingdom to other countries, especially the Continental countries of Europe, and to the U. S. A. and Japan with the result as noted above. The following figures are illustrative of the fact:

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF U. K. IN THE TOTAL TRADE OF INDIA

1875-76	62.2
1880-81	58.7
1890-91	50.9
1900-01	45.1
1905-06	42.9
1910-11	39.1
1915-16	47.4†
1920-21	41.8
1925-26	32.1

* For this earlier history of Indo-British trade, good accounts will be found in Dr. Balkrishna's *Commercial Relations between India and England* and Prof. C. J. Hamilton's *Trade Relations between England and India.*

† During the War period, a temporary stimulus was given to Indo-British trade because of the large exports of Indian raw materials for the manufacture of munitions.

This decline in the percentage share of the United Kingdom has been more marked in our export trade. It is true that the share of Great Britain has always been larger in our imports than in our exports but smaller as the volume of exports has been, its decline has still been relatively more marked than that of imports, as the following figures will reveal:

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF U. K. IN INDIA'S IMPORT AND EXPORT TRADE

	Import	Export
1875-76	83.0	48.3
1880-81	82.8	41.6
1890-91	76.4	32.7
1900-01	65.6	30.7
1905-06	68.5	25.1
1910-11	62.1	24.8
1915-16	60.4	38.1
1920-21	58.8	19.4
1925-26	50.9	21.0

In our imports, Great Britain continues to retain more than half the total trade and occupied by far the most important position, the share of the country coming next after her, namely, Japan, being only 8 per cent in 1925-26. But as a consumer of Indian goods, she had long ceased to hold a similar position; Japan and the U. S. A. followed her at close quarters, the percentage shares of U. K., Japan and U. S. A. in India's export trade being respectively 21.0, 15.[illegible] and 10.4 in the year 1925-26.

II

The causes of this decline in the percentage share of the United Kingdom in India's foreign trade are not far to seek. The pre-eminence of that country in the earlier days was due to a number of peculiar facilities which she enjoyed in her relations with India. She was politically supreme in this country. Our trade had to depend almost entirely on British shipping; most of the exporting and

* Cf. Dr. S. G. Panandikar's *Economic Consequences of the War for India*, pp. 66-67; also Prof. R. M. Joshi's *Indian Export Trade*, pp. 160-61 and 164.

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importing firms were British concerns; so were the exchange banks and insurance companies. The railways of India were mostly built up with British capital and conducted by British companies who furthered the interests of British commerce.* Many of the agricultural industries (some of them with British capital) were initiated and developed with a view to supplying the British market (*e.g.*, tea, coffee). The agricultural policy of the Government was also directed to the encouragement of the cultivation of such raw materials and food-grains as jute, cotton, wheat and oilseeds with the object of stimulating their export to Britain. On the other hand, the United Kingdom was the foremost industrial country of the world, capable of supplying most of the demands of India for manufactured goods, in some of which (*e.g.* cotton manufactures) the imports were directly encouraged by the tariff legislation of the Government of India indirectly restricting the growth of those manufacturing industries in India that were likely to hinder the progress of our import trade with that country.

The preponderance of the United Kingdom in our foreign trade was, therefore, the outcome of a combination of two causes; the political and economic subordination of India to that country, and the industrial supremacy of Great Britain among the countries of the world.

Subsequently, as time passed on, direct trade connections came to be established with almost all the important countries of the world; and with the gradual progress of trade with them, Britain's share has steadily declined This growth of Indian trade with non-British countries was no doubt made possible by the free trade policy pursued by the British Government in relation to the Indian market. The specific reasons will be found in the fact that while in the first half of the 19th century, the United Kingdom was the only great industrial country, the subsequent industrial developments in countries like Germany, U. S. A., and Japan have resulted in larger quantities of manufactured goods being imported from them mostly at the expense of Great Britain.

On the other hand, these industrially developed countries have found in India a veritable store-house of raw materials with which to foster their manufacturing industries. But the keen competition which they had to meet in capturing the Indian market from British hands for their own commodities was absent in the case of the purchase of raw materials from India. For, while the progress in our imports from other countries was being fought against and restricted at every step by Britain, India could sell her raw produce to any country which offered her the best price. It was, therefore, comparatively easier for the non-British countries to show greater developments in consuming Indian goods than in replacing British imports by their own manufactures.

Hence, with the economic advancement of non-British countries and the establishment of commercial relations with them, our trade was diverted more and more towards these countries.

III.

From the above, it should not be supposed that there was an actual decline in the amount of Indo-British trade. On the other hand, the United Kingdom showed the greatest progress in the net addition to the amount of trade transacted between India and any other country, as the following figures will indicate:

(Value in lakhs of Rupees)

	Exports to the U. K.	Imports from the U. K.	Total amount of Indo-British trade
1875-76	2809	3228	6037
1880-81	3105	4403	7508
1890-91	3227	5502	8779
1900-01	3205	5310	8516
1905-06	4070	7685	11755
1910-11	5224	8311	13533
1915-16	7600	8352	15952
1920-21	5297	20460	25757
1925-26	8097	11532	19629

Thus, during the period 1875-76 to 1925-26, the amount of our trade with Britain increased by about 136 crores of rupees, an amount which was in itself greater than that transacted with any other country. The gradual decline in the percentage share of the United Kingdom was, therefore, due to her inability to keep pace with the general growth of India's total trade, the extent of which can further be gauged from the following index numbers:

* Incidentally, the growth of railways stimulated imports from U. K. as all the materials for railway construction were purchased from there.

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	Total Indian trade	Indo-British trade
1875-76	100	100
1880-81	131	124
1890-91	177	145
1900-01	194	141
1905-06	282	194
19 0-11	354	224
1915-16	348	264
1920-21	634	426
1925-26	630	325

As has already been observed, the preponderance of Great Britain has been more complete in India's import trade. This has been reflected in the fact that our total imports have shown identical movements with those from the United Kingdom. Fluctuations in the imports from that country in either direction have invariably been followed by similar fluctuations in our total imports. This has, however, not been the case with the exports which have shown contrary movements in some particular years to those from the United Kingdom. This is, of course, due to the exports to Britain being only a fraction of our total exports. But the supremacy of that country has been so complete in India's import trade that irrespective of the developments with other countries, the total imports have in every year moved along with those from Britain.

The outstanding article of importance that has contributed to the bulk of our import trade with Great Britain is cotton manufactures. England is the greatest cotton manufacturing country in the world and India has been her best customer. Indeed, India occupies the foremost place among countries importing cotton piece-goods. This single article has represented more than 50 per cent of India's total imports from the United Kingdom. The other articles of importance are metals, machinery and mill-work, and railway plant and rolling-stock. Each of these amounted to more than ten crores of rupees in the latest years of the period under study. Besides these, there is a host of other minor articles. The bulk is, however, made up of cotton goods, metals and manufactures thereof, and the progress of Indo-British trade has been mainly limited to these commodities.

Besides the facts that the exports to Britain have represented a smaller value than the imports therefrom and that the progress in them has been slower than in the latter, there is another point of contrast to be noted. On the import side, cotton goods have represented the bulk of the trade whereas on the export side, there has been no such predominant article. On the contrary, while the important articles of import kept up their relative positions all through those of export underwent the greatest changes in their growth and relative importance. In the earlier days, raw cotton occupied the first place among the objects of export. Right down to 1884-85, the exports of that article represented the greatest value. But England had long replaced Indian cotton with the American stuff, and the small exports that continued to be made to that country were rapidly shrinking in value, and in 1885-86 the exports of food-grains exceeded them. This was brought about by the great stimulus given at this time to the export of wheat to the United Kingdom. In 1888-89, raw jute, the output and export of which were being highly encouraged by the establishment and progress of the jute manufacturing industry in Dundee, held the first place. Then, the export of tea which was fast driving away the Chinese stuff from the British market along with the rapid growth of the newly established Indian industry, took the place of honour for the first time in 1890-91. Thus in 1890-91, tea, food-grains, raw jute and cotton respectively occupied the first four places, the value of the exports of each of these being between 4 and 5 crores of rupees. Since then, while the exports of raw cotton fell heavily, amounting to only 21 lakhs of rupees in 1899-1900, those of the other three commodities continued to grow in volume; and for the next few years these were interchanging the first three places amongst themselves. By the end of the century, tea however came difinitely to hold the foremost place; and though in certain abnormal years, the exports of food-grains exceeded those of tea, the latter have since then continued to hold the premier position This rising preponderance of tea in relation to food-grains and jute was due to the following causes.

India herself being a densely-populated country, subject to shortage of crops and famines, the exports of grains could show expansion only within certain limits and were liable to great fluctuations. In the case of jute, the growth of the manufacturing industry in India and elsewhere restricted

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the exports to the United Kingdom. But tea was not subject to any of these influences. The home consumption was negligible and there was no great demand from other countries The industry was started and fostered with a view to supply the demands of Britain which has continued to be almost the single market for Indian tea, the exports to other countries being quite small. Had it not been for tea, the exports to the United Kingdom would have shown still greater percentage decline.

The other articles of importance in our export trade with that country are hides and skins, jute manufactures, oilseeds, raw wool, lac, coffee and teak wood.

IV

It will be noted from the above study of the growth of Indo-British trade that most of the articles of import and export suffer from a double-sided competition.

The chief commodities of import, as already observed, are cotton goods and metal manufactures, both of which were liable to competition from home and abroad. In the case of the former the increasing home-production and the keen competition from Japan came greatly in the way of the United Kingdom. Indeed, in recent years, the imports of cotton goods from England have shown considerable decline in volume. As regards metal and metal manufactures, while in the earlier days England had no competitor on the field, towards the close of the last century Belgium and Germany came to be keen rivals of Great Britain. Indeed, by the beginning of this century, in certain kinds of metal manufactures, especially in iron and steel, the imports from Belgium and Germany to a great extent replaced those from the former. Lately the U.S.A. also joined them. Then there was the growth of the Indian iron and steel industry which was raising its head under a system of protection.

In the case of exports, the trade in raw materials like jute, hides and skins, and seeds was restricted by a keener demand from Continental countries, and was thus being diverted from the United Kingdom to non-British countries ; on the other hand, the trade in articles like coffee, cotton and tea had to meet the competition of foreign countries in supplying the British market and was thus being replaced by exports from the latter. There is a third class of commodities like food-grains and wool, the exports of which were restricted both by the available home-supply and foreign competition. It will be seen that except tea (the exports of which are also to some extent liable to foreign competition), the exports of all other articles had gradually been diverted from the United Kingdom to other countries. Great Britain would not import Indian raw cotton or jute manufactures, while India found other markets not only for these commodities but also for her raw jute, oilseeds, hides and skins and other raw materials.

V

Another very important point to be noted in connection with the growth of Indo-British trade is that it has more or less kept pace with the progress of the foreign trade of Great Britain. This means that while the United Kingdom declined in her relative importance in India's foreign trade, India fully retained hers in Great Britain's. Indeed till the outbreak of the last war, India was actually gaining in her relative importance, the growth of Indo-British trade being ahead of that of Britain's total trade. Since then, India slightly declined in her position, the subsequent developments in the United Kingdom's foreign trade being a little quicker than those with India. On the whole the percentage share of India in Britain's trade remained more or less the same, while her percentage share in India's trade was continuously on the decline. It is, therefore, important to note in connection with the prospects of British trade in India that the United Kingdom showed as much progress in her trade with India as with other countries. The contrast is indeed striking. The following are the corroborative index numbers :

	Total trade of U. K.	Indo-British trade.
Average 1875-79	100	100
" 1885-89	104	144
" 1895-99	121	141
" 1905-09	178	210
" 1910-13	208	265
" 1914-18	301	270
Year 1920	585	428
" 1921	322	327
" 1925	388	326

Regarding the percentage share of India in Britain's total trade, it should be observed that India occupies no such eminent position

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as the United Kingdom does in India's. Indo-British trade represents only a fraction of Britain's total trade. It is true that as a consumer of British goods, India occupies the foremost place ; but while these represent about 50 per cent of our total imports, they scarcely amount to 12 per cent of Britain's total exports. The same is the case with Britain as a consumer of Indian goods. Thus, while the share of the United Kingdom in export our trade amounted to 25·5 per cent. in 1924-25, India's share in Britain's import trade amounted to only 5.7 per cent in 1924.

The following figures bring out more clearly the position India occupies in the foreign trade of Great Britain :

YEAR 1924 : VALUE IN MILLIONS OF £.

Exports from U.K.		Imports into U. K.	
To		From	
India	90·6	U.S.A.	222·6
Australia	60·7	Argentina	75·2
U.S.A.	53.8	India	65·1
Germany	42·6	Canada	62·7
France	41·7	France	59·0

Considered as a whole, during the year 1924, India's share in the total trade of the United Kingdom was only 8 per cent, while Britain's share in that of India was as much as 36 per cent.

VI

It has been observed that the decline in the percentage share of the United Kingdom in our foreign trade was more in the exports sent thereto than in the imports received therefrom.

An important change, however, took place since the close of the war. While the exports from India retained the pre-war level, the imports from the United Kingdom fell far short of it. During the period 1920-21 to 1925-26, the share of Britain in our import trade declined from 58.8 per cent to 50.9 per cent, whereas the same in our import trade rose from 19.4 per cent to 21.0 per cent. This is also observable in the trade of the United Kingdom :

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF INDIA IN U. K.'S EXPORT AND IMPORT TRADE.

	Export	Import
1910	10.69	5.53
1913	13.38	5.48
1922	12 80	4.25
1923	11.24	5.76
1925	11.12	—

Previous to 1922, India was gaining in relative importance in Britain's export trade and losing in her import trade. The subsequent developments were in the opposite direction. The causes of this change in the trend of Indo-British trade will reveal a few important truths regarding the strength of Britain's hold on the Indian market.

During the war period, the import of British goods into India was naturally restricted, and countries like Japan and U. S. A. took full advantage of the situation in pushing the sales of their goods. The result was that when the United Kingdom regained her normal conditions, she found that the market had to a great extent been captured by those two countries whom it was now very difficult to drive away. Japan had come to be a formidable competitor not only in the Indian market but elsewhere as well in the supply of cotton goods which are by far the most important article of our import trade with Britain. Moreover, the raising of the import duty and the abolition of the excise gave an advantage to Indian manufacturers which they had never enjoyed before. Thus, in the post-war period, the imports of British cotton goods came to be seriously affected by competition from within the country as well as from Japan. On the other hand, the fact that Germany and Belgium could very soon recover the Indian market in spite of the complete collapse of their trade with India during the war period while the United Kingdom was unable to do so, points to the inability of Britain to compete with those countries in certain classes of commodities. The development of new industries in India also came in the way of the growth of British imports ; *e.g.*, the iron and steel industry. It will thus be seen that British imports in the post-war period became subjected to very keen competition from home and adraob.

With exports from India, such was not the case. The stimulus that they had received during the war led to their subsequent growth. Moreover, the policy of Imperial Preference and the preferential duties levied on certain Indian goods in the United Kingdom caused some slight developments in our exports to that country.

Hence it was that in the post-war period the exports sent from India to the United Kingdom showed greater developments that the imports received therefrom, while the reverse had been the case so long.

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VII

From the above study, important conclusions may be drawn regarding the future prospects of Indo-British trade. True, we have not taken into account the latest developments inasmuch as we have left the last four years out of our study ; nor have we considered the possible reactions of the recent Swadeshi movement on our trade, especially with Britain. Nevertheless, the historical perspective of half a century will, in our opinion, be a surer guide in the matter than the passing events of a few abnormal years.

In view of the fact that the United Kingdom has now come under the sway of far greater competition in the import trade of India both from home as well as from foreign countries some of which are decidedly better situated in supplying many of the manufactured goods required in India, we can expect very little progress, if not a positive decline, in our import trade with Britain.

In the case of exports sent from India, we may expect some slight developments in future, especially in view of the fact that the import of Empire products is being encouraged in the United Kingdom and that systematic efforts are being made to consume a greater amount of colonial goods. But here, also, the prospects are not very bright. Canada and Australia, with their vast agricultural resources, are showing great progress in their exports to Britain. It is not unlikely that in future some of the articles from India will be replaced by those from these colonies. In the case of wheat, they have already almost completely ousted India from the British market.

Moreover, it should not be lost sight of that the total amount of Indo-British trade has reached such huge dimensions for a poor country like India that the possibilities of further expansion are limited. While the import of British goods is restricted by competition from India and foreign countries, the exports from India are likely to be restricted by the competition from the colonies in supplying the British market and by the greater demand for Indian goods from non-British countries.

From Ironfounder to Foreign Secretary, Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M. P.

By WILFRED WELLOCK

THE existence of a Labour Government in Great Britain is not without significance for modern India. That this country should be governed by a set of ministers who, with one or two exceptions, had never held office prior to 1924, and yet the land remain quiet and the people peaceful and satisfied, is a powerful argument for sudden change. It is, of course, true that, crippled by its minority position, the Labour Government is not able to do many things it certainly would have attempted to do had it the control of a majority. At the same time it has done much which none but a Labour Government would have ventured to do.

Not many years ago Mr. Winston Churchill stated, with considerable Press approbation, that Labour was not fit to govern. Within a very short time of that statement being made, the first Labour Government was formed, supported by 193 members out of a total of 615, nearly all its leading ministers never having previously held office. That Government made many mistakes, and was turned out after ten months of office. Yet at the ensuing General Election the Labour Party polled more votes than ever, notwithstanding

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that owing to a Tory-Liberal pact, they secured fewer seats. Five years later (1929) they were returned as the largest Party for the first time in their history, with 288 members out of 615.

It may not be out of place to give the figures which record the progress of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

General Election.	Members Returned.	Labour Vote.
1900	2	62,698
1906	29	323,195
1910 (Jan.)	40	505,690
1910 (Dec.)	42	370,802
1918	57	2,244,845
1922	142	4,251,011
1923	193	4,508,504
1924	151	5,525,072

Now obviously, if the British Parliamentary Labour Party, the great majority of whose members have been wage earners, and brought up in the hard school of heavy toil in mine, workshop and factory, having gathered their knowledge of the mechanism of Government as best as they could amidst the rough and tumble of an arduous existence, could suddenly take over the reins of Government, it may not be too much to suggest that educated Indians, who have watched the working of the political machine which we have controlled in India, and have to some extent participated in the work of administration, might be able to take over the reins of Government with almost equal suddenness

The strength of the Labour Party lies in the fact that the majority of its members in the House of Commons have first-hand knowledge of working-class conditions and have had some experience in local administration, through serving on Town or County Councils and other administrative bodies.

Even although their own social position has been greatly improved, a very large number of Labour members of Parliament still live in crowded streets in large industrial areas. A considerable number of them have retained their official connection with their respective trade unions. So that altogether the contact of the average M.P. with working-class life and conditions is acute, thus giving to him that zest which enables him to overcome great obstacles, and to pursue his aims in the teeth of opposition of all kinds.

Notwithstanding that what is known as democratic Government has long been in existence in this country, until quite recent years the task of governing has been relegated to a comparatively small number of families. Our political history has created certain traditions which, with the necessary press support, sufficed to place political power into a limited number of hands. That tradition was never quite broken down until the emergence of the Labour Party. According to it Eton and Harrow, supported by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, were divinely ordained to provide this country with its rulers. Thus for generations we had a ruling class in this country which came as near to an Indian caste as anything outside India is ever likely to be.

The old school of politicians, and particularly the Tory Party, have never quite accustomed themselves to the change. They still think that something has gone wrong with the mechanism of our national life, which somebody must find a way of putting right at the earliest possible moment. It is intolerable that men straight up from the workshop, who have never been inside a university, and who have scant respect for all the niceties of free and easy aristocratic government, should hasten into Parliament as if they were going into a trade union meeting and expect to get things done there and then. Yes, they still feel that it must be an accident, and that someday things will be put right again.

Perhaps they got the worst shock of all when they realized that the coming of a Labour Government would ultimately mean that foreign affairs would be controlled by working men. That really was too much. It was bad enough to have working men in charge of finance, of the health services, and of the police—but to take charge of the country's relations with foreign Powers was unthinkable. With them it was an article of faith that Britain's affairs abroad must be in the hands of gentlemen. It is assumed that Britain's dignity cannot possibly be maintained by any other than an Eton accent

The Foreign Office is the last stronghold of the old political school. To the unspeakable dismay of the Victorian politicians, this final fortress is falling under the fire of democracy. The fiercest fights in the House of Commons during the last twelve months have been over foreign policy. The Tory Party simply cannot accustom itself to the idea that a Labour Government dare attempt to control foreign policy without the aid and advice of the old gang. In every one of their attacks

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upon the Government they have assumed that the present Foreign Secretary could never dream of determining British policy without the consent of the Tory Party. To have to submit to the dismissal of Lord Lloyd, in Egypt, the resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia, the Three Power Naval Agreement, and the new arbitration machinery of the League of Nations, is a task which is proving most difficult to them, for these policies will have considerable effect upon the future of this country and indeed of the whole world.

The man who has been chiefly responsible for this reversal of foreign policy, which has caused so much anxiety to the Tory Party, is Mr. Arthur Henderson. Without doubt he is one of the great successes of the present Labour Government. He has won the confidence of every Foreign Minister throughout the world, while his reputation at Geneva stands second to none. No aristocrat who has yet represented this country on the League of Nations has scored greater success there than he. Born in a working-class home, sent at a tender age into the workshop, and having had none but an elementary education, apart from the education he was able to pick up in later years as the result of persistent plodding, Arthur Henderson has in one year established a reputation as Foreign Secretary of Great Britain which promises to make the present regime stand out in history. Accustomed to negotiation and to straightening out differences in Party management, Henderson with his calm, genial manner and a fund of commonsense has, despite his conventional deficiencies, brushed aside the old standards and shibboleths and struck out on quite new lines of policy.

I can well imagine the shocks he has given to the permanent officials, and how unpleasant it must have been to them to have to give way to this quiet solid man of the people. For although the fact may not be noised abroad, it is just as well to remember that Henderson's reign at the Foreign Office must have caused something of a revolution there, which is no small achievement, as no change in policy is possible until the permanent officials have been overcome. It may be taken for granted that every chancellery throughout the world, from Moscow to Mexico, and from China to Washington, is fully aware of the fact that a Labour Government is in power at Westminister.

No one would suspect that Arthur Henderson is 67 years of age. Yet the fact is that he was born in Glasgow in 1863. As already stated, he worked in an iron foundry, and in due course became an active trade unionist. But his chief interest lay in the political field. For this work he gained considerable experience in local administration by serving as Councillor in Newcastle-on-Tyne, and also in Darlington, and later on as County Councillor in Durham.

He first entered Parliament in 1903, at the age of forty, and with the exception of an interim of a few months' duration, he has sat in Parliament ever since.

Henderson acquires much of his early training, as has a considerable number of Labour M. P.'s in the pulpits of our Nonconformist Churches. It is the practice in England for what are called the Free, or Non-conformist, Churches to rely to a considerable extent upon the voluntary help of their young men to fill their pulpits. This practice is a financial advantage to the churches and at the same time a means of developing the talents of promising young men. This work, together with his Free Church upbringing, has given to Henderson that touch of austerity which characterizes so many Labour Ministers, including Mr. Snowden, and to some extent Mr. MacDonald. He is thus, as we should expect, notably abstemious. He does not even smoke, which is somewhat unusual in these days.

Mr. Henderson, moreover, is regarded as one of the best Party organizers in the country. He is still Secretary of the Labour Party—a position he has held since MacDonald resigned it in 1911, on his becoming Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Since that time Henderson has taken an intimate part in every important decision made by the Party. No one knows its inner history better than he, or understands better the forces which have made it what it is. On all critical occasions, Henderson is the one man who is called upon to rally the Party and secure united action. But he can be relied upon to do this not by weakening the line of attack, but on the basis of a vigorous policy. There is no man in the Party, leader or follower, who is truer to the Party's ideals and policy than he. Nor is there a leader who is more ready to recognize an advance in thought within the Party, and to see it registered in a resolution. Moreover, once such a registration has

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been made, Henderson can be relied upon to the very last to stand by that policy, in office or out of office. That is why he has been such a success at the Foreign Office. He has in every detail carried out the dictates of the Labour Party as declared in its annual Conferences. It is also why there is no man in the Party in whom the Party as a whole, Right wing or Left wing, has more confidence.

Henderson's ambition is to realize some of the ideals of the Labour Party. I heard him say with quiet, dignified pride, at a private gathering recently, that he had had to wait a lifetime to get his chance; and now his one purpose is to make the most of it.

We all know that the Party's aims will be well served by his administration.

Henderson was the first Labour M. P. to receive Cabinet rank. He supported the war, to the disappointment of many friends, including myself. He joined the War Government in 1915. Later on he was sent on a mission to Russia. But, while there, he saw the light, and soon afterwards resigned from the Government. That resignation caused a sigh of relief in thousands of depressed and wondering hearts.

Henderson is not a great orator. He is solid rather than eloquent and prefers to keep to hard facts. He either reads his speeches or keeps closely to his notes. Soaring into the ether is not in his line. He measures his distances carefully, and the makes for his goal without haste and witho rest or hesitation. He has been a surpri to the Tory Party. They did not imagi he could do such audacious things so quiet or defend them so valiantly and fearless I believe they are now wondering to wh lengths he may not yet go.

And truly his record is an astonishin one. He has withdrawn our troops from t Rhine, established diplomatic relations wi Russia, signed the Optional Clause a expressed the intention of the Governme to sign the General Act of Arbitratio arranged a good Treaty with Egypt, whi without much doubt will be signed in du course to the satisfaction of all the parti concerned, taken a considerable share i bringing about the Naval Agreement, arrange the rendition of Weihaiwei, and show himself ready to make a complete settleme of outstanding matters with China, as soo as she is in a position to do that.

There are still many improvements to b made in the sphere of international politic and in particular through the League o Nations, and we of the Labaur Party trus that our foreign relations may long remai in the hands of the present Foreign Secretary who we hope to see do things which wi enable the world to acclaim him as one o the greatest Foreign Secretaries in moder history, if not indeed of all time.

The Religions of China

By N. N. SEN-GUPTA, M. A.

Confucius and Laocius

CONFUCIANISM, Taoism and Buddhism are said to be the three religions of China, but in reality they are the three aspects of one religious complex of the Chinese mind, and the same man often worships in temples dedicated to the three different forms of worship. Buddhism in China is mainly the Mahayana system, which adds certain ideas to the native beliefs. No clear-cut distinction can be drawn between Confucianism and Taoism. The former is, we may say, ethical and political, while the latter ascetical and mystical. The word 'Tao' means God, nature, Logas, law, etc. Taoism shows the way leading to God. Both the systems recognize Shanti or the personal God and Tien (the Heaven) or the impersonal God. The former could be worshipped by the Emperors only, while the latter was worshipped by all, and Tien certainly is the God of the people. Confucianism may be said in general to have been the State religion and it persecuted other

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religions, though Chinese persecution of religion has always been mild. Taoism and Buddhism were generally tolerant, though each of them rose to supremacy at times.

Confucius

Confucius was born in 551 B. C. in a poor family, and at the age of twenty-two he became a teacher and held that only the earnest and the eager could learn. At the age of thirty he formed his opinions and when thirty-four years of age, he studied ancient history, rites and ceremonies. All his doubts were solved at the age of forty. He became a magistrate and afterwards the Minister of Crimes. He began his moral reforms in earnest with the idea that goodness should come down to the people from the throne. He was about to be successful when eighty dancing-girls proved too much for the king. So in disgust, he left the court and from that time onward he spent his life in preaching. Of his alleged 6,000 followers, six made contributions to the system. He was a fine gentleman, conscientious, simple, virtuous, of disciplined habits, moderate, generous, thoughtful, sincere and affectionate. He really imbued the society of China with moral ideas. He was rather rigid and philosophical and the religious craving of the human heart in China seeks satisfaction in Taoism or Buddhism. Confucius is not really the founder of a religion but he tries to present systematically the existing beliefs of China, contained in the five books called the Five Kings. But to these he added his personality. His teachings represent the Chinese ethical code in general. The four books written by him and his followers represent the views of his school. These books are :

(1) The analects of Confucius, a compilation of aphorisms giving dialogues between Confucius and his followers.

(2) The Great Learning, now commonly assigned to a disciple of Confucius.

(3) The Doctrine of the Mean or the State of Equilibrium and Harmony which is assigned to a grandson of Confucius.

(4) The Work of Mencius, the chief disciple of Confucius.

Confucius was conservative and he retained all that was good in Chinese civilization. Of the supernatural beings that are worshipped, we may name Shanti and Tien, the personal and the impersonal God; the spirits of the dead including the spirits of famous emperors and ancestors; and spirits behind Nature. The worship is simple and the sacrifice to Shanti and Tien is made in the open air, the altars being respectively round and square. The temples where other divinities are worshipped often contain wooden tablets representing different spirits. The animals sacrificed are generally bulls, horses, sheep, hogs, dogs, hens, etc.

God is the creator and preserver of the world and human society, according to Confucius.

His ethical system is certainly good but cannot be said to be admirable. He certainly teaches to return good for good but it is Laocius who teaches to return good even for evil. Filial piety and loyalty to the king are greatly praised. Chastity is an important virtue and at times it is described as the highest. To do unto others what you do not like yourself, is wrong. The five cardinal virtues are kindness, rectitude, decorum, wisdom and sincerity. Without sincerity there cannot be anything noble. Wisdom clears up every doubt and it, like a light, shows the way. Kings should be ideal in character and they must, by their examples, lead the people. The king should make reforms in order to help the people in the way of righteousness. He also recognizes the golden mean in conduct and every action must be marked by moderation. Desires and appetites should be restrained and every man should refrain from wealth and luxury.

Mencius, the chief disiciple of Confucius, definitely stated that man is by nature good and this is his great contribution. His mother is an example of ideal womanhood of China and she always looked after the good education and character of her son. He was always in the society of kings and important officials of State and tried to reform the State. He called Heaven law, and this, it is said, is responsible for giving an agnostic turn to Confucianism. But this need not be so and he was a true follower of Confucius.

Laocius, the founder of Taoism

Laocius preceded Confucius. He was born about 600 B. C. We have no authentic record of Laocius and he is at times identified with Buddha, but certainly he was a different man. It is also stated that Confucius visited him and received rebukes from him. This statement may be

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altogether fictitious and an invention of the followers of Laocius, adopted to show the inferiority of Confucius to Laocius.

Tao means generally the way to God and it also stands for God. Heaven is superior to Earth, Tao to Heaven, and God to Tao. The worship of Mother Earth is common both to Confucianism and Taoism. Many of the beliefs of both the systems are the same. Taoism definitely holds that man should return good even for evil. The priests of this school follow ordinary occupations and their main duty is exorcism, divining and magic. God, according to this school, acts and yet is not bound by action. He is formless, eternal, indescribable. Man, in order to know Him, must be passive and allow the will of Tao to act on him. Good men can know God in their spirits.

Chuang-te-zu was to Laocius what Mencius was to Confucius, or Plato was to Socrates. He is one of the greatest thinkers of China and his ethical system may well be compared to the great Greek systems. He gives the theory of relativity very clearly. But this does not lead him to scepticism. By his relativity he establishes the supremacy of reason over sense. Though the world of sense is relative and full of contradictions, he recognized that there is nothing when Tao is not, and behind contradictions there is identity. In order to know God you must be receptive, simple and free from sophistry. Men were good in the Golden Age but sages and teachers have introduced doubts into the world. You cannot run away from your shadow except by going to the shade; so also you cannot know God except by giving up all your preconceptions. God is in man in the form of Te or virtue. In many passages he criticizes Confucius and even ridicules him. Perfect love, charity, duty, politeness and loyalty are natural to man. Loss, ceremony, art, music, etc. are deviations from Nature. We cannot say that we know God, but he is knowable in another sense. Death is nothing but transformation and the relation between life and death is similar to the relation between waking life and dream life.

The Native Idea of God

To explain the origin of the idea of God in China various theories are advanced. Some hold that this idea arose from the worship of spirits in nature. But this theory cannot be established as the earliest records of China give us the ideas of Shanti and Tien. The next theory advanced is the Ghost theory, according to which the idea of God arose from dreams of ancestors. But the same objection holds good against this theory as well. The Animistic theory which is next advanced is largely correct, as the Chinese believed everything to be animated. The religion of China is certainly monotheistic and the ideas of Shanti and Tien stand respectively for the personal God and the impersonal Heaven. Shanti can be worshipped by Emperors alone while Tien is worshipped by all. The word Heaven is used in other languages as well to signify God.

Tien is the creator of the universe and maintains the social order, and there is nothing in the world outside God. He is the embodiment of virtue and man is by nature the same as God. Heaven gives wisdom, health, wealth, comfort and every other blessing. Heaven and Earth are the father and mother of the universe. God is surrounded in the invisible world by spirit and in the visible world by saints and emperors. Heaven is compassionate and satisfies the needs of man. He is just and punishes the wicked and rewards the good. Here we have an idea of God which certainly cannot be regarded as coarse.

The two principles, namely, Yang and Yin are recognized, the former being the principle of goodness and the latter of evil. These principles are sub-divided into spirits that are good and the spirits that are wicked. Man has in him both these two principles and if he follows the good he is said to be saved and if he follows the evil he is ruined. God spoke to Emperor Wen and left a toe-print on the earth. His will is supreme and He determines everything without being determined by anything outside Him.

The ideas of Yang and Yin are similar to such ideas in other religions, such as Christianity, Zoroastrianism, etc.

Taoism adds very little to the existing idea of God in China and, at times, places Tao above God.

What then is the attitude of man towards God? It is natural for man, the Chinese believe, to believe in a higher power and to love God who can help and guide man in life. Confucius definitely holds that prayers are heard by God and such prayers bring solace, comfort and strength to the soul. The Taoists hold that God is above prayers and that man should allow the will

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of God to work in him. When in distress, the Chinese adore minor spirits for protection. Theoretically, Taoists are believers in fate and hold that man cannot know or have anything unless God wills it to be so. They hold that prayers are of no avail but in spite of this the Taoists are the greatest prayer-mongers. Sorcery and spirit-worship are quite common in the school.

The Chinese believe in the future life and Confucius himself holds that the spirits of the dead can understand and accept the offerings made to them. Taoists are even more definite in their belief in the future life. The Buddhists have added to the existing idea, the theory of transmigration, which believes in the possibility of a man being reborn either as a man or a beast or a bird or as an insect as he deserves. Buddha also vividly describes the idea of Heaven and Hell.

Ethical Ideas

Character is the best standard to judge the vitality of a nation and if we look into the moral ideal of China, we cannot but be filled with admiration. Both Confucius and Laocius have provided China with excellent moral ideas. Virtue, according to them, is all-pervading and nothing is superior to it. God is in man in the form of virtue. Confucius thinks that the best man in the country should be the king and from him excellence should filter down to the people. Reading, writing, and music produce harmony in the soul. The relation between the sovereign and the people, parents and children, preceptors and pupils, husband and wife, brother and brother and between friend and friend, should be pure, sincere and affectionate. Men should learn to lay down their lives for the king, parents and preceptors. Kindness, justice, wisdom, reverence and humility are essential.

Pride produces loss and misery while humility produces gain and happiness. Without wisdom man cannot judge between the right and the wrong. Of all the creatures, man is the most intelligent and the most intelligent man is the Emperor. Altruistic virtues are recognized by China. Men should help others as they require help from them. Virtue should be single which is most beneficial and if virtue be double or triple man will be in difficulty and doubt. Excesses have killed Emperors and men, and so, moderation is always necessary. Self-restraint and subordination of passions are indispensable. Emotions should not be allowed to run riot but they should be curbed and harmonized. Harmony in the mind is very much wanted and it is described as Tao or law. Man is by nature good and it is ill-training and false ideas which are at the root of misdeeds. 'The Analects' and 'The Great Learning' are free from indecencies and this shows that China possessed taste. A good officer should be magnanimous, yet inspiring respect; gentle, yet firm; honestly outspoken, yet respectful; commanding, yet gentle; bold, yet moderate; straightforward, yet agreeable; generous, yet discriminating; resolute, yet guarded; and valiant, yet just. The special contribution of Taoism is its emphasis on the naturalness of virtue and the idea that good should be returned for good as well as for evil. Attachment to wine, women, wealth and wrath produces the chief vices. In spite of the excellent moral teachings, China is not free from gambling, drinking, lying, unchastity, vulgarity, quarrel and such other vices.

The Idea of Sin

China possesses the idea of sin and the Chinese believe that virtue is rewarded and sin punished. But neither Confucius nor Laocius could extend this idea beyond the present life. Be good and you will be happy and do evil and you will have misery. Fasting, bathing, pilgrimages, offering sacrifices and praying are supposed to act as atonement.

Buddhism has extended the idea of reward and punishment beyond this life and has introduced the idea of Heaven and Hell. *Yama*, the king of Hades, judges every man according to his deserts and a man is reborn either as a man or a beast or a bird or an insect as he deserves.

The idea of salvation did not exist in China and here also Buddhism describes vividly the blessed condition of a liberated soul. We may say in conclusion that moral and social ideas have been provided in China by Confucianism, while Taoism has given mysticism in the life of the Chinese and Buddhism has given the idea of liberation, transmigration, humanity and charity in the country The Chinese in their private life are deeply religious and we may say that

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atheism is absent in China. A Chinese does not hesitate to worship in any temple if he believes that this would grant him virtue and happiness.

Buddhism in China

Perhaps the celestial people do not, or, at least, did not till a few years ago, much like anything foreign, be it religion, language or dress. It is largely true that Buddhism has greatly been modified in China, yet it is certain that this religion has taught the Chinese a good deal. The ideas of salvation, forgiveness, transmigration, compassion and charity form a part of the daily beliefs in China. Though Hinayana Buddhism was first introduced into China, it is certain that the Mahayana system with its worship of gods, afterwards got the upperhand and superseded the former.

Buddhism was introduced into China by the Emperor Ming-Ti in 65 A. D. as a result of a dream in which he saw a man with a golden halo, which was interpreted by his brother as signifying Sakyamuni. Messengers were sent to India and two monks visited China with some Hinayana texts which were translated into Chinese by them. They taught that salvation could be obtained by good conduct. But the religion did not make any headway till 400 A. D. In the later part of the fourth century Kumarjiva came to China with some Mahayana texts and translated them into Chinese. These translations were greatly appreciated.

In 414 A. D. Fa-hsien returned from India after fifteen years of sojourn and brought with him many books and some relics. Buddhism gradually became popular. In about 600 A.D. the Bodhidharma, the Patriarch of India, visited China, of whom many marvellous stories are told. The struggle between Taoism and Buddhism continued for a time. In the beginning of the ninth century, an Emperor received a bone relic of Gautama in the palace and built a temple on it. This enraged other sects and in the same century, it is said, another Emperor destroyed 4,600 monasteries, over 40,000 temples and called back about 265,000 monks and nuns to the old faith. Many books were destroyed but soon a compromise was effected among the three religions.

Monks receive their ordinations twice. Two or three days after the first ordination, they are to learn the famous text known as Brahma's Net, by heart. Monks generally belong to the four classes and monasteries are built in the wood on some high place, perhaps to give dignity and tranquillity. Exorcism is often practised.

Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, saints and tutelary deities have their place in the Buddhist pantheon. Buddha standing, Buddha seating and Buddha attaining salvation are popular images. Of the Buddhas worshipped, the names—Amitava, Sakyamuni, Loshana, Birochana and Buddha are popular. Kwanyin or the Buddhist Madonna is the goddess of Mercy and she is the chief Bodhisattva and is very widely worshipped and is often depicted as mother with a child. The Bodhidharma, the Patriarch, who visited China is also popularly worshipped. Of the saints worshipped, the names of Kashyapa and Ananda may be mentioned. Some gods are also worshipped.

An account of the Mahayana Buddhism

It would be well at this stage to give an account of the Mahayana Buddhism, in order to get a clear idea of the religious life of China, since it is the system which has taken root in the soil.

The teachings of Buddha certainly provide materials out of which a theistic system may be constructed. The silence of Buddha on the question of the existence of self, led many to believe that Buddha believed in it, but for practical reasons thought it desirable not to say anything of it to avoid useless speculations. Again, he definitely held that *akasa* or space is infinite. The idea of *Nirvana* also is veiled in mystery. Buddha also encouraged pilgrimage to four places, namely, the place of his birth, the famous Bow tree under which he became enlightened, the Deer Park at Benares and the place of his death. Again, soon after his death, his relics were greatly adored and requests came from far and near for a nail, or a hair, or a bone of Buddha.

Buddha gradually was regarded as the Adi Buddha or the primal Buddha who is eternal and is the Eye of the world. He manifests himself in Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. He is regarded as Dharmakaya or having Dharma as his body, Nirmanakaya or having a subtle body, which can in Bodhisattvas be manifested, granting them mysterious power for service, and Sambhoga-

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kaya or having the enjoyment body consisting of light and bliss. The idea of Amitava gradually gained ground which is immeasurable light and also immeasurable life. All gods are inferior to him because he is the supporter of Dharma and every god has to observe it for his own happiness and salvation.

"The Lotus of the Good Law" regards him as Purusottama and Swayambhu, *i. e.*, the Supreme Person, self-born. He becomes similar to the Krishna of the Gita, who is greater than the greatest and smaller than the smallest and is born again and again to save mankind. He becomes the Brahman of the Vedanta, who is infinite and the home of supreme bliss. He is compared to the cloud that gives rain to help vegetation and growth. He is compared to that loving and dutiful father who step by step leads his ruined son on to the path of virtue.

The *arhata* idea gradually grows up and it is held that salvation can be obtained by reflection on Buddha and the text or by personal exertion or by becoming a Bodhisattva, who devotes himself to work for the release of the suffering humanity. Every man can become a Buddha by earning merits.

"The Paradise Scripture" is also an excellent book of this school. The idea of service is given in its noblest form here. Love and devotion are believed to be greatly helpful to attain *Nirvana.* Buddha becomes the ideal of conduct and the object of knowledge and love. The best way of loving oneself is to forget self.

Idolatry soon grows up and Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and saints are gradually worshipped. Where imagination fails, art makes up the deficiencies. Thus we find that the nihilistic Buddhism grows up to be theistic and even polytheistic. Tara is at first regarded as the consort of Buddha but she afterwards becomes the goddess of mercy. Even Nagarjuna, who is a sceptic, thinks that faith and devotion are necessary for release.

Such an interpretation of Buddhism can certainly attract men who are deeply religious and who hunger for a supernatural Being to whom they can look up for help and guidance. This system provides room for prayer which man greatly requires when he is in need.

The Prix Goncourt 1930

By MILLICENT A. MORRIS, M. A. (*Durham*)

TOWARDS the end of the nineteenth century Edmond de Goncourt, a French novelist, and an original writer of the Realist school, formed an academy as a rallying point for literary rebels. It exists now, side by side with the *Academie Francaise* and other literary bodies, as a stimulus to literary interest in France, and especially concerns itself with modern literature. Each year a prize is awarded to the author of a book voted by the members of the Academy, as the best of the year, according to the standards of the academy.

The Goncourt prize for 1930 has been awarded to Henri Fauconnier for his book *Malaisie.** This book may prove to be of some interest to Indian readers since in it are set forth some impressions of the East by a man who obviously has both taste and delicacy.

Henri Fauconnier was born in a small town in France, Berbezieux, and educated there and at Bordeaux, with the intention of becoming a lawyer. But one day he happened to read an article on Malay, which filled him with enthusiasm. He left France and landed at Singapore. First he worked on a plantation belonging to an Englishman, where he had to supervise two hundred coolies without an interpreter, and act as their doctor and judge! He learned then to know and admire the Malay people among whom he worked. Later he became the owner of a plantation. After the war, in which he took part for four years, he returned to

* *Malaisie* par Henri Fauconnier. Librairie Stock. Paris. 15 fr. An English translation is shortly expected.

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Malay for some time. Now he has settled in Tunis, where he has written *Malaisie*.

The book is not simply a novel but rather a connected series of impressions and experiences of a young planter. There are some charming descriptions of the plantation workers and of the jungle, besides a certain amount of philosophical and psychological study.

The story is briefly as follows. A young soldier, Lescale, meets in the trenches with another soldier who turns out to be a planter from Malay, and who encourages him in a moment of despair

"We were alone in a hole. A chance meeting towards the evening of a day of massacres . . . . Just then there was a deep silence everywhere, and this stranger felt that my soul was overwhelmed by the fearful silence . . . . . He spoke to me of distant countries which he had known, of an open and free life in the equatorial forests . . . . From that day I lived through the war like a somnambulist, who sleep-walks on a roof. I went on, dazzled by a splendid vision."

As soon as the war is finished, Lescale makes his way to Malay, where he is engaged on an English plantation. One day, he happens to meet with the friend of the trenches, goes with him to his plantation, and decides to leave his English employer and accept Rolain's offer to become director of his plantation. This man, Rolain, a Frenchman, has the reputation of being a misanthropist because he interests himself very little in the other Europeans of the district, or in his plantation. He is of solitary habits, preferring to spend long hours in the jungle, or with the Malays, making it his hobby to study their language and psychology. His house is in the jungle and is called the "House of Palms."

"We were on the edge of a clearing, and I saw a squat Malay house, quite small, at the foot of two large trees. All vegetation, except the palms, had been cleared and the effect resembled a huge hot-house . . . . Inside the house there was no furniture or ornaments, but everywhere mats, cushions, and fine gold-embroidered materials."

His house-boy who is called Smail,

"a Malay boy, legs, chest and back bare, with a sarong of watered silk round the loins . . . . he had still the good-natured rounded face, which turns on you its wide-opened eyes, of the children whom one sees running naked under the palm-trees of the Kampongs,"

is almost his friend, and Smail's brother, Ngah, becomes Lescale's boy. The four often spend evenings together, the two Malays recounting legends of the demons and spirits of the jungle, and singing "Pantouans," and explaining them to the two "Tuans."

Then one day the four go off on a tour up the Malay coast. During the expedition they attend a festival at the court of a Rajah at Kampong Nyor. During this festival some court ladies appear, and one draws aside her veil for a moment. Smail falls in love with her, and the rest of the story deals with the hopeless love of Smail for the unknown beauty. He becomes a victim of the terrible 'Amok'. . . .

"Amok was the war-cry of the ancient Malay pirates, when they boarded the coasting steamers, trading in spices. Now the pirates exist no longer but this cry still causes panic In the depth of some isolated Kampong, in the street of some large town, on the bridge of one of the white passenger boats of the Straits Steamship Company sometimes a sudden tumult arises. It seems always to be without any motive. A man who was quietly eating his bowl of rice or even dozing on his mat, raises himself up suddenly, leaps on a man and stabs him. Immediately there is the cry 'amok' and a confused flight, because everyone knows that the 'amok,' as soon as he has seen the colour of blood, will spare no one, neither friends, children or parents. And everyone knows too, that he is possessed by some supernatural force, a demon, it is thought."

He steals a *kriss* belonging to Rolain, runs away and attempts to murder the Rajah at Kampong Nyor. His brother and the two Tuans go to find him, to try to take him back by force. There is a dramatic scene, where they meet him at Kampong Nyor. He wounds Lescale and then. . .

"I saw Rolain seize Smail with his arms, drag him, and lift him into the car. Then that devil of an English police official ran down from the rest-house, rallied his men. There was a struggle for the boy, the crowd ran up, and Rolain weakened little by little .... Rolain stumbled and then let go .....And suddenly the *kriss* in his hand was raised, all blood-stained, came down and buried itself in the shoulders of Smail, whose body slowly bent backwards, his head hanging, and they all fell in a heap on the corpse."

Rolain had preferred to kill Smail himself rather than let him be hanged. The three then make for the plantation, and the story finishes with the decision of Rolain to 'disappear', to escape from the police. He is a philosopher with a singularly detatched view of life. Whether the 'disappearing' means suicide or a life in the jungle or elsewhere, is left to the reader to decide, or may be revealed in *Malaisie II*, which I understand is shortly to appear.

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The story, however, is but a small part of the book. It is impossible to give an idea of the descriptions, but here is a short quotation (translated from the French) from Lescale's impressions of the first night he spends in Rolain's house in the jungle.

"And now I can hear the awakening of the jungle, just when the rays of the rising moon begin to penetrate it. It seems like a rustling and increases like a tide, which softly ruffles the sand. Instinctively one feels that innumerable furtive beings are moving about. It is a silent tumult. But sometimes it becomes definite. As when for some time two clear cries, like short barks replied to each other. They were the cries of two panthers hunting together ....."

The contrast between the jungle by day and by night is also vividly drawn.

Although the story has a tragic ending, one does not feel that it is eminently a tragedy, but just a slice of life as one finds it everywhere, a mixture of pathos and fun. Fauconnier certainly has a sense of humour, but he laughs lovingly. One day Lescale complains of a Chinese boy he has.

"When he goes to town he brings back tubes full of opium in the pork. He knows quite well that the Malay police will not touch it, for they are good Mohammedans... and as for the ironing of my linen, before ironing he fills his mouth with water, and blows it out in a fine spray on my shirts... It is disgusting! But the worst is that he filters my coffee in an old sock, which must date from the time of Stark (his predecessor) .. "

Fauconnier, it appears, writes only when it is fine, and when he is perfectly tranquil and happy. His style reflects his habit. It is easy, smooth and lively. He can depict dramatic and perfectly peaceful scenes with the same grace and ease.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[*Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.*—Editor, *M. R.*]

ENGLISH

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY, 1929-30; *Rajshahi : 1930. (Illustrated)*
VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY'S MONOGRAPHS, No. 4. *Rajshahi : 1930. (Illustrated)*

We in Bengal very naturally take pride in the work and achievements of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi; and as we read through the publications of the Society from year to year our pride only asserts itself more and more. In an age when culture is a mercantile commodity, and in a country where scholarship is at the mercy of a foreign Government, the Varendra Research Society has won the admiration of all by its almost devotional pursuit of historical and archaeological study and research.

The Annual Report of the Society for 1929-30 shows that important additions were made during the year to the collection of the Society in the section of stone sculptures. One addition—a stone image—(37″ × 18″)—is of special iconographic interest. It is a representation of a three-headed and ten-armed god, riding a seven-horse chariot, and accompanied by the well-known attendants of the Sun god. It has correctly been identified as Martanda-Bhairava. It is carved in high and bold relief, and is a typical example of the Eastern School of Sculpture of the 11th century A. D. Another interesting addition is the bust of a goddess, three headed and three eyed, with hair dressed high in the ascetic fashion—which has been identified as Ushnisha-Vijaya.

The Society's monograph No. 4 contains four papers by four different authors. (1) "Antiquities of North-West Sunderban" by Kalidas Dutta is an informative paper which shows that the low-lying tracts of North-West Sunderban are rich in archaeological treasures and promise to be a fruitful field for archaeological research and exploration. They have already yielded a good number of stone sculptures of sufficient artistic and archaeological interest, and Mr. Dutta who has done much to draw our attention in this direction deserves our thanks and admiration. (2) "A New Specimen of Bengal Sculpture" by Kshitish Chandra Sarkar is is a reprint article from the *Modern Review*, (November, 1929), wherein he proposes a new identification (*i.e.*, Bodhisattva) for an image hitherto identified as that of Vishnu. We are tempted to

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agree with Mr. Sarkar's identification. (3) "A Tour in Dinajpur and Rungpur by Niradbandhu Sanyal, Curator of the Museum of the Society, is a long descriptive article in course of which he has examined and drawn our attention to fresh materials of interest for the study of antiquities in this part of Varendra. (4) In the concluding paper on the Vaishnava Cult, Mr. Syama Charan Chakravarty traces the origin and evolution of the important cult. The article is brief but is carefully prepared. The monograph is priced at Rs. 3 which is rather high.

NIHARRANJAN RAY

—

AN INTRODUCTION TO DRAVIDIAN PHILOLOGY: *By C. Narayana Rao, M. A., L. T., published by the Sadhana Publishing House, Anantapur, 1929: pp. 1-214.*

That the Dravidian group of languages belongs to a linguistic family altogether different from the Indo-Aryan, is almost a postulate of Indian linguistics. Mr. C. Narayana Rao has tried to disprove this fact in the monograph under review. The monograph contains the series of lectures which the author delivered at the Oriental Research Institute, Madras, in January, 1929. The author's thesis is that like the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars such as Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, etc., the Dravidian languages—Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, and others—have all descended from old Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit) through an intermediate 'Dravidi' Prakrit. It is, however, very difficult to take the author seriously. His method is eclectic to the extreme; he compares one form of Dravidian with Sauraseni, another with Paisaci, and a third with Old Persian! The author has also forgotten that the vocabulary of the Dravidian languages contains a large number of more or less disguised Indo-Aryan loan-words. In fact, the author's treatment of Dravidian philology reminds us of the famous saying of Voltaire —"Philology is a science in which vowels count for nothing, and consonants for very little."

The author ought to have mentioned the name of Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar among the prominent workers in the field of Dravidian philology.

SUKUMAR SEN

—

LOVE LETTERS: *By Dalim Kumar Sarma: V. K Brothers, Calcutta. 4 annas.*

This is a little book containing letters professing spiritual love towards the beloved. The book will be appreciated by those young people who believe that spiritual love is possible between two persons who do not wish matrimony.

GANDHI: *By T. V. Thadani. 14, Sunny-Side Road, Karachi.*

In this book the Mahatma's passions are dramatized, showing the revolt of conscience over the inequities of justice. The cult of passive resistance is explained, and we are told that strength is shown by suffering.

Thoughts for Statesman: By T. N. Seshachalam, Educational Publishing Co., Nangambakam, Madras.

Selections and treachings by two Frenchmen with an eye to their applicability to the pre conditions in India whose people, the author b are fundamentally democratic. The book is w perusal.

KAMBAN'S KOSALA: *By T. N. Seshachal Madras: Re. 1.*

Kamban lived ten centuries ago and wa great poet. The treasures of inspiration from past are presented to us from the Tamil litera The book is an interesting one.

CRIT

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THE INDIAN STATES: THEIR STATUS, RIGHTS OBLIGATIONS: *By Sirdar D. K. Sen, M.A., B (Oxon.), of Gray's Inn, Legal Ad Patiala State, formerly Senior Professor, D. A College, Lahore. Sweet and Maxwell, London. 1930. Price Rs. 7-8-0. Pp. 234. Dedic to His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.*

In the short preface the author says: "I needless to add that this book does not claim have any official stamp or character." The dedi tion led us to think otherwise, and the Maha of Patiala not being at present a favo with the British Indian public, we started a prepossession against the book. We are b to admit, however, that a careful perusal of small volume has entirely disabused us of such idea. The book, of course, represents case for the States from the view-point of ruling princes alone and not of the peoples are their subjects. Apart from this, there is not in the book, with perhaps one or two small ex tions, which can be said to be in the nature special pleading for the Native Chiefs. The b purports to be a first attempt to examine position of the Indian States from a purely le standpoint and to apply legal rules and princi in ascertaining their exact juristic character, their rights and obligations *vis-a-vis* the Cro We are glad to say that this claim has be fully maintained by the book. The au has a thorough grasp of international princi which he has studied from original sources English, French and Italian, and his method exposition is clear, lucid and convincing. T author's knowledge of civil municipal law and the principles underlying it is equally sou while the author's style is that of a schola lawyer and seldom allows itself to stray beyo the caution and restraint which it is usual associate with legal productions. Once or tw he indulges in indignant protests against the bi handedness of British Residents and the suzera Power's encroachment and usurpation of rights, powers, and privileges of the Indian St guaranteed though they are by treaties engagements, ratified and declared inviolate inviolable by successive statutes and Royal proclam tions. Anglo-Indian writers like Tupper, We lake and Lee-Warner have been freely referred and it must be said that in almost every c where our author differs from their conclusi he has proved himself to be in the right. T whole book, in fact, is a masterly exposition

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he relation, legal and juristic, between the Indian tates and the Sovereign Power and bristles with teresting questions of international law which ndian students of law in our Universities ought o study carefully. Cowell's Tagore Law Lectures n the constitution of Indian Courts forms a part f the legal curriculum of Indian Universities. he present book should prove to be an equally mportant contribution to the course, and having egard to the fact that the relation of the people f British India with the Native States will acquire ncreasing importance in the years to come owing o the political changes in their mutual position which are already under discussion, Indian students f law should no longer be kept in ignorance of he subject, and the only systematic treatment of t by a profound scholar is to be found in this ook, where the Butler Committee's Report—the atest Government pronouncement on the subject—nd Lord Reading's famous letters to the Nizam efining the status of Indian Princes, have been ritically examined and proved to be based on ntirely erroneous assumptions of history and nternational jurisprudence.

The Indian Princes are naturally very jealous f the intervention of the Crown in the internal ffairs of the States, and it may be conceded hat the author has succeeded in proving that othing short of patently grave and unjust naladministration would justify such interference nder the treaties. But as the author himself oints out by a quotation from Hallock's *International Law*, these treaties are made in favour of party within the State and not of the State as whole, and thus lose their legally binding haracter on the people of the States. Moreover, s Payne truly observes, "However worthy of espect are the rights of States' sovereignty and ndependence, there is something still more worthy of espect and that is the right of humanity or of uman society, which must not be outraged." The uthor, however, is of opinion that the Indian treaties f alliance are of a purely personal character and o not relate specifically to territories comprised ithin the limits of the States. "It is, therefore, lear that if British India were to become an ndependent State, the treaties between the Indian tates and the crown would not be binding on the ew State, nor would it succeed to the rights nd obligations arising under such treaties."

In the opinion of the author, the Indian States Protection against disaffection) Act, 1922, passed y the Government of India in the teeth of pposition on the part of the Central Legislature as remained a dead letter as the onus and burden f prosecution, *in British India*, of the criminals oncerned makes it practically impossible for any ndian State to utilize its provisions. In this onnection the author speaks of "unprincipled nd mischievous journalists who carry on a ehement campaign of calumny and libel gainst the Princes with a view to blackmailing hem...The result is that British India has become sort of Alsatia and hotbed of corrupt journalists nd other persons whose sole and single aim is to arry on active propaganda against the Rulers nd Governments of the Indian States." Here the olours seem to have been laid on too thick; at ny rate it must be admitted that the policy dopted by most of the Indian States, *viz.*, total uppression of the voice of the people, is hardly the way to silence these unscrupulous journalists, if they do exist.

The important quotation at page 177 from Sir Charles Metcalfe has not been verified by reference to its source. There is no index. In every other respect, both as to the get up, as well as the intrinsic worth of its contents, the book leaves nothing to be desired.

PAUL, HERALD AND WITNESS : *By A. C. Clayton. Christian Literature Society for India, Madras. Price Re. 1.*

When one takes up such a book for review one should not be blamed if he expect that the author is familiar with what is known as the higher criticism of the Bible. The more one reads the book the more is one mystified to find that a book has been written on Paul, whose author is wholly unaware of the vast literature that has grown round the subject during the last hundred years. And what a poor idea he cherishes about the intellectual equipment of us, Indians, as to compile this grand-mother's tale and we must admit that he has spent, rather misspent, a great deal of time and energy in doing so, "especially for preachers, teachers and students in India." Sad lot of India, indeed!

In the *note* the author tells us, and he has written the book to tell this, that Paul proclaimed "a crucified Jewish carpenter as the saviour of the world" and wrote "letters which purified the ideals of that Roman world." The author seems to be blissfully ignorant of the fact that scholars have thoroughly destroyed the identity of the apostle to the Gentiles, also known as the apostle of the Heretics, the author or authors of the so-called Epistles, the itinerant preacher in the *Acts* and the Saul of Tarsus who sat at the feet of Gamaliel. The author is also ignorant of the fact that the Jesus of the synoptic gospels is quite different from the Johannine word and the crucified Christ of Paul,—a Gnostic preacher, is poles asunder from both.

What has Paul had to do with the gospel of Jesus? Biblical scholars say that there is little trace in Paulinism of the earthly career of Jesus with its many-sided activities as narrated in the gospels. What according to modern critical theology constitutes the greatness and peculiarity of the gospel of Jesus is conspicuous in Paul by its absence. In doctrinal quarrels, of which there are plenty, no teaching of Jesus has even been cited. "If he knew of an historical Jesus, it remains the most insoluble of problems why he made no use of the knowledge." (Dr. Drews Witnesses, p 101). Paul's "Crucified" was a Gnostic symbol. And the crucifixion of the Son was a *motto* of all the then pre-Christian religions round the Mediterranean, such as of Attis, Adonis, etc. "Just as Christ is made of flesh and assumes human form, so Philo's Logos descends from the heavenly sphere and enters the world of sense to give strength to the good and save man from sin and lead them to their true home the kingdom of heaven and their heavenly father."

Scholars tell us that the author of the Epistles cannot be accepted as an authority on the Old Testament. He does not quote except from the Septuagint only, the Greek version of the Scripture in which Raja Rammohun Roy has shown several

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mistakes because of the untranslatability into Greek of the Hebrew idioms. "Paul is the very last person who," observes R. Travers Herford, an eminent Hebrew Scholar, "ought to be relied on as a witness to the nature of Pharisaism." Is it not blasphemous to say this of the famous disciple of Gamaliel? Nor could the author of some epistles, say the *Galatians*, be the junior contemporary of Jesus. The doctrines preached therein could not be found in the Church except by the middle of the second century. It was originally written for developed Gnostic sectarians and the Gnostics were afterwards assimilated by the Church. Paul preaching to the Galatians in the first century is Hegel lecturing his dialectic to the Aborigines of Africa.

Professor Van Manen, "the Copernicus of New Testament Criticism," was fully convinced that "if the Epistles of Paul were true, the historicity of Jesus would be a dream." On the other hand, Dr. Couchoud in his *Enigma of Jesus* opines: "they have not realized that the more probable They rendered Jesus the more improbable they rendered Paul." So Christianity cannot retain both Jesus and Paul as Mr. Clayton claims.

Who is Paul, then? Dr Whittaker suggests that some one Paul belonged to a group of pre-Christian Messianic propagandists of Judaism who were itinerant preachers. He was the most prominent of them all frequently journeying from place to place. From a memory of this propagandism of of Messianic cult the apostles in general and Paul in particular were introduced into the New Testament narrative "imaginatively transformed into the apostles of a personal Jesus who was not merely to come (like the Messiah as at first conceived in Judaism), but had already come." So Paul is neither historical nor altogether mythical, but a legendary personage. And we know, in ancient times, books were safely foisted on *Pauranic* heroes.

DHIRENDRANATH VEDANTAVAGHIS

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ELEMENTS OF ECONOMICS: *By K. C. De, M. A., Lecturer in Economics, Eden Intermediate College for Girls, Dacca, pp. 355+App. iv.*

This is a short treatise on elementary principles of Economics, meant primarily to cater for the requirements of intermediate arts and commerce students and of other first beginners of the study of economics. The author is 'fully conscious of the shortcomings of the book and of the many mistakes that have crept in in the hurry through which it had to be brought out of the press." Hardly any attempt has, moreover, been made to propound anything new either in the principles discussed or in the arrangement of the book. Little comment is therefore called for. One thing we like of this book is the author's attempt to place general principles of economics on essentially Indian background. Mangoes and sugar have undoubtedly added to the sweetness of the book when theories have been explained with their help rather than with the usual apples and beer. But the author has unfortunately not been thorough enough in this respect. He could, for example, have easily done without the river Thames in explaining social capital. A little more attention ought to have, moreover, been given by the author to the recent developments in the study of economics, particularly in the London School and the United States of America. Some of his conceptions require a little polishing.

On the whole, however, we are satisfied that the book will serve as a valuable guide to those that desire for the first time to be initiated into the mysteries of Economics.

A STUDY OF RURAL ECONOMY OF GUJARAT: *By J. M. Mehta, Esq., M. A. (Oxon.), Ph. D. Econ. (Lond.), Bar-at-Law; Professor of History and Economics, Baroda College, pp. 231, Royal 8Vo Price Rs. 2-4 only.*

This is a thesis approved for the degree of Ph.D in Economics of the University of London, in June 1929. The materials have been obtained mostly from Government publications and from the author's personal investigations both in India and in Italy.

Dr. Mehta confined himself only to the investigation of economic conditions of rural Gujarat, and has tried to find out if the rural conditions in Italy and the experiments made in that country could indicate some measures which might lead to the improvement of the material conditions of rural Gujarat.

To be quite candid we are disappointed with Dr. Mehta's book. Only Chapter XIII, where certain suggestions for reconstruction are made, deserves special notice. But even here one finds hardly any new and practical suggestion. We are entirely at one with the author when he concludes by saying that "what the country wants today is leadership and organization to infuse new life amongst the peasants and to direct their activities into the right channels." We also agree with him fully when he asserts that the most essential things in all schemes of rural reconstruction are the spread of primary education and the removal of the acuteness of rural poverty. But the fling which the author has at those that are today largely devoted to politics in Gujarat was not at all necessary.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

—

HINDI.

HINDU BHARAT-KA-UTKARSH: *By Sri Chintamani Vinayak Vaidya, M.A.LL.B. F.B.U.: Published by Kashi Vidyapith, Benares. Pp. 530. Price Rs. 3-8.*

It is the second volume of Mr. Vaidya's 'History of Mediæval Hindu India,' and gives us a good idea about the Rajputs, their origin, their different clans, dynasties, and kingdoms, their rise; and the general political, social, religious and economic condition of India from the beginning of the 7th century A.D. to the end of the 13th century A.D. The author throws a good deal of light on this little-known and obscure period of Indian history. The book is written in a very attractive and arresting style and also contains a short introduction by Dr. Bhagwandas. The Jnanmandal Karyalaya and the Kashi Vidyapith of Benares are to be congratulated for bringing out such a fine book in Hindi.

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JNAN-RATNAKAR: *By Sri Suryamal Nemani. Published by the author. Pp. 289.*

The author, a Marwari gentleman, seems to be interested in old Hindu philosophy—specially in Vedanta. He says in this volume that he has tried to present in Hindi the famous Vedantic philosophy of Srimat Shankar in a simple and popular form. But I am sorry to say that he has not been fully successful in it.

PRANAYA: *A Novel, by Dev Narayan Dvivedi. Published by 'Sahityashram,' P.O. Kachawa, Dt. Mirzapur. Pp. 380. Bound in paper; price Rs. 2-8.*

It is the second novel of Mr. Dvivedi, his first 'Kartavyaghat' was published some time back. He has based his story on a true episode which happened several years before. In this novel he has tried to paint some scenes of our present-day social life, and he is partially successful. Notwithstanding some inconsistencies and defects, the book, on the whole, forms interesting and wholesome reading.

BRIJ MOHAN VARMA

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MASTER SAHAB: *By Mr. Rishabhcharan. Published by the Hindi Pustak Karyalay, Kucha Patiram, Delhi. 1929. Pp. 248.*

This is a social fiction by an author who has already attained some reputation in the field. This is a plain story plainly told. And its chief merit is that unlike other works it is not a translation, but an honest attempt at producing an original work. The get-up is quite excellent except for the illustrations which are wretched.

RATIRAM KA BHAGYA-SUDHAR: *By Mr. Pyarelal Gupta, Manager, Co-operative Central Bank, Ltd., Bilaspur. Published by Pundit Kasiprasad Pande. Pp. 96.*

This story is a sketch of village-life intended for the uplift of the rural folk through social service on co-operative principle. They will find it both interesting and instructive. The Co-operative Department of C.P. and Berar has also issued as many as 65 magic lantern slides in order to make the story go home into the mind of the illiterate villagers who cannot use the printed book. Such attempt in the right direction is bound to be successful and the authorities deserve nothing but praise.

BARBADIYA-HIND: *By Mr. Govindaram Sethi "Sad." Published by Messrs. Narain Dutt Sahgal and Sons, Lahori Gate, Lahore. 1929. Pp. 64.*

This is a short play showing how India was enslaved and demoralized after the passing away of the Mughals. Many of the characters are historical persons. There is no unity of time or place.

RAMES BASU

—

URDU.

DIWAN-I-ASAR: *Edited by Mr. Abdulhaq and published by the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Aurangabad, Deccan. Pp. 8+78 Price Rs. 2.*

The Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (The Association for the Advancement of Urdu) of Aurangabad, Deccan, is doing a good deal of praiseworthy work for the progress and enrichment of Urdu literature. It is bringing out two very high class quarterlies, one the 'Urdu' devoted to purely literary works and the other to natural science. But its still more praiseworthy activities lie in the sphere of rescuing and publishing the classical works of old Urdu writers.

The present volume is Anjuman's latest publication of this kind. Syed Mohammad 'Asar' was the younger brother of the famous Urdu poet Khwaza Mir Dard. He was a poet of talents. The book under review is his *Diwan* (Collection of Poems). Asar's poetry is of a high order, but the most remarkable thing about him is his extraordinarily simple and easy style. His language has got charm and flow and it is free from the wordy intricacies which formed the chief characteristics of the later Urdu poets.

The Urdu literary world should be grateful to the Anjuman for its valuable services.

TAYAR-I-KHAYAL: *By Sj. 'Sudarshan'. Published by Sudarshan Publishing House, Lahore. Pp. 270. Bound in paper. Price. Rs. 1-4.*

Sj. Sudarshan is one of the foremost story-writers in Hindi. His short stories belong to a high order and are eagerly read by the Hindustani public. This book is a collection of twelve of his short stories. Most of these stories were originally published in Hindi. Sj. Sudarshan has a veritable command of the Urdu language also, so the charm of the original Hindi is fully preserved in this Urdu translation. In these stories he has given proof of his thorough knowledge of and insight into human psychology, specially, that of women and children. His stories have got the grains of realism and art, as well as idealism and that is why they are so successful.

BRIJ MOHAN VARMA

—

GUJARATI

A FEW HISTORICAL WEAPONS: *By Professor Manekzoo of the Jumma Dada Gymnasium, Baroda, published by Swamizoo of Bhavnagar, paper cover: Pp. 31. 1930.*

The life history of the different weapons of offence and defence—mostly of offence or attack—is set out in this pamphlet. It has a couple of illustrations, one of them explaining and giving the names of the different parts of a sword and the other, a variety of weapons, old and mediaeval, of the sword genus. *Saif* and *Teg* (both of them mean "a sword" in Arabic and Persian respectively) swords, the *Bhavani* sword of Shivaji Maharaj, the *Nimcha* (half-sword), the *Jamdhar* (a dagger), said to have been used by Shivaji against Afzal Khan, (the writer thinks that it must be a short sword like a dagger and not the bigger sort), the *Wagh-nakh*, and various other kindsof identical weapons are discribed in respect of their manufacture, original owners and users; the descriptions though necessarily short and scrappy are still such as to enlighten the ignorant—and many of us *are* ignorant—on the use made of those weapons by historical personages on historical occasions. So as the first book of its kind on this somewhat technical subject, it is sure to receive a hearty welcome.

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SHRI HARI LILA SHODAS KALA, INTRODUCTION: *By Ambalal Bulakheram Jani, B. A. Published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, paper cover : Pp. 139. Price As. 8. 1930.*

Mr. Jani has already annotated this poem of Vishnudas Bhim, an old Gujarati poet. He has now brought out by way of a separate volume, an introduction, which is very comprehensive and takes a wide survey of the state of the old Gujarati literature between Vikram Samvat years 1375 and 1625. He specially examines it with a view to point out the influence of the *Bhakti Marga* the verse literature of those times, and in do so, has tapped every available source in Engl Gujarati and Sanskrit. The foot-notes and biloliographical list show the amount of trou and assiduity bestowed by him on the subje and those interested in old and mediaeval Gujar will find much in his efforts to enlighten th as well as to guide them in their further stud therein.

K. M. J.

Co-operation n Agriculture

BY SANTOSH BIHARI BOSE, L. AG.,

THE term co-operation is very elastic, especially, when it is applied to Agriculture in India, because there are so many factors that govern it that it is a long way off, at present, to reach its goal in the truest sense of the term, agricultural co-operation, which is found nowadays in some of the most advanced western countries. There are at present so many links to be united together that it is not feasible to tackle all the problems, at a time, to attain its end.

Now let us pause for a moment, and ponder over the whole situation. The first question that arises is that who are the producers, and who are the consumers? What are the relations that exist between them? How and to what extent these relations are maintained? What do the producers think at the time of preparing their cropping schemes?

The distance between the bulk of the consumers, and that of the producers is wide. The consumers try to get the best and the cheapest thing and thus to make a bargain for themselves; while the producers want to fetch the highest price for the produce of the soil at the expense of the consumers. Thus there is really a tug-of-war between them. Each one tries to bargain at each other's expense; and that is quite natural.

The consumers know that they are paying too much to somebody, other than the producers; on the other hand, the producers think that they are getting much less from somebody other than actual consumers. Had there been any opportunity of mutual acquaintances, then the matters would have been compromised to a great extent. The consumers would have asked for a reduction in prices to which the producers would have gladly conceded, as the tension between the two parties would have been great curtailed owing to the elimination of certa factors that produce that tension. B these factors are not easily to be remove especially under the present circumstance that prevail in our country.

The absence of organization, good inte communication, transit facilities, capit and various other local technicalities i matters connected with agriculture, mak these intermediate factors govern th situation uninterruptedly. Both the parties— consumers and producers—pay the penalt which both of them resent. Unde such circumstances, the producers natural get back, and reduce the total acreage unde cultivation, producing only that much as i required for local consumption generally an thereby curtailing, to a considerable extent the extra supply for the great bulk of th consumers that live far from them. Neither party is thus benefited.

By merely meeting the ordinary demand of food, other amenities of life are not attended to, which are generally met at the expense of exchanges of the produce of the soil. On the other hand, owing to the paucity of supply of produce in the market, and the subsequent high price, the consumers are compelled to curtail other necessary daily expenses just to meet the daily rations of food anyhow. Now the question naturally comes, where lies the solution of the problem?

There is a limiting factor that governs the purchasing power of the consumers, who can purchase much less than is actually required for consumption. In other words, he can restrict his budget. But the producer invest something for which he wants a fair return; otherwise, that would be a loosing concern. Consequently he must try to find out something

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that pays him. It is, of course, possible to fix a price, but it is not possible to make the customers pay that price. Mr. W. M. Jardine of the United States, Department of Agriculture, has truly remarked that "there is practically no agricultural commodity, which is so essential for human existence that substitution cannot be made for it, at least in part, and this possibility of substitution destroys any effective arbitrary control of price over a period of time."

It is often said that the Indian cultivators are very conservative. It is quite true, as the circumstances compel them to do so. Now, how would it be possible to make them grow much more in order to meet the demand of the great bulk of the consumers? It is quite possible for them to increase both the yield per acre, as well as the acreage under cultivation,. provided the question of the disposal of the produce is solved.

This can be effected in two ways. First, it can be facilitated by quick and cheap transit, etc., and secondly, by making provision for effective storage for a definite length of time. By quick transit, the problem of supply can be solved to some extent. But there is a limit of human consumption, beyond which they cannot go. The consumers cannot naturally overstock their daily necessities. On the other hand, the producers cannot grow each and every crop continuously, as each has got a season, and can be grown for a short time only.

The produce of the soil either must be disposed of then and there, or be stored for future consumption in a most effective way. It can be stored either on the spot or at the place of disposal. By effectively storing the produce, the producers can command the market directly, at least for a good length of time, and thereby get a reasonable return for their labour and money.

With this end in view, the policy of the agricultural section of the Institute of Rural Reconstruction, Visva-Bharati, has been framed. Some years back, when the Agricultural Farm was first started at Sriniketan, it was the aim of the University to demonstrate to the local cultivators that waste and barren land cannot only produce so many crops (*vide Modern Review*, August, 1926) by following a judicious system of crop rotation, economy in manuring and irrigation, by conservation of soil moisture etc., but that the produce of the soil, when grown on an extensive scale, can be stored most effectively for the better market in future.

This store-house has been built with the object of storing potatoes of the Visva-Bharati farm, as well as that of the neighbouring cultivators. A nominal fee at the rate of two annas per maund will be charged for the period of storage, which generally comes to between four and five months—April, May, June, July, August. Visva-Bharati will get Rs. 187-8 as. per annum (300 maunds ×10 as. at two annas per maund per month for five months) *i. e.*, in the course of two years, the total sum of the cost of the house will be realized; while, the individual cultivators will make a fair profit out of his return by thus storing.

Potato is generally sold at the time of the harvest at rupees two per maund, but after storing for a period of five months, one maund of potato will at least fetch five rupees. Thus after deducting an allowance for total shrinkage and wastage in weight during the period of storage, and house-rent, a clear profit of Rs. 1-8-0 more per maund might be obtained. This is likely to create an incentive for the cultivators to grow more by adopting better methods, and by increasing the total acreage under cultivation.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

German Culture at the Cross-roads

In giving an account of the German culture of the present age in *The Calcutta Review*, Dr. Paul Rohrbach points out the cultural dilemma with which Germany is faced since the war. The material losses incurred by Germany in the war and in the peace settlement compelled the German intellect to concentrate upon practical problems of the hour. This has resulted, as Dr. Rohrbach says, in the reconstruction of an orderly state in Germany, reorganization of German industry, of the German merchant marine, and the recapturing of Germany's share in the world trade. But the very extent of this material achievement has given rise to a new and powerful enemy to the traditional culture of Germany. Dr. Rohrbach begins by drawing a distinction between the two types of culture which he calls culture and civilization.

Here we come back to the problem of the difference between culture and civilization which has been referred to at the beginning of this article. The modern age is a machine age and life is now penetrated by machines. But machine is not culture; it is at best civilization. There is sense and will in this civilisation of machines, but it has no soul. A man may possess the highest thing that machine can procure, he may fly in the air and freely move under the surface of the ocean, he may telephone and telegraph from his office room in Cologne or Berlin, New York or Chicago, he may hear the music in reception of the Zeppelin in Los Angeles, the New Year's bells of St. Paul's in London and the opening speeches in the Australian Parliament—but for all this flaunting splendour he stands yet far from being a man of culture. He enjoys all the amenities of civilization at the most.

A clever Chinese said twenty years ago: "When Mr. Lloyd George speaks of culture he means thereby cheap soaps and wireless telegraphy; but when I speak of culture I mean thereby my capacity of being enthusiastic over the beauty and the fine shades of the colours of flowers in a peony garden, varying from the lightest to the deepest tones of hue." Here in a nutshell is the whole difference between civilization and culture in the German sense of those words, brought out by means of a single example,—in a single sentence full of significance.

The enormity of maltreatment and exploitation which Germany has experienced and is still experiencing as the result of her defeat in the world war, has compelled the German people to set its heart at perfecting the machine, for it is now through the help of machine alone that it can live, struggle with competing nations of Europe and America, survive in such a struggle and raise itself again. Germany is being transformed into a vast chemical, physical and electrical laboratory, into a factory equipped with enormous scientific resources, into a dockyard or a workshop for commercial prosperity as well as propaganda—and all this only to be *able to live*, to supply nourishment to the German people, thrust back from all sides into a cramped and narrow sphere of activity, all this only to make her sell her produces and pay for the raw materials imported by her and to meet the reparations.

A pound of raw iron costs only a few pence. But if it is transformed into steel and the steel into spiral wires for the smallest and the finest pocket-watches, then the value of the piece of iron becomes a thousand shillings. If there are enough buyers for these watch-wires and other articles which are manufactured in the same process—the process of raising the value of raw material by means of German intellect and industry—out of copper and rubber, wool and cotton, wood and leather, etc., then all is well. Then the German people may get enough to eat and fulfil her obligations. Thus, it is compelled by sheer necessity to devote all its intellectual capacity to these external things, and that is a real menace to German culture.

Today there is no other country in the world which may compare with Germany as an excellent workshop for apprentices in the field of scientific, industrial and technical activity. There is no other country today where the system, method and discipline for industry can be better learnt. But there is the saying that man does not live by bread alone. In the same strain we may say today that man cannot afford to live *on machines alone*; nay, he does not live on *civilisation* alone; he requires inner culture to make his life worth living.

Culture is an attribute of the soul. If a man or a people is unable to plunge into its own self and even for a time forget *the outer* mechanism of life in order to turn to its inner depths—to the beautiful, the exalted and the mystical, to art and poetry, the higher realm of philosophy and poesy,—then, with the progress of time it will never escape the fate which is sure to overtake it. Perhaps the will shall be still there, throbbing and vital, but its soul will be dried up.

This is the danger which is threatening German culture today and it arises out of the fact that Germany has now been compelled to consider the machine as the only means of rescue and the ladder by means of which she can again rise to her pristine glory. This danger can only be averted if Germany can be freed from the enormous pressure of the burdens which have been imposed upon her through the injustice, violence and hypocritical moralistic exaltation of the victors. A nation is in a position to save its culture only when it is able to withstand the pressure of this type of soul-

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killing machanical compulsion and brutal oppression.

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M. Romain Rolland on Vivekananda's Religion

M. Romain Rolland contributes an important article to the *Prabuddha Bharata* on the religion of Swami Vivekananda, which he calls "the Universal Science-Religion." M. Rolland says :

Of a truth, religion, as Vivekananda understood it, had such vast wings that when it was at rest it could brood over all the eggs of the liberated Spirit. He repudiated no part of sincere and sane forms of Knowledge. To him religion was the fellow citizen of every thinking man, and its only enemy was intolerance.

"Religion" for Vivekananda, is synonymous with "Universalism" of the spirit. And it is not until "religious" conceptions have attained to this universalism, that religion is fully realized. For, contrary to the belief of all who know it not, religion is a matter for the future far more than for the past. It has only just begun.

The task awaiting us to-day is to join the hands of the two brothers who are now at law with each other over a field, the perfect exploitation of which needs their united efforts—religion and science. It is a matter of urgent necessity to re-establish "a fellow-feeling between the different types of religion . . . . and between types of religious expression coming from the study of mental phenomena,—unfortunately even now laying exclusive claim to the name of religion—and those expressions of religion whose heads . . . are penetrating more into the secrets of heaven . . . the so-called materialistic sciences."

It is hopeless to attempt to turn one brother out for the benefit of the other. You can dispense with neither science nor religion.

"Materialism prevails in Europe today. You may pray for the salvation of the modern sceptics, but they do not yield, they want reason."

What then is the solution ? To find a *modus vivendi* between the two. Human history made that discovery long ago, but forgetful man forgets and then has to refind his most precious discoveries at great cost.

"The salvation of Europe depends on a rationalistic religion."

And such a religion exists ; it is the Advaita of of India. Non-Dualism, Unity, the idea of the Absolute, of the Impersonal God, "the only religion that can have any hold on intellectual people."

The Advaita must be super-added to science without yielding anything to the latter, but without demanding that it should change its teachings. Let us recall once again their common *principles* :

"The first principle of reasoning is that the particular is explained by the general—until we come to the universal. A second explanation of knowledge is that the explanation of a thing must come from inside and not from outside. . . . The Advaita satisfies these two principles," and pursues their application into its own chosen field. "It pushes it to the ultimate generalisation," and claims to attain to Unity, not only in its radiation and its effects, rationally deducted from experiments but in itself, in its own source. It is for you to control its observations. It does not avoid control, rather it seeks for it. For it does not belong to those religious camps who entrench themselves behind the mystery of their revelations. Its doors and windows are wide open to all. Come and we see ! It is possible that it is mistaken—so may you be, so may we all. But whether it is mistaken or not, it works with us to build the same house on the same foundations.

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Unemployment Insurance

In the *Insurance World* we welcome a new monthly on insurance, a business, which, we we are glad to see, is getting an increasing degree of attention from Indian business men. In the first number, the editor gives a very interesting account of the scope of unemployment insurance :

Modern labour is confronted with various difficulties of which unemployment is one of the most serious, presenting problems even more difficult than accident, old age, and sickness. Socialists contend that a large reserve of unemployed workmen necessarily comes into being under a capitalist regime against which it has been argued that a steady supply of unemployed labourers tends to bring about its own remedy, by setting up competition among themselves and a readjustment of terms between employers and employees, till the attainment of some kind of equlibrium enables all to be absorbed in industry. But such final adjustment can hardly be hoped for in actual life except under a thorough-going socialistic system. Though the present-day forces which tend to diminish unemployment are powerful, nevertheless it remains a continuous phenomenon.

Eminent philanthropists, statesmen and economists alike have taken great pains to find a solution of this serious problem, which undoubtedly stands in the way of the progress of mankind towards peace and prosperity. Any method of insurance for ameliorating the miseries of irregular employment presents certain inherent difficulties, apart from the fact that these irregularities by their very nature are susceptible of actuarial treatment only with very wide margins, or that the premium rates would have to vary widely from occupation to occupation there is the fundamental difficulty: how to prevent an unemployment benefit from demoralizing the recipient ? In the case of most men, assured support until employment is found makes it only too probable that employment will not be sought, that is why that is only the method of insurance through Trade Unions that has given promising results.

Great Britain took an extraordinary and even adventurous step forward in this field of social reform by passing her Insurance Act of 1911. This great measure was an all-embracing system providing for insurance against sickness, accident, and also largely against unemployment. In certain important occupations insurance against unemployment was made compulsory. Employers and employees were required to contribute equal amounts, the State adding a share. In 1911, some 2¼ million workers were involved by the Unemployment Insurance Scheme. Its scope was extended

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in 1916 and again in 1920, when the scheme was remodelled and the number of insured persons increased to nearly 12 million. At present compulsory insurance includes almost all eligible workers excepting persons engaged in agriculture, domestic servants, and female nurses of the sick. As a result of the abnormal amount of unemployment much legislation on this scheme has been undertaken since 1920. The Blanesburgh Committee was appointed in 1925, to inquire in the conditions of Unemployment Insurance with a view to putting the scheme on a permanent basis. The Committee reported in 1927 and a Bill was brought before Parliament. Certain drastic changes were made including the provision that an applicant for unemployment benefit must have made at least 30 contributions in the preceding two years and must be genuinely seeking work. The Labourites moved for a rejection of the Bill because of the inclusion of the provision, but they were defeated. The present Labour Government has also various schemes of unemployment Insurance legislation in hand. Space does not permit us to give a detailed description of the administration of the Unemployment Insurance Scheme. The central authority is vested in the Employment and Insurance Department of the Ministry of Labour. The scheme is administered locally by Employment Exchanges and Branch Employment Offices and, on certain conditions by Trade Unions.

Other countries on the Continent, specially Germany, have made similar provisions for the insurance of the unemployed. Improvments are also being gradually made in this matter everywhere. The United States of America is the only country in the West which has not as yet developed any scheme for the Insurance of the Unemployed.

Though the problem of unemployment is very acute in India still the poor workers of our country have not as yet been favoured with any scheme for the insurance of the unemployed millions. The trade unions of India are in an infant stage. Moreover, they have at present got to fight against a thousand and one odds for their existence. So it is not yet feasible for them to provide for the insurance of the unemployed. It is high time that the India Government should take up this serious problem.

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Sir Jagadis Bose's Researches into Plant Physiology

The Scholar publishes the following account of how Sir Jagadis Bose was led on to his researches in biology from the study of physics :

It would be of interest to give a short history of the course of my investigations from the physics of inorganic matter to the physiology of living beings. About 36 years ago, I was investigating the optical properties of the invisible electric radiation in regard to the refracting power of various substances opaque to ordinary light, to the polarisation of electric ray produced by different crystals and to the photographic action of invisible light. It was impossible to carry out these investigations without greatly shortening the wave length. I was able to reduce the length of the wave to about 4 mm. or 1-6 of an inch, that is to say, bringing it within eleven octaves of visible light.

Working with my inorganic receiver I found that while it was very sensitive at the beginning it became irresponsive after a time ; the record of the responses showed a curve exactly similar to that of fatigue in muscle. The inorganic receiver like the muscle, recovered after a period of rest. Chemical stimulants also increased the sensitivity of the inorganic receiver while the power of response was killed by poison. I was amazed to find boundary lines vanishing and points of contact arising between the realms of Living and Non-Living.

After the announcement of the universal sensitiveness of matter before the International Congress of Science at Paris in 1900 I came to England. It happened that I was taken dangerously ill and confined to bed in Wimbledon. The only thing that I could see through the window of my enforced prison chamber was a horse-chestnut tree. Looking at it day after day it came to me like a flash that the life-mechanism of the tree must essentially be the same as that of the animal. On recovering from illness I set about immediately to invent special instruments by which the dumb and inarticulate tree was enabled to write down the secrets of its own life.

We hear little and see still less of the myriad voices and movements of life. But man is a creative being, and when his organs of perception fail him, he creates others which have no such limitations. When visible light ends, he still follows the invisible ; when the note of the audible reaches the unheard, even there he gathers the tremulous message. The invention of the microscope which magnifies 2,000 times has produced a revolution in biological science. My supersensitive instruments which magnify more than ten million times have revealed a new world, the wonders of which we had no previous conception.

Nothing could more effectively paralyse advance of knowledge of reactions of life as the wrong hypothesis that the physiological mechanism is entirely different in plant and animal kingdoms. The perpetuation of this error has been due to narrow specialization that kept the advanced study of plant and animal physiology separate in Western and Indian universities resulting in losing sight of the true significance of kindred phenomena : secondly, to the want of sufficiently sensitive methods of record of vital reactions, a defect which has been overcome by the invention and construction of super-sensitive instruments in the Institute. But the gravest error has resulted in concentrating attention to 'form' and neglecting the far more important 'function' of the organ.

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Persia's Contribution to the Culture of the World

Dr. Julius Germanus has been contributing a series of articles on modern movements in Islam, in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, the third instalment of which deals with Persia. In course of this article, Dr. Germanus points out the peculiar contribution of Persia to world culture :

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Speculative and fanciful, but endowed with an uncommonly rich intellect, the history of Persian culture is one of the most splendid spectacles in the evolution of civilization. Every external influence which has enriched their mental store in the course of their history, became blended with their character, which augmented, embellished and variegated, has still in its innermost recesses retained an irradicable fascination for the spiritual, the fantastic, the extravagant, and the artistic. Islam, with its matter of fact theology, grew through contact with the Persian intellect into a vivid transcendentalism which reared a metaphysics, the exuberant foliage of which threatened to crush its very roots and foundations. Islamic doctrine even in its most sober aspects gained an allegoric meaning in the eyes of Persians with whom everything was so highly spiritualized that contact with reality was often lost. Islam suffered more heresies at the hands of Persians than of all other races professing the religion of the Prophet. The dogmatism of Semitic Islam blossomed into metaphysical speculations in which lie embedded the memories of Persian mental history. We, therefore, find that the same old theme crops up again and again in a new garment and under a new name and is always hailed with boundless enthusiasm.

In modern times a movement which has rapidly gained ground not only in the East but also in Europe and America and which has become a religion supposedly professed by millions has its roots in Persia. A new religion has arisen, a religion of humanity, a universal creed for the whole of mankind which in its present form is not only a factor of social and perhaps of political importance in Persia, but to judge by its literature written in English, seems to have been enthusiastically accepted by many Americans. The religion of Bahaism is a characteristic example of the Persian spirit. It is a remarkable phenomenon that in countries which show such a deep contrast in cultural matters as America and Persia, this religion has made such an amazing progress. This alone would justify our interest in its study.

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Infant Mortality in India

Dr. Baliga writes in *The Ladies' Magazine* about infant mortality, undoubtedly one of the great evils of India :

Infantile mortality is the most sensitive index we possess of social welfare, and if babies are well-born and well-cared for, their mortality will be negligible. It is well-known that infantile mortality is much higher in large towns than in rural areas. The large number of still-births and deaths among mothers during and after confinement are chiefly due to the ignorance of country mid-wives or *dhais* and are certainly controllable and should be controlled. Higher infantile mortality in towns than in the country is not because of the better environments of country life and air, but because most of the important conditions which cause high infantile mortality are concentrated in cities. Infant mortality rates are determined by the hygiene, sanitation and character of the population. In all factory towns, very high infantile mortality is seen, due largely to the employment of mothers in factories and hence neglect of babies who require constant care from the mothers. During the siege of Paris in 1871, while the general mortality in Paris doubled, infant mortality fell 40 p.c., on account of loss of opportunity to mothers of outside work, when women were compelled to stay at home and nurse their babies. Of course, poverty plays an important part in infantile mortality. Strictly speaking, infant mortality is a class disease inasmuch as money can purchase health and even life itself. In well-to-do families in England infant mortality is said to be a negligible factor and among labouring classes it rises as much as 32 p. c. Halle states that of 170 infantile deaths from bowel complaints investigated by him in 1903 and 1904, there were 161 among the poor, 9 among the well-to-do and none among the rich. Infant mortality is especially high during the first few weeks of life and mostly due to permaturity, general debility or injury at birth.

The chief factor of infant mortality is infancy itself, the period in which the flame flickers feeblest. More infants die primarily from accidental and therefore preventable causes.

The chief specific causes that increase infant mortality are early marriages with early conceptions, artificial feeding, hot weather, dirty stale milk, bad feeding, unsuitable food, illegitimacy, lack of prenatal care, gainful occupations of mothers, poor housing, lack of cleanliness, alcoholism, syphilis and other diseases, imperfect hygiene and sanitation. The causes then are multiple and exceedingly complex and include social and economic factors. One other important cause is tetanus among infants due to country midwives not regarding aseptic methods.

It is said that 85 p. c. of all infant deaths are in bottle-fed babies and 90 p. c. of infant deaths from bowel complaints are bottle-fed. Breast-feeding requires but little experience and may be very successfully done even by those with a low grade intelligence and among the poor ; but artificial feeding is not successful unless carried on with much intelligence and experience. Parental care and especially a period of rest and food before confinement will increase the weight, vigour and maturity of the baby.

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The Elements of a Constructive Economic Programme

In course of his address at the annual college day celebrations of the Sydenham College of Bombay, Sir M. Visveswarayya, published in *The Indian India*, outlined a programme of constructive economic development of a self-governing India. He said :

Many of the economic policies and measures now followed in India are those deemed appropriate for a dependency but, in order to build up a sound economic structure, we must, if necessary, follow the lines of action already established in the self-governing British Dominions and in Great Britain itself. I will sum up the policies and measures suited to our conditions in this respect under 10 heads as follows:

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(1) Extention of mass education to the limit along with adequate technical, commercial and professional education. (2) Rapid development of industries and transport facilities. (3) Increase of production to the limit, particulary in Agriculture. (4) Fiscal protection on the Dominion Model. (5) Expansion of trade along Dominion lines. (6) Collection and maintenance of statistics as in Canada. (7) A comprehensive survey of country's resources. (8) Stabilisation of Currency. (9) A Sound Banking System. (10) Economic organisation and equipment on international lines.

These heads are self-explanatory and I will not take up your time by going into details. I venture to think, however, that the policies and measures implied under those heads will meet with the approval of nine out of every ten economists in this country and every important expert outside it.

Reforms in several directions are attempted even at present but it is all work done piecemeal, work which an Imperial Government considers appropriate for a dependency. Real progress cannot be made if solutions are attempted in compartments. For example, the results of the Banking Enquiry now going on will not be quite satisfactory so long as currency and exchange are kept out of its purview. It is in consequence of such sectional treatment that our official commissions and committees have failed to achieve tangible results and that India has failed to keep pace with the progress in the Dominions of the British Commonwealth.

To prosecute successfully a constructive programme on the scale I have indicated, important changes will be necessary in the economic framework of this country. A new outlook is needed and a new adjustment is called for of the basic conditions upon which our economic life has hitherto rested. And here we came up against politics, but any reference to political questions at a convival gathering like this is out of place. I will only say this: Economic issues cannot be dissociated from political issues. They were not so dissociated in deliberations of the recent Imperial Conference held in London. A satisfactory solution of all these questions is dependent upon the system of Government which may be established in India as a result of the Round Table Conference which is now sitting in London.

For increasing production, the country wants men to plan, to finance and to execute, and to do this cheaply and efficiently, commercial and technical education, are indispensible. With every extension of professional education the cause of industrial development is advanced. Industries are the life blood of the community and, if the coming constitutional reforms lead to real economic autonomy, the very first thing that this old country should do is to make a vigorous use of its opportunities to build up its industry and, through it, a strong economic structure calculated to raise the income of the people.

Once the political situation is straightened, there will be no occasion to feel despondent about the future. It is true the country is saturated with population and production has not kept pace with its growth. But our student population may prove our greatest asset if we take timely measures to give our students the right kind of education and organise measures to put them to the right kind of work. We have nearly 100,000 of them in our Universities a number not exceeded by any except the United States of America. Numbers must tell in the end and that is our great hope.

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Women's Representation in Travancore

The political status of women has taken a great step forward under the rule of the Maharani Regent of Travancore. On this subject *Stri Dharma* writes :

Consequent on the representations made in several sessions of the Sri Moolam Popular Assembly urging the need for the removal of the disqualification of women to vote for or to be returned or to be nominated as members of the Assembly, the Government of Her Highness, the Maharani Regent of Travancore has ordered as follows : "Women have now the same rights as men in the matter of election or nomination to the Legislative Council but they are not under the Sri Moolam Popular Assembly rules, eligible to vote for or to be elected or nominated as members of the Assembly. Her Highness' Government have had under consideration the question of removing this anomaly and they hereby resolve that women should have the same rights and privileges as men under the Popular Assembly rules also in respect of both the franchise and membership." It will be remembered that six years ago, Her Highness the Maharani Regent, as soon as she took up the reins of administration, nominated to the Legislative Council a lady at a time when no other legislative council in all India had a lady as member. Now Her Highness has removed the restriction on women in relation to the Popular Assembly. This is so different from the Madras Presidency which has chosen only one woman to represent millions of her sisters in this Presidency. We are anyhow glad that ten depressed class representatives have been given seats in the Local Council.

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Women Civic Police

Dr. S. Muthulakshmi Reddi puts forward a plea for employing women civic police in the same paper and points out the kinds of work on which they might be employed.

I am not, however, pleading for the employment of women in the constable grade of the Indian Police. We want women of higher educational qualification who should possess some training in welfare work, for example, experienced nurses who are performing the duties of Health Visitors. Women doctors are also necessary in the police force as the ages of young girls have often to be determined and their persons have to be examined for any infection or for cases of rape and other inquiries.

Any law that has to be administered will have to be applied in such a manner so as not to adversely affect the poor and the weak. The rich do not need our protection, and they are seldom

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affected by any wrong and unjust application of our laws. Even though the poor and the downtrodden need our help, very often we know, and we do realize every minute, it is only the poor and the helpless that are oppressed and molested in the administration of those very laws which are meant to protect them.

Only the other day, we had a case in Madras of a poor Adi Dravida young woman, who, for the theft of an umbrella, was taken to the police station at about 8 p. m. in the night, was beaten and was molested. Her guilt was not even proved and she was really innocent. Cases of this nature should be dealt with by women welfare workers. And it is these women who should either be armed with police powers in certain cases or a number of them enlisted in the police force. That is my plea.

It was simply horrifying to read about the treatment of women Satyagrahis in Bombay by the police staff. The majority of women who take part in the Civil Disobedience Movement are not illiterate ; they are patriotic women of the finest and the best type, who have come out of their happy and comfortable homes at the call of the greatest man now living. Still the police had behaved most brutally towards the best and noblest women of this land.

The British police has been acclaimed throughout the world for its efficiency, discipline and the preservation of law and order. Still women associations in Great Britain have urged upon the State the necessity for the employment of women police. Women are sitting as jurors in other countries and as honorary magistrates in our own country. Both men and women commit crimes. If we want the law to be justly and equitably administered without prejudice to either parties of both the sexes, both men and women should co-operate in the administration of laws.

As I have already indicated, the police in the examination of women criminals and in determining the age of girls, will certainly need the help of women doctors. Even women criminals may not like to be examined by men doctors. Why should we force them to submit themselves to a process which may be revolting to them. Even in Austria a leading association of women recently went on deputation to the Police Commissioner of Vienna to urge the necessity of having more women on the Police Force, and the Commissioner of Police, after listening to them very carefully, gave them a most sympathetic reply.

For social purity and rescue work women-workers are absolutely necessary. The Act for the Suppression of Brothels and Immoral Traffic and for the rescue of minor girls gives extensive powers to the police to enter and search brothels for the rescue of minor girls.

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English at the Matriculation

The Progress of Education has the following judicious remarks to offer on the study of English in our schools :

India is striving at present to throw off the political domination of an alien Government. We wish educationists similarly strive to be rid of the intellectual domination of the foreigner. It is, for instance, unfortunate that the standard of English at the Matriculation and other University examinations is fixed in India by Englishmen who instinctively look at the question from the English point of view, and forget that English is in India a second language whatever artificial importance one may give it in schools and universities planned and controlled by the British Government. Occasionally one meets with a sensible Britisher who has the correct perspective but his voice is ignored. Sir Alfred Hopkinson of the Manchester University who in 1914 was invited by the University of Bombay to investigate and report on its work, writes : In comparing the standards of examination in India with those in England, it must always be remembered that nearly all Indian students have to learn English as a difficult foreign language and that it involves a very considerable amount of study and intellectual training for the Indian students to gain sufficient knowledge of the language to write clearly, to read easily and to understand the thoughts expressed even in the simplest literature. Such a knowledge is absolutely essential to enable a student to profit by the instruction given in the colleges, but in all criticisms of Indian Matriculation Examination the time and careful training required for its attainment must not be forgotten.

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Co-operative Banking and the Imperial Bank

Mr. V. L. Mehta writes in *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* on the relations of the Imperial Bank of India with the Co-operative Banks :

Co-operators who are associated with the working of central and provincial banks are aware that at least in two provinces the relations between the co-operative movement and the Imperial Bank of India have become strained during the last two or three years and leave considerable room for improvement. It is curious that in the provinces concerned—Madras and Bombay—more than in other provinces co-operative banks enjoy a fair measure of freedom of action and are not unduly dependent on official frowns and favours. Co-operative banks in both these provinces have by their careful and cautious management earned the confidence of the investing classes, and deposits flow in freely both from individuals and from public bodies like municipalities and local boards. Till recently the Imperial Bank of India was usually the repository of the surplus or idle funds of these bodies and hence it does not seem to view with favour—at least that is the impression of co-operators in Madras—the transfer of these funds to co-operative banks. It therefore seeks various methods of checking the flow. One of these ways is to get Government—who are always more solicitous of the interests of their own bankers than of co-operative banks which are the people's bankers—to impose restrictions on the rates of interest on the deposits of local bodies and on the amounts of such deposits that co-operative banks can accept. Another method which has been adopted is to cripple the resources

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of co-operative banks by withdrawing or curtailing the facility of cash credits hitherto made available to co-operative banks on the security of the demand promissory notes of co-operative societies.

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The Economic Distress of the Year

The severe economic distress of this year has led many writers to speculate on its remedies. With reference to the state of agriculture particularly, Mr. J. P. Mistri draws attention in *Federation Gazette* to what America and Egypt have done, and compares the conditions in India to what are to be found there :

Thus it is clear that there is a severe economic depression to-day in the rural India and as the new crop season has commenced, a very gloomy outlook faces the agriculturists. Prices of agricultural commodities are going down day after day, and it is not known whether they have seen the worst yet. As it is, the loss is great and no agriculturist can bear it. In Canada there are powerful organisations with huge financial resources which have been and are still trying to check in the interests of the farmers, the fall in the prices of wheat by controlling the movement and sale of wheat crops. They have the support of their respective Provincial Governments which are always influenced in their actions and deliberations by the Farmers Party which is comprised of the representatives of the farmers whose interests they safeguard when they are threatened either by internal disorders in which case prompt and adequate relief is given to them or by foreign competition in which case tariff walls are raised against foreign commodities. Not only that. The farmers receive on the security of their crops advances from these financial organizations which corner the produce immediately or hold it back for several months until the prices are favourable.

In the U. S. A. the policy and the operations of the Farm Board inaugurated by President Hoover with the sole object of helping agriculturists in all possible ways, are well known to the students of economics. The Government of Egypt handled cotton, a commodity in which that country has a sound position. It is only a few days ago that an announcement was made of their intentions to take steps to restrict cotton for the next three years to 40 per cent. In addition, the Government have utilized a considerable portion of their reserves for buying cotton from the market on occasions of bumper harvests or when prices are ruling at uneconomical rates.

But in India the agricultural industry is wholly unorganised and there are no agencies which can combat the tendency in the fall of prices. Even in ordinary times the Indian cultivators have to sell their produce as quickly as they can after the crops are harvested so that they may meet the rent demands. The payment of revenue instalments is so timed that it almost synchronizes with the reaping and gathering of the harvest. The result is that the agriculturists often obtain the lowest price for their produce. They are in a hurry to sell and the advantage is taken of their pressing need by the grain-dealers. This is the existing state of affairs in India. This even in normal times is highly objectionable and when the prices are falling all round day by day and no relief is in view, the exploitation of the helpless cultivator by the grain-dealers and the money-lenders who are growing fat at their expense, is increasing manifold.

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Paddy and the Agricultural Prosperity of the Country

Mr. G. R. Hilson, Director of Agriculture of the Government of Madras, makes a study of the position of paddy in the economic welfare of the country in *The Madras Agricultural Journal*. After reviewing the position of paddy cultivation in Madras Mr. Hilson says :

Now if we have reached a position like this where we are as it were balanced on a knife edge with one year a net import of 100,000 tons and, the next year, a small net export, we shall be wise to take stock of the position and see what the future has in store for us. 100,000 tons of rice spread over 8,000,000 acres is equivalent to an average increase of 50 lbs. of paddy, a mere flea-bite. If all the swamp paddy crops or a large proportion of them were got in early and the season was average, this increase would be easily surpassed. If to this possibility is added the efforts the Agricultural Department is making successfully to reduce the seed-rate, to encourage the spread of the practice of growing green-manure crops for use in conjunction with phosphatic manures and to increase the acreage under heavier yielding strains, it must be admitted that the time is in sight when the normal position will be that there is a considerable net export. Add to this that wheat is coming into favour as a substitute for rice among the educated classes, thereby reducing the demand for rice and adding to that a substantial increase in acreage and very soon a good season will land us into the same plight as the jute-growers in Bengal. For the line we are following is the line that all the other paddy-growing countries in the world are following. They are all strong to increase the average yield per acre and the total acreage, especially those countries which do not at present produce enough paddy for their own needs. The outlook for the future does not look very promising or those who are hoping for a rise in prices.

Now look where we are drifting and look at the position we are in as regards other matters. With propely regulated supply of water to be used to eke out rainfall or as a stand-by, we have ideal conditions for producing sugar, fruit, vegetable oils, fibres, cotton, milk and milk products, eggs and vegetables. Look at this list and the things we import and you will arrive at the conclusion that the cultivator of this Presidency would be wiser to try and capture his home market and to produce raw materials which other countries are less favourably placed for providing than to drift into—aim is too definite a word—becoming the importunate seller of rice to an unwilling buyer. If, further, it is remembered that some of the articles on this list form the raw

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materials of industries which already exist and could expand or of industries which could be established and which would provide more employment for the people of the country than is the case with paddy then this conclusion is the more inevitable.

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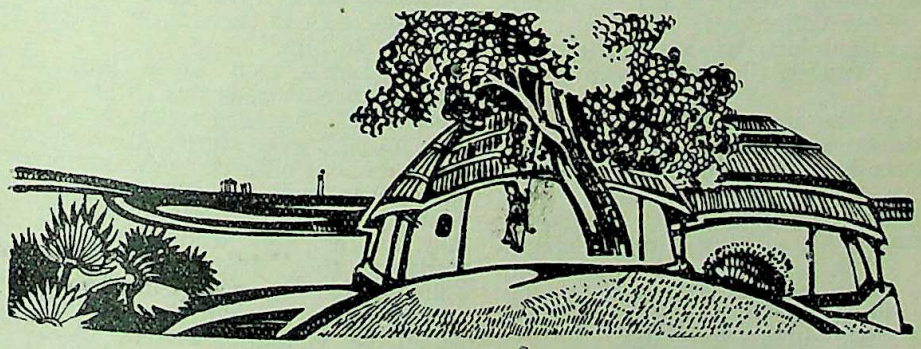
Legislation in India

The editor of *The Myore Economic Journal* draws attention to some aspect of legislation in India *a propos* of a review of a recent book on the economic problem by R. G. Hawtrey :

"To be useful, legislation must be adapted to the minds of the people to whom it is to be applied. It is one of the functions of civilization to familiarize people with the possibility of legislative modification of the institutions under which they live, so that reforms or changes which would otherwise be un-enforceable may be brought within the scope of practical politics." How true that is will be evident from the recent history of India, where legislation has not been keeping pace with either social needs or political aspirations. The Benthamite theory that all law has its source in Legislation, though long exploded, still pervades English theory and the enforcement of penal laws without regard to times, circumstances, advance in the viewpoints of communities, etc., has done great injury to the body politic in India. Legislature that does not quickly function and bridge the gulf that at any time exists between society and law is an anachronism and a misnomer. More than that it is a menace to the administration of justice, epecially where the Judiciary are not wholly independent of the Executive. In India that is the position to-day and it requires careful attention if law is not to be brought into contempt. The freedom in legislation which Mr. Hawtrey pleads for in growing political communities is what is surely needed in India and that is exactly what it is not getting. The constitution itself has to be changed if the legislature is to be widened ; that is the point we have reached in this country and it is perilously near a crisis and it will continue so, until those interested in its ultimate welfare open their eyes and realize the true situation. The British in India desire to keep their market. What should they do ? Should they allow the needful changes in the constitution or agitate to continue their grip on India and bar its progress ? Mr. Hawtrey suggests that the popular idea that you can acquire (or continue) your sovereignty over more and more territory in the belief that you can acquire property is an "illusion". "Sovereignty" is not "property", says Mr. Hawtrey ; for he adds, 'it comes with its important economic rights which are closely related to the rights of property." He explains the position in these words :—"If the sovereign power is to be used, not to promote the interests of the community in general, but to line the pockets of a limited number of people, who will have been very rich to start with, that in itself seems to be an abuse. If the State is to be involved in disputes arising out of the rival ambitions of different sets of exploiters, and such disputes are to lead on to war, surely nothing more than a public exposure is required for all those concerned in such events to be treated as criminals and enemies of the human race."



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Fathers and Sons

The relations of fathers and sons fall into two well-defined extremes: the sons either run for the blood of their parents or meekly follow in their footsteps. The junior Mr. Churchill's respect for his die-hard father's conservative tenets has prompted *The Times* to come out with a leader on "Fathers and Sons." As *The Literary Digest* says:

While Mr. Churchill's youth has aroused much comment, even more has been devoted to the fact that he holds his father's well-known conservative views. *The Times*, which discourses wittily of "Fathers and sons," and whether it is well for one to follow in the other's footsteps, remarks, perhaps in irony, that "this is an exception that is almost an anomaly." Conceding that the children of some well-known British conservatives have exprest other political faiths, *The Times* holds that many more young people agree with their elders. Their cases this journal tells us, are "like the pay-rolls that do not get held up by bandits, the marriages that do not land in the divorce courts, the aviation flights that do not crash." Reading on:

There is more joy in the head-lines over the one son or daughter who secedes from father's political and economic views than over the ninety-nine young people who ask Dad because he knows.

Mr. Lloyd George's son Gwilym and his daughter Megan are both in Parliament as Liberals.

Ishbel MacDonald has not been heard to utter harsh remarks about her father.

Young Randolph Churchill, as we have seen thinks the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill is a little bit of all right.

Robert M. La Follette is not the Democratic Senator from Wisconsin and Philip La Follette will not be the next Socialist Governor of that interesting State.

Five thousand young Kellys of the Manhattan Keilys, 10,000 young Cohens of the Bronx Cohens, several thousand young Johnsons of the North Dakota Johnsons, and several thousand young Fairfaxes of the Virginia Fairfaxes will vote next month precisely as their fathers do or did.

It is not a deplorable state of things that children should vote the Demopublican ticket just because their fathers voted that way? And ought not something to be done about it? The answer in both cases is in the negative. It is not deplorable, and there is little that can be done about it. At least, that is what science suggests.

Science suggests that a man's nature and so his views and actions are determined either by heredity or environment. Now, children bear a strong hereditary resemblance to their parents. They also as a rule grow up in the same environment as their parents. They frequently follow the same occupation as their parents. They have the same economic interests as their parents. Therefore, it is proper that they vote as their parents do.

—

Mr. Sinclair Lewis on the American Academy

On the occasion of his accepting the Nobel Prize for literature, Mr. Sinclair Lewis delivered a trenchant attack on the American Academy. Whatever the defects of this solemn literary body, it is not Mr. Sinclair Lewis, who, according to *The New Republic*, has correctly diagnosed them:

Sinclair Lewis has the engaging habit of saying what he thinks, whether before a men's Bible class in Kansas City or before the Swedish Academy. Mr. Lewis is also a red-hot patriot and conservative at heart: this is the explanation of why, in his speech accepting the Nobel Prize, he so bitterly attacked the American Academy. He doesn't really want to abolish that dusty institution, or hang its members by their long white beards, or set up a soviet composed of the writers who contribute to *The American Mercury*: all he really wants is to reform the Academy by having it include the novelists, poets and critics he admires—among others Mencken, Nathan, Hergesheimer, Bromfield, Sandburg, Masters, Fannie Hurst, James Branch Cabell and Vachel Lindsay. He wants the Academy to be an institution to which the American artist "can turn for inspiration, whose criticism he can accept or whose praise may be precious to him."

Mr. Lewis is a swell guy and all that: his emotions are as generous as his hair is red, but as a critic of the American Academy, he's not so hot; he isn't even warm. An academy has several functions, but offering precious praise or criticism to younger writers is one of the least important. Young writers are praised enough already, and if they are the sort who accept criticism from any academy, they aren't the sort worth criticizing. Fundamentally an academy should be a group of older writers existing as an organization against which the younger writers can intelligently and fruitfully rebel. The American Academy is too meaningless to perform this function, but the reason for this is not the one that Mr. Lewis assigns. In the past, the Academy has not been unfriendly to new talents: on the contrary, it has been entirely too receptive. It has elected many of its members before they had really proved their character as men and authors—before they had proved anything, in fact, except their ability to produce two or three books which were enthusiastically praised by the newspapers. By being less eager to please the public, the Academy would have made fewer mistakes.

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The mortality of talent is high in America; the mortality among academicians is very low indeed. Many of them would be dead on their feet, if they ever stood on their feet; but the same can be said for many of the younger writers with whom Mr. Lewis would like to replace them. The remedy for the present situation of the Academy is not to be even more receptive than in the past: it lies in the opposite course of being more dilatory, dignified and snobbish.

—

Is the British Empire in Decadence ?

Pierre Daye, a noted Belgian political writer, asks the question in an article contributed to *Le Flambeau*, one of the outstanding monthly magazines of Belgium, and tries to answer it as dispassionately as he can. Incidentally he draws attention to the wonderful plasticity of the political temperament of the British people, which enables them to look upon the present disquieting economic and political symptoms without too much anxiety and is one of the most valuable factors of the survival of a nation. The following extracts from this very interesting article are quoted from the abridgement which appeared in *The International Digest*.

At the death of Queen Victoria, Great Britain had reached the pinnacle of her power and of her prosperity. Decades passed. George V succeeded Edward VII and the world war came. Can the theory be advanced that there has been a decline since the death of Victoria ? Perhaps not. But there is at least a radical change; ideas have been upset by facts. And it transpires that she who about 1900 was the pre-eminent nation is now no longer so. For time has brought economic crises, evidences of disintegration within the Empire, and an obvious decrease of power by association with the United States. It is a strange illusion of the human spirit that it believes that it is possible, in the political or economic order, to arrive at a definite status, more or less perfect, and then to retain this status unalterably through the centuries.

The great strength of the English people is their opportunism. They have certain basic principles, and they depend upon tradition to procure for them the illusion of continuity. But, for the rest, they apply themselves to problems of the day without any preconceived ideas and without a rigid system, vicissitudes of national life never upset them. ..

Dean Inge of St. Paul, in a recent book widely circulated in England, declares that the Golden Age of Britain has passed and that the future belongs to countries like the United States, Russia, Brazil, the Argentine, Canada, and Australia, a great part of whose lands is still unoccupied, and whose natural wealth has not been greatly exploited. The population of these countries, he says, will consequently be able to increase without danger, whereas the crisis in England is caused by the great population for the limited extent of territory. "The history of Holland and of Spain," philosophically writes this author, "shows that the small countries have their day of glory, and that they then take the true position to which their limited area assigns them."

And again in the same book: "The future will belong to the countries of vast extent. England is as limited in proportion to the great populations of Asia and of America as was Holland in the Europe of the 17th century. We have attained, and often exceeded, our maximum figure of population. Any new increase could only be a source of uneasiness. On the other hand, the American regions are still open and Eastern Europe has not yet reached its capacity. We are no longer invulnerable on our Island, and the control of the seas will undoubtedly be of much less importance in the future than in the past. In our competition with America, the great security which she enjoys would alone suffice to assure for her a decisive advantage. It appears that the combination of circumstances which made possible our rôle of a World Power (and of which our countrymen took advantage with admirable energy and skill) will not continue much longer. This prospect is certainly a disagreeable one for a patriot. But we can consider with pleasure the Dominions which are developing into great and powerful nations, speaking our language and cherishing our traditions. It is doubtful if these nations will be very desirous of contributing to the strengthening of the position of the Mother Country in Europe, but from the racial point of view, the future presents itself for Anglo-Saxons in a much more favourable light than for any other nation."

I have reproduced this disillusioned and frank judgment of an educated Englishman, for these statements could not have been made with such freedom by a foreigner.

Take an atlas. You will see this: the extent of the British Empire alone represents more than one quarter of the inhabited area of the globe. Its 450,000,000 people of the most diverse races constitute more than a quarter of the total population of the world. Now look at the western extremity of Europe, at that little red spot. Is it not marvellous, the initiative of the minute little Isle, so poor in itself, which has been able to spread its children through the world, which extends its possessions through all continents, and which can now envisage as recompense the time when the most powerful nations of the future will speak its language and will grow in the memory of its culture and of its traditions ?

I have met Englishmen under the most diverse circumstances and I have never found them in the least concerned about the prospect which presents itself. Undoubtedly there will be a change. But their confidence in themselves remains absolute. This complete assurance, this certainty of triumphing over obstacles, this aspiration towards the future while seeking support in tradition—here are some of the virtues which make a nation great.

The Empire will soon no longer be an Empire will no longer even be a Federation. It will simply be a combine of industrial and commercial agreements. It will constitute a sort of League of Nations, a particular League of Nations of the English language—the United States of America not included.

England herself, however, will always retain

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an eminent position if she can succeed in maintaining the leading rôle of the Port of London—if that port can continue to be the great market, the bank, the credit reservoir, the storehouse of the innumerable products which are unceasingly brought to it from all corners of the earth.

—

Clemenceau, the Rebel and Despot

The personality of Clemenceau exercises a strong fascination over French writers, one of whom, the famous "Pertinax" (André Géraud) of the *Echo de Paris* gives an estimate of his character in *Current History*.

Men, says M. Géraud, can be classified in three categories: the docile herd which follows, the judicious few who accept something and reject the rest, and the intractable beings who assert their individuality even at the risk of becoming involved in all kinds of contradictions, and resolutely set their face against an idea simply because it originated in the mind of some one they dislike. To this last class belonged Georges Clemenceau, the war-time Premier of France:

Georges Clemenceau, it must be said, not only refused to be used as a horse by any of his fellow-creatures but was determined to have them indiscriminately harnessed, as so many horses, to him. Before everything else, he was a man of character and of strong temper. In fact, he pushed character and temper to extremities which are seldom seen.

Perhaps his egoism can be traced to his ancestry. He sprang from a family of petty squires deeply rooted in the soil of Véndée, a very honorable stock, close to the peasants and much loved by them while they exercised imperative leadership. Clemenceau was, by personal disposition, extraordinarily tyrannical. He never became entrammelled in any lasting bond of affection outside a very shall circle of friends. He clashed with his father, Dr. Benjamin Clemenceau, when, as a young student, he went to Paris in the '60s and was thrown into prison for a few days on account of political activities inimical to the imperial régime. His attachment to his American wife, Miss Mary Palmer, did not survive many years of conjugal experience. He is not known to have allowed any woman, despite the fact that women crowded his existence, ever to gain ascendency over him. He was obviously bored by his daughters, who made some pretence of being highly intellectual and politically minded. During the war he ordered them to the countryside in his most abrupt manner.

As to Clemenceau's political family, the men who fought by his side in Parliament and journalism, his contempt for them was unbounded. When he formed his first Cabinet in 1906 he gave ridiculous nicknames to his Ministers. General Picquart, in charge of the War Office, was dubbed "Polin," the name of a vaudeville performer who always wore a soldier's cap on the stage; old Millies Lacroix, the Colonial Minister, was "the Negro," while Caillaux and Barthou were "the kids."...

In the Autumn of 1917 he recruited his Cabinet, the Cabinet of victory, hurriedly, paying hardly any attention to the intrinsic value of the men. Thus, he was responsible for the appointment as Finance Minister of L. L. Klotz, who in July, 1929, was sent to jail for forgery and fraud. Clemenceau was never so happy as when he succeeded in placing one of the great leaders of the period in a ridiculous light. Hardly anybody escaped his biting wit. Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George, Poincaré, Foch—none was fortunate enough to be spared. With Lloyd George he nearly came to blows. When Foch was made Generalissimo of the allied armies at the most tragic hour of the war, Clemenceau shouted at him sardonically: "At last you have got your paper and I am sure you feel very happy." At the end of the war he was no longer on speaking terms with Poincaré, then President, and did not even trouble to answer his admonitory letters. Needless to say, he felt only the deepest contempt for Briand. "I'd rather have that sort of creature in satin shoes that in men's boots!" he once declared. A few days before his death, Clemenceau said to Barrère, the illustrious former Ambassador of France in Rome: "When they shoot him at Vincennes, you will act there as my representative!" Truly, it was not surprising that Georges Clemenceau passed everywhere under the name of "The Tiger." He cared for very few people, and knaves and slaves surrounded him. His moral solitude must have been terrible....

Clemenceau had in him the stuff of a medieval tyrant—notwithstanding all his professed devotion to parliamentary freedom and government by the people. More accurately, he was unwittingly fascinated by the Nietzschean ideal. He was a law unto himself alone. In other words, he placed himself above all ordinary laws and regulations. The words Corneille puts into the mouth of Cinna could have been used by him at any moment:

> And since the heavenly power admits we
> are uncommon souls,
> Outside the common order of things, he
> sets forth our destiny.

—

Militant Pacifism

The World Tomorrow publishes an extract from the address delivered before the New History Society, New York on December 14, 1930, in which Prof. Albert Einstein, the distinguished scientist, pleaded for giving a more energetic turn to the propaganda for peace. There is a close resemblance between the measures he suggests and the programme of civil disobedience in India.

When pacifists come together they usually have the feeling that they are the sheep and the wolves are outside. The trouble is that pacifists generally convert only their own groups - that is to say, those who are already convinced. They make no effort to go afield and convert others. Serious-minded pacifists should try actually to do something inserted of contenting themselves with idle dreams or merely talking

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about their pacifism. Our next step is to act—to *do something*. We must realize that when war comes, everyone considers it his duty to commit a crime—the crime of killing. People must be made to understand the immorality of war. They must do everything in their power to disentangle themselves from this antiquated, barbarous institution and to free themselves from the shackles of slavery.

For this I have two suggestions. One of them has already been tried and found practical. It is the refusal to engage in war service of any kind under any circumstances. Even at the risk of great personal sacrifice and hardship all who wish to do something concrete toward world pacification must refuse war service. Pacifists who mean what they say should adopt this position in time of peace even in countries where there is compulsory military service. In other countries, where there is no such service, pacifists should declare openly that they will never bear arms or take part in any military service whatsoever. I advise the recruiting of people for the idea all over the world. And for the timid one who say, "What is the use of our trying, we are so few in number," my answer is: "If you can get only two per cent, of the population of world to assert in time of peace that they will not fight, you will have the solution for international troubles." Eeven so small a proportion as two per cent will accomplish the desired result, for they could not be put in jail. There are not enough jails in the world to accomodate them.

The second suggestion I offer appears less illegal. International legislation should be attuned to the idea that those who declare themselves against war should, in time of peace, be allowed to take up some kind of difficult or even dangerous work either for their country or for the international benefit of mankind. In this way they can prove that their opposition to war is not prompted by selfish or cowardly motives.

I feel confident that whoever adopts this programme will eventually succeed in establishing international legislation either by legal or other methods. I advise all war resisters to organize and to internationalize: I also advise them to collect money so that they may reinforce war resisters in other countries who have no means with which to carry on their work. Let all those who wish to promote pacifism, who have the courage to suffer, devote their energy to the initation of these activities and stand firm so that the whole world may see and respect them for what they are doing.

—

Colonel Lawrence Again

The following interesting note about the recentest activities of the famous Colonel T. H. Lawrence appears in the *Unity*:

The unexpected appearance of the name of Col. T. H. Lawrence in the trial of the eight treasonable engineers in Moscow shows clearly the real character of this amazing Englishman. Ever since his Arabian exploits in the Great War Lawrence has been the object of fascinating mystery and fulsome adulation. But time has passed, and the mystery has begun to wear thin and the adulation to turn sour. This Moscow revelation would seem to tear away the last rag of romance from one of the shoddiest heroes that the Great War produced. For Lawrence is not a hero at all. He postures and poses like a hero—he puts on disguises, hides away, appears again, like some Arabian Night's demigod—he lives in a legend, carefully created and cultivated by himself, which is one of the sagas of modern times. But at bottom he is nothing more nor less than a professional trouble-maker, infinitely useful to the British Crown. The mystery and the romance are only part of the game! Lawrence began his work in Arabia, where in the interest of England in the Great War he aroused the Arabs against their Turkish overlords, and incidentally made promises on behalf of the Empire which are the basis of most of the woe which has befallen Palestine during the last decade. After the War, Lawrence made one of his dramatic disappearances. But report soon found him in India, living under an assumed name, and of course, leading in the work of sowing dissension among the Indians and fomenting outbreaks among the Afghans, to the greater power of the Empire in these stolen lands. Now he bobs up in Russia, still engaged in the disreputable business of making trouble. There is, of course, widespread suspicion of the validity of the testimony in the great treason trial in Moscow, and feverish denials have been made by all the governments and many of the persons incriminated. To us, the stories seem in the highest degree fantastic. But Col. Lawrence's name gives instant credibility to the whole affair.

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Clothes and Men

The publication of a new book on the psychology of clothes leads the editor of *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* to muse on the relations of men to clothes or rather of clothes to men. There was a time, the editor says, when people were not only supposed to be clothed, but were not supposed to have bodies under the clothes. Throughout the nineteenth century ladies could not confess to the possession of legs. But, continues the editor:

Changes in fashion and a tendency to question all conventions, with a strong predisposition to a denial of their validity have led to a general consideration of the whole theory and practice of dressing, and to a quite frank discussion of the need for clothes and their function in society. Mr. Veblen, in his curious jargon, dealt with dress so far as it illustrated the "theory of conspicuous waste" which he associated with the dignity of the leisured class, and Dr. Fluegel on this aspect of the matter says, "One woman can humiliate another to the point of lasting embitterment by being more effectively or fashionably dressed upon some important occasion." Besides his contribution to the Sexual Reform Congress, Dr. Fluegel has made a full-length study of the subject which contains some very interesting observations. It is curious that, though clothes are, in the modern world, almost synonymous with decency, and are closely associated with the taboo on verbal reference to

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sexual maters, they are invariably used to eccentuate the fact of sex, and only a few years ago if a woman appeared in a costume which might lead to her being mistaken, at first glance, for a man, he was liable to be mobbed by the upholders of the theory that there was something objectionable in any reference to sex. Such are the strange inconsistencies of the human animal—inconsistencies which make the psychology of dress an interesting and possibly valuable study.···Dr. Fluegel describes the unsuccessful war that the Church has carried on against elaboration in dress. In the early days, of course, there was the aspect of Chritianity as a religion in which the poor clung together and had all things in common, resulting, as they grew more powerful, in arousing the hostility of the wealthy and splendid, and in the Christian regarding all their enemies' manifestations as sinful. But when churchmen themselves became luxurious, and at certain periods had notoriously an eye for a pretty woman, the religious taboo on dress faded away. But it was not only pretty women who decorated themselves. There must have been some fierce connubial arguments as to whether the single spendid plume that the family purse could afford should be worn by the husband or the wife, but there was no realistic novelists in those days to record for us the things taken for granted then, which we should have found so interesting to-day. But this sort of competition came to an end as the nineteenth century dawned.

At about that time there occurred one of the most remarkable events in the whole history of dress, one under the influence of which we are still living, one moreover which has, on the whole, attracted far less attention than it deserves: men gave up their right to all the brighter, gayer, more elaborate and more varied forms of ornamentation, leaving these entirely to the use of women. Sartorially we are surely justified in calling this event the Great Masculine Renunciation.

But Dr. Fluegel seems to miss one point in this renunciation. We are often told how, in one of the official panics in Japan, when "luxurious tendencies" got on the nerves of the bureaucracy, and strict sumptuary laws were made, the æsthetic sense devoted itself to the wresting of elegance from plainness, and how a glimpse of a brilliant lining gave a hint of luxury more effectively than if the whole costume were ostentatiously coloured. Some thing of the same sort happened to the European male after the Great Renunciation, and many a soberly clad man considers the shape and colour of a necktie with the same care as Wellington mapped out the campaign in the Peninsula.

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When India Unites !

This is the heading under which *The Christian Register* of America publishes the following note on the Indian situation :

H. N. Brailsford is an eminent English journalist now travelling and writing in India. His article in *The New Republic* for December 10 is good to read along with the daily reports from the Indian Round Table Conference in London, which, we say again, is the most important news in the world. Speaking of the official behaviour of Britain, which has put in prison over there six thousand political offenders, every one of who ought to be set free, Mr. Brailsford says : "I w not argue that our conduct is shameful ; I w take the lower ground that it does not work. does not work because Indian society is based a caste organization which has its own means maintaining solidarity."

In witness of this truth, please read in to-day "Sentiments" the story of a Brahmin prince, Indian knight, and a Hindu untouchable sitti at meat together in London. This is to our b knowledge the first time in the history of Ind that such a symbol of racial solidarity, if not unity, has occurred. It would not be so if Brit rule had been unbrutal. Blood now runs through a single heart in India. The reason that every member of the Indian body is violat Each member speaks in London and says t same thing as all the others. Even the Mosle is becoming brother to the Hindu. Witness t word in London of a spokesman for the form Maulana Muhammad Ali, addressing himself British authority, says :

"The Hindu-Moslem problem is no problem a all. The fact is that the Hindu-Moslem difficult like the arms difficulty, is of your own creatio But not altogether. It is the old question divided rule. We are divided, and you rule. T moment we decide not to be divided, you w not be able to rule.

"The only quarrel between the Hindus and th Moslems to-day is a quarrel that the Moslem afraid of Hindu domination. I want to get rid that fear. The very fact that Hindus and Moslem are quarrelling to-day shows that they will n stand British domination for one single minut British domination is doomed over India. Ev if British domination is doomed—and it must b killed here—do not let us kill British friendship!"

—

China Studies Japan

In an editorial note, *The Japan Magazine* informs us how China is going to imitate Japan :

It has long been a matter of wonder to foreigners, especially to Japanese, why China does not take a leaf out of Japan's book in regard to modernizing the nation and seeking to ensure prosperity. It is, therefore, encouraging, says the *Jiji Simpo*, to notice that the Chinese are at last beginning to take a practical interest in things Japanese, and now translations from Japanese literature find increasing sales in China. A new magazine has recently appeared for the purpose of making Japan better known in China, being published by the Chinese Culture Association. This association has been in existence since 1916, but in the early days of its history membership was confined largely to those who had already studied Japan. As a matter of fact, many Chinese leaders have been studying Japan for fifty years or more. But their study has been too academic or superficial to have any practical effect on the general progress of China. A book on Japan was written by Mr. Ho, first Chinese Minister to Japan, many years ago, but it dealt mainly with poetic and emotional aspect of

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Japanese civilization and literature. He dealt later with the material progress of Japan, and suggested that the future of his country depended on her modeling herself after the example of Japan. The *Jiji* suggests that the Japanese Government might do more than is being now done to encourage a better knowledge of things Japanese among the people of China. We agree with the *Jiji* that a better knowledge of Japan might help the Chinese in bringing about the reforms necessary to the future stability of China. But it must not be forgotten that the destiny of nations is mainly dependent on their ethical ideals. History teaches that unless conceptions of character and conduct are sound, there can be no sound development. The material ultimately depends on the moral and spiritual outlook of a people. As nations think, so they are, and so they will be. A sound education is vital to national success.

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An Hour with Remarque

M. Frédéric Lefèvre of the *Nouvelles Littéraires* is the first journalist who has ever given an account of a conversation with Erich Maria Remarque, the famous author of *All Quiet on the Western Front*. "And what," M. Lefèvre asked, "is the central problem that underlies *All Quiet on the Western Front*?" Remarque replied:

'I never had any intention of writing a war book. The very eve of the day I started to write I was not dreaming of any such thing. And then the next morning it was raining. I could not go out. I remained indoors, reflecting, asking why, in spite of the fact that my health was good, my material life well assured, and everything going satisfactorily, I was nevertheless unhappy. I had the impression of being shut off, separated, amputated from some mystery I cannot define. Why was I alone, alone? I don't know how long I kept asking myself why I was in this condition.

'I slowly sought back in my mind, and my memory led me to the time of the War and I realized that during the War I was not alone, I had comrades. Yet of all the comrades I loved during the War none had the same spirit, the same culture as I, yet they were my comrades and I loved them. I had the feeling of being profoundly attached to these men and this feeling did not rest in any way on intellectual values shared in common. And then, as I reflected on the comradeship created by the War, on that communion of spirit that is not based on intellectuality, I came to the conviction that if I should meet the two or three comrades of that period who have survived I should still feel as close to them as during the carnage, whereas nothing could attach me to them if I were to meet them for the first time to-day.

'When all that became clearly fixed in my mind I wanted to probe still deeper by writing. Therefore, it was not inspiration that came to me, for I do not believe in literary inspiration. If I was able to think back with a certain tenderness on what my life had been during the War, explain it by the fact that I was only seventeen and a half when I was mobilized. What a moving age! What does one think about at seventeen? One is beginning to read and beginning to discover music. For my part, I was dreaming that I should become a composer, and behold, I found myself thrown into barracks and then, a few weeks later I was sent to the front. All my life had changed the moment when I began to organize it freely in accordance with my dreams. And then, suddenly, no more books, no more music, no more spiritual evasions. The roar of cannon and the groans of men in anguish. I became filled with the idea that the course of my life had been profoundly changed and that my development was going to follow a direction different from what I had dreamed.

'At that time I was brimming over with enthusiasm and animated, as all young Germans were, by a great feeling of patriotism. We were all convinced, all we kids of seventeen, that we were fighting for the salvation of the world and the salvation of civilization. I am now quite convinced that young Englishmen and young Frenchmen thought the same thing. But afterward, afterward! The War was too terrible and too long for me not to learn to think otherwise. After it was over I saw all its hideousness, but there was one thing I could not accept.

'I saw my best friend lying in the mud, his abdomen torn open. That is what was really insupportable and incomprehensible, and what is no less incomprehensible is that it required so many post-war years and so much reflection for me to realize the full atrocity of these occurrences. At the time of the fighting, I was struggling between two sentiments that I considered equally intangible. War appealed to me as a necessity for saving culture; but, on the other hand, I thought that nothing was worth the death of so many million men. It was this latter conviction that carried the day and I still hold to it.

'If, from time to time, certain people in Germany accuse me of treason, it is because it is difficult to admit that one can love one's country and at the same time believe that war is not an excellent means of assuring human progress.'

'My dear Lefèvre,' Hirth broke in, 'to understand Remarque fully, remember that he was born in Osnabruck, Westphalia, and that Westphalia ...'

Remarque interrupted him with a smile.

'Yes, my dear Hirth, I know what you are going to say, Westphalia is populated by peaceful creatures, ponderous, well balanced, who reflect about everything they do and who have wisely arrived at the conviction that one can love all humanity and work with all one's strength for reciprocal understanding among nations, yet love one's own nation above all others.'

—

Puritanism in America

A French journalist gives an account of the domination of the puritan idea in America, which is reproduced in *The Living Age*:

The visitor will soon discover the influence of puritanical ideas in American life in the precautions the country has taken to avoid illicit

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contacts between the two sexes. Indulgence in carnal sin is almost an obsession and the United States makes war on it to such an extent that the practice of free love has become a kind of contraband as serious as contraband alcohol. The cinemas and theatres have separate smoking rooms for the two sexes and between the acts of the Ziegfeld Follies, a spectacle that does not incite to virtue. I was the cause of a scandal because I sat down without knowing it in the ladies' smoking room. I had to explain myself and was not allowed to depart in peace until it was understood that I was a foreigner.

The attempts at separation are not made to protect the women from the assaults of the stronger sex, for the American rarely dares to make the acquaintance of a girl he does not know. Never accost a woman in the street, even in New York, for you will run the risk of falling into the hands of the defenders of Puritan morality, who will give you a beating, as indeed, happened to one of my own friends. As for women, they are quite independent and have become the social equals of the 'tired business man,' as they contemptuously call him, a condition that goes far toward diminishing the sentimental importance of the sexual act, especially in metropolitan society. One makes love after the eighth cocktail and the next day the woman who has succumbed no longer recognizes her lover, for alcohol is the drug that allows Americans to escape from the code that education has imposed on them and delivers them up uncontrolled to the sexual obsessions that their repressed puritan imaginations have developed. Although the police enforce public morality, theatrical productions spread libidinous ideas and arouse the morbid excitement of the crowd. The expression, 'sex appeal,' is so thoroughly American that the French equivalent does not begin to express the same anxieties and unsatisfied desires.

—

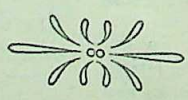
Freud

The following estimate of Sigmund Freud appears in the *Adelphi*, the London literary monthly :

Freud is the Darwin of our day—the patient, studious lover of knowledge who in the course of his vocation found what seemed to him an important clue to the understanding of his own species, and who pursued that clue with tenacity of purpose until he discovered certain facts about the nature of man which his fellows have, slowly and reluctantly for the most part, been compelled to acknowledge as incontrovertible. Both Darwin and Freud dug about the roots of human nature, Darwin in the field of biology, Freud in the more fibrous soil of psychology. Both met with violent opposition, chiefly from those whose interests lay in other than scientific directions. The names of both will be recorded with those of Descartes, Galileo, Newton, and Einstein among the great benefactors of the human race. Both have been followed by disciples whose willingness to apply theories held tentatively by the great men themselves has outurn all discretion. As 'Christian' has come to stand for something in the popular mind very far from the simple and tremendous teaching of Christ, so 'Darwinian' and 'Freudian' stand, for the man in the street to-day, for something Darwin and Freud would have difficulty in recognizing.

Freud is the man of his time who most essentially belongs to that time. In an age of disintegration, he is the great disintegrator ; the great analyst in the age of analytics. It is for this reason that he receives so small a measure of justice at the hands of his contemporaries ; for we dislike those who are capable of taking us to pieces. Apart from the comparatively small number of people who regard Freud with veneration amounting to worship, he is probably the best hated man now living. The prophet of instinct, he is hated instinctively. Freud is believed to have desecrated the last remaining sanctuary of man's secret and mysterious holiness. He has insulted with the name of incest what was believed to be the most beautiful of all expressions of feeling—the love of a child for its parent. He has substituted for the sacred word that was synonymous with Deity the hideous, atavistic synonym, 'libido.' He has invaded the shadowy, moonbeam country of dreams, which was the traditional land of heart's desire, and shown it to be a cave of lust and rapacity.

Small wonder Freud is instinctively hated. Love is the most spontaneous emotion of which we are capable ; it is more natural and comes quicker than hate, being the primary instinct upon which all life depends. Of this instantaneous emotion Freud has made a slow-motion picture designed to show the victim the mechanics of something more native to him than his own breath, more integral to his nature than the motions of his blood. More than this, Freud has evolved a technique whereby this emotion can be artificially produced and brought into play, a technique, moreover, that is an essential part of what, by a gross misuse of terms, has been called the science of psychoanalysis. The artificial stimulation of affection in the patient for the analyst is technically, I believe, called 'transference.' Transference is love, and there is a lot of artificially created transference now in the world, adhering to singularly unsuitable recipients of it, which both analyst and patient would fain be rid of ; but they cannot. Small wonder Freud is not universally acclaimed. It is an easy business nowadays to make our houses habitations for those seven devils that are worse than the first.



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Persian Womanhood

By SATINDRA MOHAN CHATTERJEE

THE cultural history of Persia forms an important chapter in the history of the civilizations of the world. So far as the prehistoric records can be traced, the earliest corporate body of the Iranians was founded by Zoroaster, the first prophet of the Aryans. Rules regarding a harmonious development of society was laid down by him, and these were of an immensely high order.

The elevated condition of the society, under the Achæmanian rule, which can roughly be calculated to have begun at about 550 B. C., was based on the principles of the great prophet. Then came the Macedonian knight with the ambition of an eastern empire and conquered the country *en route* to India. But the Hellenic culture was not able to bury the Iranian heritage under its own principles, and a revival was nothing but natural with the rise of the Sassanian house, who ruled until the advent of the Semitic power under the banner of Islam, which took place early in the 7th century A. D.

Both in the Achæmanian and the succeeding periods, the position of women in Persian society was exactly what it can be imagined to be by any modernist. They were held in respect and were absolutely equal in rank with the men. Such equality of sexes resulted from the free circulation of ideas, which had its source in education. Sanctity of marriage was recognized and the structure of the social organization was in every way compatible with the ideas of this golden age.

But with Semitic rule, the equilibrium was totally upset. The new social order, in trying to re-adjust the equilibrium, imposed numerous injunctions of the new belief, which were to be obeyed under the seal of the crown on the Persian people. These injunctions were so foreign to the pre-existing tenets that no adjustment was possible and the old order had to give way to the new. The result was that the womanhood of the country wepped in agony, under fetters of abominable restrictions, in blind dungeons, and for centuries to come.

Of the numerous injunctions which the Semitic people brought in to the new social code, three were particularly pernicious to the womanhood of Persia. The idea of a social order, based on the equality of sexes, was as foreign to them as the tune of the harp is to a man who is deaf. Consequently, though they trifled with women for sensual pleasure, yet a severe suspicion about their chastity was almost ingrained in their nature.

They inflicted the system of *purdah* and *borkha* only to safeguard their own sexual irregularities. Naturally enough, they could not look for any intellectual companionship in women and absolutely denied education to them. Even then, they were not satisfied with the position as regards the superiority of the men, and they thought it better to preserve the right of marrying four wives at a time. Of course, there is nothing objectionable if this was treated as a 'paper right,' but unfortunately it was claimed in practice by almost everybody and the rule itself was supported by the sanction of innumerable concubines and was facilitated by the easy system of divorce, in favour of the men.

"Anderoon" was the segregated portion in a Persian household meant for these wretched and mute toys who were to grow in years without any intellectual nourishment.

Bereft of any education, both cultural and linguistic, and shut out from any broader outlook upon life, the atmosphere of the "Anderoon" grew as suffocating and insipid as one can possibly imagine. The situation was rendered much worse by the fact that each of these dungeons contained all the co-wives and concubines of the same master. Accordingly, there existed a tragic competition among these wretched souls, to gain the favour of the master, and this again naturally led to vile intrigues and jealous enterprises, sometimes resulting in terrible crimes.

All their happiness and comfort varied proportionately with the favour they received from their masters and all their energies were spent in this direction. They had always to guard themselves against conditions which might

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bring them calamities. And as Mrs. Colliver Rice writes :

"In her words, she is a *purdahnasheen* or a sitter behind the curtain. If she proves intractable or fails to please her husband in her work and ways, if she loses her good looks or most serious offence of all, if she fails to present him with a son, she is threatened with divorce."*

But this is for the rich to whom women were objects of sensual pleasure. With the poor, she takes a platform midway between a human being and a beast. The idea that wives can best be utilized as work-mates in the field, without any wages to be paid to them, was responsible for endless polygamy with this section of the community, and the easy system of divorce too rendered it a thin-screened system of prostitution.

The system of *purdah* and *borkha* was more rigidly inflicted on the *elites* of the country than on the rural people. The *borkha* is used when the women-folk go out in the streets or elsewhere, and this is a black cloak covering the whole body, leaving only two small apertures for visual functions. When out in this cloak, they are absolutely unrecognizable and consequently have been very aptly designated as 'Les dames Fantomes' or 'Phantom Ladies.'

Only three out of each thousand, among even the *elites* had any linguistic knowledge, the rest, with the vast majority of the rural and nomadic people, were as dumb as cattles. The women-folk, as it seems, could not understand pure Persian but spoke a language, commonly known as *Dharee*. The daily routine of work was as monotonous as the counting of the stars, the only pause, was in an outside *fête*, or a journey, during which even she must have her *borkha* on to save her from the scorching looks of any would-be passer-by. Sometimes, they visited the *hammams* or the public baths, where they could lounge for hours together in gossip accompanied with tea and *sherbet*, but on the whole, they were only as free as any state prisoner. Wide trousers and flowing jackets were their usual dress. But an innovation was attempted by the Shah Nasir-ud-din, late in the 19th century, when he took fancy to the dress of the ballet-girls, in his European tour. The royal *harem* had to change into this new 'decollette,' and consequently this grew into a fashion. An outsider, however, was unable to trace under the veils, the ultra-modern clothes that were being worn !

The situation gradually grew worse and more rotten, more corrupt and more abominable and at a time, it seemed as if the conditions were beyond redemption. But a consistent revolt of the Persian womanhood had always been working, in early times, in *Sufism* and of late in *Bahaism*, the spirit in both of which is a tangential departure from the inertia that was paralyzing the whole nation in their religious and social activities. Some years back, Mrs. Colliver Rice, while speaking of the *Bahai* house, added : "In *Bahai* households, the relation between husband and wives are very different, the new cult believing in the equality of sexes. The whole family live together and receive their friends together and the atmosphere is very different from that of a Mohammedan house."*

Though *Bahaism* actually helped towards an advancement of the womanhood, all the groaning energies burst out in a volcanic eruption after the famous *Coup d'etat* of 1921, when Riza Shah Palhavi snatched away the throne from the Kajar Shah for himself. On the horizon, the new era dawned, and the "Persian Patriotic Women Society" could finally be established.

This society, which is now working on a more or less secure footing, owes its growth to the attempts of the progressists against the vehement opposition of the howling orthodox. Before tracing the origin and development of this society, which is a boon to the Persian womanhood, it is convenient to give an account of the aims and objects of its mission. These are six in all, as enumerated in a recent letter from the president and the secretary :

(i) Freedom of women ; the removal of the veils from their faces.

(ii) Establishment of their rights in social, civic and political spheres.

(iii) Abolition of marriage of girls under sixteen years of age.

(iv) Abolition of polygamy.

(v) Establishment of specific rules for realizing the dowry (in cash or kind) from the husband, in case of a divorce.

(vi) Free association among women, and establishment of their rights to carry on controversies with their opponents.

Each article of their mission, as we find here, is anti-Islamic and is a sweeping

* *Persian Women and their Ways*, p. 91.

* *Persian Women and their Ways*, p. 112.

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THE MEMBERS AND WORKERS OF THE PERSIAN PATRIOTIC WOMEN'S SOCIETY
Standing at the extreme left in the front row is Mastura Khanum, the President of the Society, while the fourth figure in the same row is that of Khanum Nurul Huda Mangna, the Secretary

revolt against the privation that Islam has inflicted on this section of the humanity.

Accordingly, the orthodox *mullahs* and their followers were at daggers drawn with everybody who professed these doctrines and they have hitherto devoted all their energies to extirpate such apostacy with the help of the Qajar Shah. In modern times, the pioneer in the field was Hazi Mirza Abul Kaseem Azad, who with his worthy wife, Khanum Shahanaj Azad, tried, early in 1916, to abolish the *purdah* system and organized an "women society," the first of its kind and from this "Coterie" published a small journal for women. But all this met with severe opposition from the people of different schools and the religious fanatics. The result was that the baby journal hardly lived for two years and a half

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and the organizer himself, with his followers, was expelled from Teheran and interned at Tabriz. Even in the face of such repeated internments, supplemented by painful tortures behind the prison bars, the undaunted zeal of this life-long worker persisted, and he is still contributing his quota to the welfare of the womanhood of Persia.

Among the friends of Hazi Mirza Azad, who remained in Teheran after him, Forrakddin took up the cause in right earnest with his wife Khanum Fokre Afaq. *Jahajana*, the small association of this group, too, could not withstand the attack of the fanatics, and eventually this group also was deported to the small town of Kum.

Just about nine years ago, a renewal of this effort was made by the late Lady Khanum Mahatab Khan Eskendari, who rallied a small group of modern women, and founded the present society of *Jamiat-i-Neswan Watu Khavah*. Fortunately enough, this society was the first one to survive the wrath of the *mullahs*. and the womanhood of Persia owes a tribute of gratitude to this venerable lady.

Nevertheless, she had none of a plain sailing. When passing through gardens and lanes, she was sometimes stoned at, abused in vile and obscene languages, and was several times interned by the Governmet in different places. But her sincere efforts were repaid—the small association survived and for its survival it owes no small measure of debt to Bahram Shah, the Prime Minister, who himself is an exponent of the emancipation of women and has diffused his ideas through his valuable writings.

After the death of Lady Eskendari, the next president, who ventured to face the odds for the cause, was Lady Masture Khanum Afshar, who still holds the office. This lady is an inhabitant of the province of Azarbaizan and had her education at different places outside the country. She, too, is an worthy successor of Lady Eskendari, and has devoted her life to the cause. Very recently, she has founded a school for girls and this is styled "Akabar Madrasa" or the "Great School." Here, the seeds of emancipation are sown among the students.

Under the patronage of Riza Shah Pahlavi, the Shah of Persia, this society is now developing a wide propaganda, and the Committee hopes to bring about a revolution in the condition of the Persian women in very near future. Among the other patrons of the society mention may be made of Asraf Timurtasi, a member of the Cabinet of the Shah, who himself has unveiled his young daughter. The 'Great School' has found a energetic patron in Mirza Zahed Khan Mahamudi, who is also a high Government official.

The Committee has since received very sincere and cordial response from differnt parts of Europe and will be very glad to be affiliated with any of the women's societies of India. In the Asiatic Conference of Women, held in January, 1931, the Committee sent one delegate, with a memorandum containing various resolutions to be moved there.*

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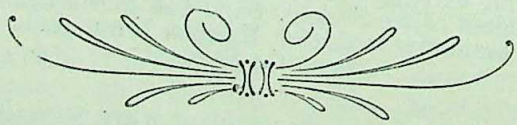
* For the illustration published with this article and for much of the information contained therein, I am indebted to the courtesy of the Persian Patriotic Women's Society.



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FINANCIAL NOTES

Future of Indian Finance

The fourteenth session of the Indian Economic Conference was held at Lahore in the first week of January, Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjea, M. A., D. SC., Minto Professor of Economics, Calcutta University, presided. Many subjects of current interest were discussed and eminent professors of different Indian universities contributed their thoughts on present and future financial problems of the country. In the presidential address Dr. Banerjea drew pointed attention to the future of Indian finance, a subject of special importance at the moment in view of the likely changes in the Indian constitution in the near future.

Time has now come, said Dr. Banerjea, when the anomalies and inconsistencies of the existing system should disappear and the finances of the entire country placed on a sound and satisfactory footing. The most essential need of the moment is the provision of adequate funds for the nation-building services. For this purpose, the re-adjustment will involve a re-allocation of the financial resources of the country between the Central and Provincial Governments.

The needs of the provinces seem to be almost unlimited. The failure of the Government to grapple properly with the financial problem can be traced only to their lack of touch with the sentiments and the desires of the people and the callous disregard of their vital interests. The supreme need in India is the improvement of the economic condition of the people, their agriculture and industries and their health and education. A sound financial system for India must, above all, make adequate provision, in other words, for what are known as the nation-building departments.

If the Provincial Governments are to fulfil their obligation properly, they will have to be placed in command of resources which will not only be substantial in the beginning but expansive in future. First of all, in this connection we must consider how far retrenchment is possible and desirable in the departments of the Central Government. If the best interests of the people are kept in view, it will not be impossible to adjust military finance in such a way as to secure an immediate saving of Rs. 10 crores and further savings amounting to another ten crores in course of ten years. There is room for some retrenchments also under direct demands on the revenues, civil administration, civil works, and miscellaneous. From the normal expansion of revenues, moreover, a considerable surplus is likely to accrue to the central budget. With a proper handling of the finances the Central Government should be in a position to give up to the provinces Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 crores immediately, and this amount would rise to no less than Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 crores in course of the next decade. The transfer should be made not by grants, but by re-allocation of existing revenues.

The suggestions made by Sir Walter Layton in this connection do not appear to be quite free from difficulties. The transfer of revenues, as suggested by Sir Walter, will not be sufficient to enable the provinces to start on their new career in a spirit of security and optimism. A period of at least five years must elapse before the atmosphere will be favourable for the levy of fresh taxation. Meantime, the Provincial Governments will have to be supplied with adequate resources which can only be obtained from retrenchments in the central budget. It will thus be necessary for the Government of India to part with some more resources than have been suggested by Sir Walter Layton.

Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjea thereafter draws our attention first to export duties and advocates a division of the proceeds from the export duty on jute and rice. It is, however, necessary that the Government of India should consider their own financial position before agreeing to a policy of transfer of revenues. Emphasis is, therefore, laid on the necessity of selecting some new sources of revenue that might not be felt as a hardship by the people. The most eligible of all fresh taxes will be the extension of income tax to agricultural incomes. The yield of this tax is estimated at five crores. Of the other suggestions, the duty on imported cotton goods, an additional duty on petroleum, a tax on the private import of silver, an excise duty on matches, cigars, cigarrettes

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and pipe-tobacco; and above all the levy of death duty are mentioned.

In order that the finances of the country be properly administered in future, it will be absolutely essential, claims Dr. Banerjea, to provide that taxes should be levied only on the authority of the representatives of the people and expenses incurred with their sanction. In conclusion, Dr. Banerjea once again emphasized that the great problem of the hour was how to impart a balance and harmony to the financial system in India, placing in their proper importance the protective as well as the ameliorative aspects of the administration.

Financial Position of Bengal

The following is an authoritative estimate of the financial position of the Government of Bengal as it will be at the end of the current financial year, as published by the Press Officer, Government of Bengal, in contradiction of various non-official estimates of the Government's losses.

The provincial balance at the beginning of 1930-31 was Rs. 1,94,78,000. The receipts during the year are expected to total Rs. 10,85,64,000 as against the budget estimate of Rs. 11,73,30,000. The revenue is thus expected to fall short of the estimate framed at this time last year by Rs. 87,66,000.

The fall in receipt is mainly under the following heads:

Land Revenue	9.18	Lakhs
Excise	42.50	"
Stamps	26.35	"
Registration	9.00	"
Forests	3.79	"
Schedule Taxes (Amusement and betting taxes)	2.25	"
Administration of Justice	2.34	"
	95.41	"

Against this, small increases under other heads reduce the drop to the figure already given.

On the other hand, the expenditure for the year, as estimated in the budget, stood at Rs. 12,60,56,000, but this is now expected to be not more than Rs. 12,29,23,000. The year is thus expected to end with a closing balance of Rs. 51,19,000 or, in other words, the province will be worse off at the end of the year by about half a crore of rupees than it was expected to be at this time last year.

Non-official views show that the apprehended deficit by the end of the present financial year will amount to nearly two crores of rupees.

The decrease of revenue must be mainly attributed to the depression in trade, one of the most salient features of which is the slump in jute prices which has seriously reduced the buying capacity of the people in Bengal. The fact that people have not money to spend is reflected in the drop in receipts under Excise, Stamps, Forests, and Registration, as well as under the less important Revenue heads, such as, Amusement Tax.

On the other hand, the political conditions of the last few months have necessitated heavy additional expenditure under the security heads of Police and Jails. Attempts have been made to counterbalance this by certain drastic economies in other departments.

The budget for the coming year is now under preparation and the anticipated financial position of the province will be made public when it is presented to the Council, but it is already abundantly clear that the economies effected in 1930-31 will have to be repeated and probably intensified in 1931-32.

India's Trade in 1929-30

The total value of imports of merchandise into British India in 1929-30, says a report issued by the Commercial Intelligence Department, amounted to Rs. 240.8 crores, and that of exports to Rs. 317.9 crores. On the basis of corresponding figures for 1928-29, these indicated a decline of Rs. 12.5 crores or 5 p. c. for the imports and of Rs. 20.1 crores or 6 p. c. for the exports.

On the import side the outstanding feature of the year's transactions was a decline of Rs. 3,76 lacs under cotton manufactures. Cotton piece-goods by themselves accounted for a reduction of Rs. 3,56 lakhs.

The striking feature in the piece-goods trade was the rapid penetration into the Indian market of Japan, imports from which source showed increases of 152 million yards (63 per cent) under greys, of 8.4

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million yards (154 per cent) under whites and of 44.5 million yards (40 per cent) under coloured. Twist and yarn exhibited a nominal advance on the quantity side from 43.8 million lbs. to 43.9 million lbs., although the value recorded declined from Rs. 6,29 lakhs to Rs. 6,00 lakhs.

There were interesting movements under sugar, imports of which declined in value from Rs. 16,00 lakhs to Rs. 15,78 lakhs despite an increase on the quantity side from 937,000 tons to 1,011,000 tons. An unusual feature was a remarkable expansion in receipts of beet sugar with a curtailment of the requirements of cane sugar.

In machinery and mill-work, the total value recorded for the whole group (including belting) fell off by Rs. 8 lakhs to Rs. 19,35 lakhs, chiefly as a result of the weakening of demand in the mining, tea and sugar industries.

The import of motor cars declined both in numbers as well as in value, and so also the imports of hardware (excluding cutlery and electroplated wares). There was, however, a remarkable improvement under mineral oils by more than 3 per cent in value and nearly 5 per cent in quantity.

A hopeful feature in the import of raw cotton was a further decline by nearly 5,000 tons in the total imports. This was arrived at by setting an increase of 4,000 tons in the import of raw cotton from Kenya colony against a decrease of nearly 10,000 tons from United States of America.

The tragic circumstances of imports of wheat into India continued, although with less acuteness. The import of wheat amounted to 357,000 tons valued at Rs. 4,98 lakhs, as against 561,900 tons valued at Rs. 8,17 lakhs in 1928-29.

On the export side, the principal phenomenon has been the serious depression in the world demand for jute. The total weight of raw and manufactured jute exported fell by 44,000 tons to 1,765,000 tons, but the value slumped more heavily from Rs. 89 crores to Rs. 79 crores. Fifty per cent of the total decline recorded on the value side is attributable to raw jute, exports of which fell from 5,028,000 bales to 4,519,000 bales in quantity and from Rs. 32 crores to Rs. 27 crores in value.

Shipment of gunny bags advanced from 498 millions to 522 millions in number, but the gain was discounted by a fall in prices, which sent down the declared value from Rs. 25 crores to Rs. 22 crores. A similar movement was recorded under gunny cloth. Under cotton the combined value of the year's shipment of the raw product and of the manufactures declined from Rs. 74,49 lakhs to Rs. 72,79 lakhs. In raw cotton, the advantage of increased shipment was more than neutralized by a serious decline in prices. In exports of cotton manufactures, the decline was by Rs. 61 lakhs on the basis of 1928-29, to Rs. 7,19 lakhs. The decline under cotton piece-goods amounted to 16 million yards in quantity, and Rs. 70 lakhs in value. This is principally due to the progressive decline in exports of greys, which is partly explained by the parlous state of the Bombay mill industry and partly by the severity of Japanese competition in many of the especial markets of the Bombay mills.

There was some improvement in the export of rice. Wheat exports were shorter than in 1928-29. There was a considerable fall in the value of the shipment of tea, from Rs. 26,60 lakhs to Rs. 26,01 lakhs, notwithstanding an increase in the quantity shipped from 359.6 million lbs. to 376.6 million lbs. Coming to re-exports, the total value amounted in 1929-30 to Rs. 7,13 lakhs, or a decline of Rs. 10 lakhs compared with previous year.

The visible balance of trade in marchandise and treasure for the year 1929-30 was in favour of India to the extent of Rs. 53 crores compared with Rs. 52 crores in the preceding year, Rs. 50 crores in 1927-28, and the record figure of Rs. 109 crores in 1925-26.

Imperial Bank Rate

The Imperial bank rate has been further raised to 7 per cent from the middle of January, thereby indicating an increased stringency in the already hard-up money market. So far as the money for commercial and industrial purposes go this will, of course, considerably add to the difficulties of supply, but business men have been so much strained of late that they have ceased to take the bank rate very seriously. As it stands, money can be had for very good industrial undertakings at a rate slightly better than the present bank rate, while for others the position is so hopeless that no funds are coming up even at dangerously high rates. Thus, the bank rate has, at the moment, little to inspire us for a discussion.

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Indian Finance in 1930

Our contemporary, the *Indian Finance*, gave a very useful study of the course of Indian finance in 1930. The most salient features of the period have been (i) the growing gap between income and outgo both of the Government of India as well as of the provincial Governments ; (2) the resultant difficulties in the Government's ways and means position—difficulties which were accentuated and enhanced by the need to increase the floating debt as against the reduction of *ad hocs* in the Currency Reserve ; (3) the accelerated flight of capital from India ; (4) the resultant 'eating up' of the favourable trade balance by private remitters ; (5) the extreme paucity of remittances to the Secretary of State, (6) the need, therefore, of heavy sterling borrowings, (7) the poor state of exchange, owing to the competition of private remittances with Government's remittances and owing mainly to apathetic trade ; (8) the utilization of artificial props for the rupee rate, like repeated currency contractions by sundry ways, large Treasury Bills sales and relatively large bank rate ; (9) constant incursions of the Government into the money market with the object of causing artificial and unwarranted stringency ; (10) the new borrowings being, as a consequence, far in excess of budget anticipations ; (11) uncheked and steep decline in wholesale prices ; and (12) economic unsettlement and distress affecting every section, every class and every interest in the country.

Mainly because of the lack of a sound and scientific credit policy on the part of Goverment, new borrowings by the State were rendered extremely onerous in every way. The budget estimate of new loan activities in 1930-31 was as under :

Rupee loan	Rs 23½	crores
Sterling Bills or Loans	Rs 8 „	(or £6 million)
Total	Rs 31½	crores

It was also anticipated that the amount of outstanding Treasury Bills would be reduced to Rs. 20 crores by March 1931.

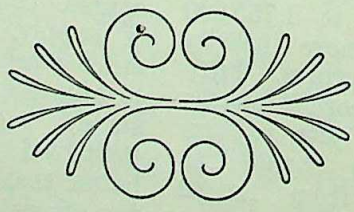
Actually, however, the Government realized Rs 30 crores from their Rupee Loan and £31 million from Sterling borrowings in 1930, as follows :

Month of issue	Nature of Bond	Issue price	Amount
February 1930	6 p.c. 1932-33	@ 99	£6 million
May „	6 p.c. 1933-35	@ 99	£7 „
August „	Loan from Imp. Bank	@ 100	£6 „
October „	6 p. c. 1935-37	@ 100	£12 „
September „	6 p. c. 1933-36	@ 100	Rs. 29·7 crores

Thus new borrowings so far raised in the current financial year alone exceed budget estimates by nearly Rs. 22 crores. But this is not all. Treasury Balance outstandings towards the end of December 1930 amounted to more than Rs. 52½ crores as against the anticipated amount of Rs. 20 crores by March 1931. The realizations by sales of postal cash certificates are also higher than the budget estimates owing to the increased yield offered since the last four months. Moreover, there has been an Ways and Means advance of Rs. 6 crores taken by the Government from the Imperial Bank of India. The net excess of borrowed money during last year thus amounted to nearly Rs. 70 crores.

It is not difficult to prophesy, under the circumstances, that the Government of India is rushing headlong to a financial crash. We are anxiously awaiting the bombshells that are likely to come from the coming budget for 1931-32.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL



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Mahatma Gandhi and William Wordsworth

By VERRIER ELWIN

MAHATMA Gandhi has been compared in recent years to a great many saints and prophets, but I do not remember having seen any comparison drawn between his teaching and that of William Wordsworth. Yet on a number of points the life and outlook of these two thinkers exhibit a surprising concordance. Both show a passionate love of Freedom; both understand and love the poor; both believe in simplicity of life; both teach the need and duty of religion; and Wordsworth, like Gandhiji, though not to the same degree, loved the simple discipline of the spinning wheel. Wordsworth like Gandhiji, was a great moral teacher, as Gladstone recognized. Many, like John Stuart Mill, have felt themselves "at once better and happier" as they have come under the influence of his poems. Let us consider the points of comparison one by one.

Spinning

"The *charkha*," says Gandhiji, "is a symbol of simplicity, self-reliance, self-control, voluntary co-operation among millions." "Every revolution of the wheel spins peace, good-will and love." Wordsworth composed the following *Song for the Spinning Wheel*:

Swiftly turn the murmuring wheel!
Night has brought the welcome hour
When the weary fingers feel
Help, as if from faery power;
Dewy night o'ershades the ground:
Turn the swift wheel round and round!
Now, beneath the starry sky,
Crouch the widely-scattered sheep;—
Ply the pleasant labour, ply!
For the spindle, while they sleep,
Runs with motion smooth and fine,
Gathering up a trustier line.
Short-lived likings may be bred
By a glance from fickle eyes;
But true love is like the thread
Which the kindly wool supplies,
When the flocks are all at rest
Sleeping on the mountain's breast.

He also described the many moral unctions of the wheel in a sonnet.

Grief, thou hast lost an ever-ready friend
Now that the cottage spinning-wheel is mute;
And care—a comforter that best could suit
Her froward mood, and softliest reprehend;
And love—a charmer's voice, that used to lend,
More efficaciously than aught that flows
From harp or lute, kind influence to compose
The throbbing pulse,—else troubled without end;
Even joy could tell, joy craving truce and rest
From her own overflow, what power sedate
On those revolving motions did await
Assiduously, to soothe her aching breast—
And—to a point of just relief—abate
The mantling triumphs of a day too blest.

There are many chance references to spinning in Wordsworth's poems. Showing how natural and inevitable he considered it to be, part of the normal life of the peasant. In *The Old Cumberland Beggar*, the woman who keeps the toll-gate sits in summer by her door turning her wheel. In one of his sonnets, he tells how,

Maids at the wheel, the weaver at his loom,
Sit blithe and happy.

While in *Michael* we read how father and son spend their evenings by giving themselves

To such convenient work as might employ
Their hands by the fire-side; perhaps to card
Wool for the housewife's spindle .....
.....while late into the night
The housewife plied her own peculiar work
Making the co tage through the silent hours
Murmur as with the sound of summer flies.

The Villager

There is no need to illustrate Gandhiji's love of the villager. It has been one of the master-passions of his life. His main indictment against the British Government is that it has impoverished the poor. He honours and respects the peasant who lives so close to the heart of India. Wordsworth also honoured the villager and found in humble life the fit matter of his poems. In the famous *Preface* to *The Lyrical Ballads*, he explains why this is so. In the condition of humble and rustic life, he observes, "the essential passions of the heart find a better soil in which they can attain their maturity,

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are less under restraint, and speak a plainer and more emphatic language; because in that condition of life our elementary feelings co-exist in a state of greater simplicity, and, consequently, may be more accurately contemplated, and more forcibly communicated.....and lastly, because in that condition the passions of men are incorporated with the beautiful and permanent forms of nature." In his tract on *The Convention of Cintra*, he pleads eloquently for the elementary rights of the peasant, and says in words that might have come from Gandhiji himself—"what then is to be desired? Nothing but that the Government and the higher orders of society should deal sincerely towards the middle class and the lower." There are, in the *Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle*, two stanzas which might almost have been written about Gandhiji, so exactly do they express his love of the poor, the simple sources of his quiet power, and his spirit of non-violence.

Love had the fount in huts where poor men lie;
His daily teachers had been woods and rills,
The silence that is in the starry sky,
The sleep that is among the lonely hills.
In him the savage virtue of the Race,
Revenge, and all ferocious thoughts were dead;
Nor did he change; but kept in lofty place
The wisdom which adversity had bred.

Simplicity of Life

"The spiritual heritage of India," says Gandhiji (slightly misquoting a line by Wordsworth himself), "is simple living and high thinking." Both in his own life and by constant speech and writing he has urged "a return to the old simplicity." Wordsworth was likewise simple and ascetic in his habits, and a consistent opponent of the enervating luxury and elaboration of modern civilization. "Men have been pressing forward, for some time," he says, "in a path which has been betrayed by its fruitfulness; furnishing them constant employment for picking up things about their feet, when thoughts were perishing in their minds. While mechanic arts, manufactures, agriculture, commerce, and all those products of knowledge which are confined to gross, definite and tangible objects, have, with the aid of Experimental Philosophy, been every day putting on more brilliant colours; the splendour of the imagination has been fading.....calculations of presumptuous expediency, groping its way among partial and temporary consequences, have been substituted for the dictates of paramount and infallible conscience, the supreme embracer of consequences." This is precisely similar to Gandhiji's indictment of modern western civilization. "It is not the British people who rule India, but modern civilization rules India through its railways, telegraph, telephone, etc.....If British rule were replaced tomorrow by Indian rule based on modern methods, India would be none the better." "Increase of material comforts, it may be generally laid down, does not in any way whatsoever conduce to moral growth." This same thought is expressed by Wordsworth in a well-known sonnet.

"The world is too much with us; late and soon,
Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers:
Little we see in Nature that is ours;
We have given our hearts away, a sordid boon.

This attitude of Wordsworth's is, however, most strikingly illustrated hy his determined opposition to the projected Kendal and Windermere Railway in 1844. It was proposed to open up the beautiful Lake District, the inspiration of so many of Wordsworth's poems, by a railway which would foster a great invasion of excursionists. Wordsworth joined Ruskin in emphatic protest against what, he considered, would desecrate his sanctuary of peace, sophisticate the simple villagers, and do little good to the intending tourists. "What can, in truth, be more absurd than that either rich or poor should be spared the trouble of travelling by the high roads over so short a space, if the unavoidable consequence must be a great disturbance of the retirement, and, in many places, a destruction of the beauty, of the country which the parties are come in search of. Would not this be pretty much like the child's cutting up his drum to learn where the sound came from?"

Like Gandhiji, Wordsworth had a deep respect for manual labour. One of his poems composed while he was engaged in digging with a friend, is addressed *To the Spade of a Friend*. The spade, he says, is "a tool of honour," "a trophy nobler than a conqueror's sword." It is "a monument of peaceful happiness." It gives to him who uses it.

"Health, meekness, ardour, quietness secure,
And industry of body and of mind;
And elegant enjoyments, that are pure
As nature is,—too pure to be refined."

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The Moral Basis of Public Life

"Politics, divorced from religion," says Gandhiji, "has absolutely no meaning." He has transformed the political arena of India into a realm of the highest idealism. Such also was Wordsworth's vision.

"By the soul
Only, the Nations shall be great and free."

Such was the inspiration of his *Character of the Happy Warrior*.

Who, if he rise to station of command,
Rises by open means ; and there will stand
On honourable terms, or else retire.

In many other poems, Wordsworth pleads for national purification, for "manners, virtue, freedom, power," for "pure religion breathing household laws."

The Love of Freedom

Like Gandhiji, Wordsworth was hungry for freedom, as a man hungers for bread. His own naturally independent spirit was developed by the broad, free spaces of his own loved Lake-land. In early manhood, he visited France and stayed there for nearly a year. Those were the first stirring days of the Revolution, when it seemed to the young idealist that the Golden Age was about to dawn.

Oh! pleasant exercise of hope and joy!
For mighty were the auxiliars which then stood
Upon our side, we who were strong in love !
Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven! Oh!—times,
In which the meagre, stale, forbidding ways
Of custom, law, and statute, took at once
The attraction of a country in romance.

He made friends with the republican general Beaupuis, who had a romantic and chivalrous devotion to the poor ; and he even seriously contemplated the step of offering himself as a member of the Girondist party—a step which would undoubtedly have led him to the guillotine. He was, however, recalled to England, and shortly afterwards he suffered the tragic sorrow of seeing France replace, in the name of liberty, a two-fold tyranny. But Wordsworth remained all his life a lover of Freedom. He dedicated a noble series of sonnets to its honour. He claims—

"at least this prise.
That virtuous Liberty hath been the scope of his pure song."

He praises Hoffer, the hero "by whom the undaunted Tyrolese are led," the Iberian burghers, Palafox, Schill and many others who fought for freedom during his life-time. When the convention of Cintra (which ended the rising of Spain and Portugal against Napoleon in 1808) seemed to him to offend against the sacred principle of Nationalism. Wordswonth protested in both verse and prose. His tract on the subject was called by Canning the finest piece of political eloquence which had appeared since Burke. In this, he shows emphatically his belief that every nation has a right to independence. He describes many of the blessings, the higher values as we should call them today, of human life. But, he says, "to the existence of these blessings, national independence is indispensable ; and many of them, it will itself produce and maintain....Even without civil liberty, society may possess something of dignified enjoyment. But, without national independence, this is impossible." "The first end to be secured by Spain," he says again, "is riddance of the enemy : the second, permanent independence ; and the third, a free constitution of government ; which will give their main (though far from sole) value to the other two ; and without which little more than a formal independence, and perhaps scarcely that, can be secured. Humanity and honour, and justice, and all the sacred feelings connected with atonement, retribution, and satisfaction ; shame that will not sleep ; and the sting of unperformed duty ; and all the powers of the mind, the memory that broods over the dead and turns to the living, the understanding, the imagination, and the reason :—demand and enjoin that the wanton oppressor should be driven, with confusion and dismay, from the country which he has so heinously abused." Wordsworth well understood the psychology of oppression. "Oppression, its own blind and predestined enemy, has poured this of blessedness upon Spain—that the enormity of the outrages of which she has been the victim has created an object of love and of hatred, of apprehensions and of wishes, adequate (if that be possible) to the utmost demands of the human spirit."

In these and in other ways (such, for example, as the moral of *Hart Leap Well*) we see the close affinity between the great moral teacher of the English Romantic Revival and the great moral teacher of the Indian Renaissance of today. In power of expression, and perhaps in the range of his speculative imagination, Wordsworth has the advantage; but as a master of the art of living, as the artist who has drawn for

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the world an ideal picture of ennobled existence, as a practical idealist who has found it impossible to soothe the hungry millions with any poem but one, invigorating food, Gandhiji is immeasurably superior.

Wordsworth would undoubtedly have acknowledged this, and we cannot do better than quote in conclusion the sonnet he addressed to another practical idealist, Toussaint l'Ouverture, the leader of the insurgent slaves in San Domingo, who, when the French Government attempted to re-establish slavery, resisted the edict, and was imprisoned, dying in jail shortly after this sonnet was published. Its appropriateness to the late prisoner of Yerwada will be appreciated by every reader.

Live, and take comfort. Thou hast left behind
Powers that will work for thee; air, earth, and skies;
There's not a breathing of the common wind
That will forget thee; thou hast great allies;
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss Uma Bose

Miss Uma Bose topped the list of all B.Sc. candidates in the Calcutta University in 1930 with first class honours in Experimental Psychology. She is the first woman science graduate to have this unique distinction. She has been awarded the Manmathanath Bhattacharyya gold medal and the Santomoni Silver medal and was offered a Post-graduate scholarship as well as a special scholarship in Experimental Psychology.

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The Real Nature of the Muhammadan Majority in Bengal

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

THE question of the relative number of the Muhammadans and the Hindus, or rather the non-Muhammadans in the present administrative province of Bengal is assuming greater importance day by day, in view of the insistent and almost impertinent demands of the Bengali Muhammadans.

Dealing with the population of Bengal alone, it appears there are :

	Males	Females	Total
Muhammadans	13,104,307	12,381,817	25,488,124
Hindus	10,858,323	9,950,825	20,809,148
"Others"	63 ,083	604,227	1,236,310
Europeans	14,145	8,570	22,715
Anglo-Indians	11,160	11,082	22,242

The number of respective males and females amongst the Hindus and the Muhammadans, and their age-periods are given below :

Age	*Hindus*		*Muhammadans*	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Below 20	4,920,724	4,657,110	6,808,566	6,598,625
20-25	934,596	975,816	966,774	1,198,100
Over 25	5,003,003	4,317,819	5,328,967	4,585,092
	10,858,323	9,950,825	13,104,307	12,381,817

From the above figures, it would be apparent that of the total number of Muhammadans, both male and female, minors (taking all those who are below 21 to be minors) form 53 per cent, while the percentage of minors in the case of the Hindus is 46 per cent only. The respective percentages of minors in the case of Muhammadan males and females are 52 per cent and 54 per cent; the respective corresponding figures for the Hindus are 45 per cent and 47 per cent.

The above figures are what are known as crude figures—they do not take account of accidental or careless, or systematic or wilful mis-statement of age. If Kalachand Sheik says he is 25, his wife Punti Bibi 30 and his son Abdur 20, the Census enumerator does not hesitate to take it down. He does not question the truth or its accuracy.

It is common experience that the mass of our people, whether Hindus or Muhammadans, are ignorant and careless to the extreme, and cannot give any correct idea as to their age. In this connection the Census Superintendent of Bengal makes the following observations : "The age returns are one of the curiosities of an Indian Census. All but a very small proportion of the people of India have only the vaguest idea of their age. Among the illiterate it is not uncommon for an old man to say that he is 'probably 25', or for a father to give his age less than his son gives his. Many simply plead ignorance but others, and they form the great majority, make wild guesses or give such ludicrous replies, as *bis chalis*, 20 or 40. The ideas of the enumerators on the subject of age are often quite as nebulous as those of the persons enumerated. They blithely take down whatever is told them and it must not be imagined that the entries are even approximately correct. *But the resultant statistics are by no means without value.*"

If the crude age distribution figures (such as are given in Subsidiary Table I of the Bengal Census Report) are carefully examined, its extreme irregularity is the first to draw our attention. Large numbers are returned as aged 25, 30, 35, 40 etc., representing persons who guessed at their age in multiples of five. A preference for even numbers rather than odd numbers also appear. Numbers ending with 2 are much more preferred than those ending with 8

'Generally speaking, it is only after 25 or 30 that the majority of the population makes no attempt to guess its age nearer than to the nearest multiple of 5. After that age the proportion that guesses in this way appear to increase with age; but there are marked differences between the behaviour of males and females Muhammadans and Hindus, and Western and Eastern Bengal people in the matter. More Hindus attempt to give ages, which are not multiples of 5 than Muhammadans, and it is likely that individuals among Hindus have on the whole the more accurate knowledge of their ages. This is no doubt to be accounted for by the advantage which they have over

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Muhammadans in the matter of education." . . . "Both among Hindus and Muhammadans, those living in Eastern Bengal seem to have guessed their ages much more often by plumping for a multiple of 5 than those living in the Western half of the province. The Eastern Bengal people favoured multiples of 10 much more often than odd multiples of 5, but the Western Bengal people showed much less often a preference for even multiples of 5. In the western half of the province very many, Hindus especially, seem to have tried to avoid multiples of 5."

The Census Superintendent, Bengal, is definitely of opinion that "the people of the Western half of the province are much the more alive to the importance of the knowledge and correct return of age." He is further of opinion that "to use the crude figures for the distribution of the population by annual age periods without adjustment *could not but lead to serious error.*"

By the process of graduation, the technique of which we need not describe or discuss, the Census Superintendent tries "to eliminate the irregularities due to ages having been guessed, to estimate the direction and intensity of tendencies to exaggerate or the reverse, to eliminate without altogether ignoring variation in the birth-rate of recent years (*i.e.*, 1918-1920) and having produced a graduated series to show how it may be used to ascertain the age distribution of the population" of different parts or classes of the province.

After certain preliminary calculations, he plots the results of graduated figures graphically for both the Hindus and the Muhammadans; and he says "It appears that at least from 14 to 24 the number of males has been *understated*, and that there has been a distinct tendency to over-estimation of their ages by young men from 18 or 19 up to 24 and an under-statement of the ages of boys from 13 or 14 to 17." The curves which are printed at p. 182 of the Bengal Census Report show that the one for the Muhammadans is steeper than that for the Hindus; from which we may conclude that both the over-statement and under-statement of ages in the case of Muhammadans are greater.

While discussing the under-estimate of ages of girls from 9 to 14, the Census Superintendent finds that in the case of Hindus it averages 1·6, while in the case of Muhammadans it averages 1·7.

The Census Superintendent plots the figures for Hindus and Muhammadans of Bengal, as well as those for England. The curves are printed at p. 189 of the Bengal Census Report. A reference to those curves convinces one that there are more persons under 21 or 22 among the Muhammadans than among the Hindus. The curve for the Muhammadans crosses the Hindu curve at a point corresponding to age 21 or 22 and that for England about at the age of 24 or 25, the Hindu curve meets that for England at age 35.

As it is not easy to reproduce such curves, the following figures showing the age distribution by quinquennial age periods are given below:

Graduated Distribution of 10,000 of each sex by quinquennial Age periods.

Age Period	Hindus Males	Hindus Females	Muhammadans Males	Muhammadans Females
0— 5	1,395	1,419	1,700	1,6[illegible]
5—10	1,151	1,179	1,418	1,4[illegible]
10—15	1,063	1,077	1,241	1,2[illegible]
15—20	996	995	1,064	1,0[illegible]
	4,605	4,607	5,423	5,3[illegible]
20—25	950	931	937	9[illegible]

The figures for other age periods are not given as they are not relevant for our present enquiry.

For political purposes, the enfranchisable age has been fixed at 21. This is as it should be. For the purpose of Municipal elections and election to other local bodies, the voting age has been fixed at 21 for at least 40 to 45 years without any objection being raised by anybody, Hindu or Muhammadan or European. If a guardian be appointed by the Court, if the estate be taken charge of by the Court of Wards, the age of majority becomes 21.

So we have got to find out the proportion of those who are under 21 to the total of each class of population.

In the Subsidiary Table 1A of Chapter V the Graduated Distribution by Annual Age period per 100,000 of each sex is given.

From the Table printed above, we get for 100,000 of each sex the following figures, to which we add that for age 21 as given in the Subsidiary Table 1A.

Age	Hindus Males	Hindus Females	Muhammadans Males	Muhammadans Females
0—20	46,050	46,700	54,230	53,6[illegible]
21	1,919	1,884	1,901	1,9[illegible]
	47,969	48,584	56,131	55,5[illegible]

Multiplying the above proportions by the

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total number of each class we get the following figures for those who are over 21 :

Hindus		Muhammadans	
Males	Females	Males	Females
5,758,286	5,118,606	5,748,728	5,505,700

From the above figures, it will appear that taking the population as a whole, the relative strength of Hindus and Muhammadans are as 100 : 123. If we use the crude figures of Census for those who are over 20, the relative proportion becomes 100 : 107.

If we use the graduated figures for those who are over 21, the relative proportion of Hindus is slightly greater for the males, but somewhat less in the case of females. Taking the adult population as a whole, the relative strength is as 100 : 102.

In Bengal, there are 1,236,310 "Others," apart from the Europeans and the Anglo-Indians, *i.e.*, persons who are neither Hindu nor Muhammadan by religion ; but who for all political purposes are "non-Muhammadans."

Using the graduated figures of Age-Distribution as given in Subsidiary Table III, Part II for Christians and Animists respectively for ages 0-20, and adding to them from the Subsidiary Table IA, the proportion of minors for age 21 (we use the larger figure given there for the Muhammadans, the figures for the Christians and the Animists not being given separately), we get the following figures for those who are above 21 amongst them :

Males	Females	Total
320,851	288,170	609,021

If we add these figures for adults to the Hindu figures previously obtained, we get the following results :

	Males	Females	Total
Non-Muhammadans	6,079,137	5,406,776	11,485,913
Muhammadans	5,748,728	5,505,700	11,254,428

Thus there is an actual majority of adults of both sexes among the non-Muhammadans over the Muhammadans ; the majority is the greater in the case of males alone.

That there are more minors among the Muhammadans than among the Hindus ; that the total number of adults among the Hindus or the non-Muhammadans is greater than that among the Muhammadans can be shown in another way.

In Subsidiary Table I, the Age-Distribution among the Hindus and the Muhammadans by annual periods for West Bengal and East Bengal are shown separately. A careful examination of the figures given there shows that the irregularity for the East Bengal figures, for both the Hindus and the Muhammadans, are greater. Bearing in mind the Census Superintendent's remark that the West Bengal people give true returns of age, let us assume that the West Bengal figures are correct. Then the difference between the West Bengal and East Bengal figures represent the misrepresentation of age. Adding up the figures in Subsidiary Table I, for ages 0— 1, we find that there are per 100,000 persons of each sex :

	Western Bengal	Eastern Bengal	Difference
	Hindus		
Males	47,834	52,594	—4,760
Females	46,951	54,432	—7,481
	Muhammadans		
Males	62,386	57,701	+4,685
Females	64,681	62,347	+4,334

So according to Western Bengal standard, there are 127,330 more male minors among the Hindus in East Bengal, who have *under-stated* their age, and as such ought to be counted as adults. Similarly, there are 192,336 females who are adults.

Amongst the Muhammadans, on the other hand, there are 317,128 persons who are really minors, but who have *over-stated* their ages to appear as adults, and as such ought to be counted as minors.

Similarly, there are 283,184 females who are minors. Making these additions and subtractions, we find.

	Males	Females	Total
Hindus	5,885,616	5,310,942	=11,196,558
Muhammadans	5,431,600	5,222,516	=10,654,116

If we add to the Hindu figures, the number of adults among the "others" the disparity would be greater.

Without entering into the discussion of the various causes which have produced the age-distribution among the different communities, without going into details about the merits of the various corrections and processes applied and how they are applied, let us look at the facts as arrived at by the Census Superintendent, Mr. W. H. Thomson, I. C. S.

In the Subsidiary Table II, he gives the Age-Distribution of 10,000 of each sex in different divisions in Bengal at different Censuses since 1891. Adding up the figures for those who are under 20, we get the following :

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	P. c. of Hindus	1921	1911	1901	1891	
Burdwan	82·4	4,583	4,697	4,734	4,739	Males
		4,516	4,603	4,569	4,410	Females
Presidency	51·4	4,455	4,492	4,558	4,668	M
		4,734	4,695	4,593	4,552	F
Rajsahi	33·7	4,949	4,931	4,900	4,857	M
		5,184	5,174	5,066	4,909	F
Dacca	29·7	5,152	5,148	5,137	5,130	M
		5,314	5,335	5,263	5,186	F
Chittagong	23·8	5,371	5,456	5,483	5,443	M
		5,367	5,455	5,436	5,330	F

From the above figures, it will appear that the proportion of minors are steadily decreasing in those areas where the Hindus are in a majority, while the proportion of minors are steadily increasing throughout a period of 40 years where the Muhammadans are in a majority.

That the above conclusions are correct will appear from the following considerations.

From the Subsidiary Table III given at p. 238, showing the age-distribution of 10,000 of each sex for the combined population of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa for each of the last four censuses for each community, we get the following figures by adding up figures for all ages up to 20 both male and female :

No. below 20 per 20,000

	1921	1911	1901	1891
Hindu	9,363	9,386	9,380	9,410
Muhammadan	10,424	10,494	10,403	10,266

It will be apparent that the proportion of minors is steadily increasing amongst the Muhammadans, while that amongst the Hindus is steadily decreasing throughout a period of 40 years. The drop in the figure for the Muhammadans between 1911 and 1921 is easily accounted for by the influenza epidemic of 1918.

In the above the whole Hindu or Muhammadan population of the two provinces of Bengal, and Bihar and Orissa has been taken into consideration, as no separate figures for Bengal Hindus or Muhammadans are available for the years 1891 and 1901.

From the Subsidiary Table III, Pt. II. showing the age-distribution of 10,000 of each sex in each of the main religions for the Bengal population alone for the years 1911 and 1921, we get :

	1921	1911	
Hindus	4,532	4,565	Males
	4,680	4,709	Females
	9,212	9,274	
Muhammadans	5,195	5,246	Males
	5,329	5,365	Females
	10,524	10,611	

"The age distribution for Bengal alone both in 1911 and 1921 shows a greater proportion of very young children than that for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa together." Comparing the figures for the Hindus alone the purely Bengal figure is less than the combined figure, which means that there are *fewer* minors among the Bengal Hindus than amongst the Bihar and Orissa Hindus ; while the reverse is the case with the Bengal Muhammadans. They have a greater number of minors amongst them than amongst the Bihar Muhammadans. The proportion of minors among the Bengal Muhammadans is greater than that among the Hindus both in 1911 and 1921. In both the communities there has been a decrease in the number of minors on account of the influenza epidemic of 1918 and declining birth-rate.

The Actuary to the Government of India in his report on the age-distribution and rate of mortality based on the 1921 census and previous enumerations, when dealing with the Bengal males, compares the numbers living in each quinary group for each of the five censuses, after adjustment for minor mis-statements and for migration. He notices certain abnormal features in each of these censuses, which according to him "shows that at certain periods of life there is a pronounced departure from the normal law of error." He finds that "the numbers in groups age 0-4 and 15-19 for each census are low, those in groups 25-29 and 30-34 are in excess." "If this be dealt with as due solely to *deliberate mis-statement* of age it cannot be corrected by the application of methods of graduation suitable only to cases where positive and negative deviations are equally likely." The nature of the abnormalities "shows that any disturbance of the normal age distribution by famines, plagues, malaria etc., is of trifling significance compared with the *large* and *systematic mis-statement of age*." Again when estimating percentage of deliberate mis-statement of age by the males in Bengal and other provinces, the Actuary observes that "the estimated rates of mis-statement differ amongst Hindus and Muhammadans, and amongst males and females in the different provinces, and that generally, "the rates of mis-statement are greater amongst Muhammadans than amongst Hindus."

That the Muhammadans are not above deliberate exaggeration will be apparent from the following observations of the Census

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Superintendent, Bengal while dealing with literacy and religion:

"It is the return of literacy among Muhammadans that has been mainly responsible for the phenomenon that in the whole population the proportion of males who are literate is greater over the age of 20 than between 15 and 20. It is true that the grown up school-boys sometimes found in Eastern Bengal are all Muhammadans but there is no doubt that it is among Muhammadan cultivators that there has been the greatest exaggeration of the number of adults who are literate."

A community, which has admittedly a larger proportion of minors and which but for the deliberate and systematie mis-statement of age could be shown to have a still larger proportion of minors, amongst whom the proportion of minors are increasing, leading to a lowering of the mean age or average longevity, which exaggerates or deliberately lies about the possession of a qualification such as literacy which it has not, wants "to dominate" the other community. It is very like a partner, who has 7 sons claiming 7/8th share from the other partner because he has got only one son, although his own contribution to the common fund is not greater. Mr. Fazlul Huq wants "to dominate" over the Bengal Hindus, but before he does that he should pay off the debt of gratitude to his Bengali Hindu benefactors, to whom his community owes so much in the shape of public spirit, endowments, charities, schools and colleges, organization, flood relief, famine relief, free dispensaries and other public activities.

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The Martial Races of India

By NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI

Part IV

I

THE deliberate exclusion of certain classes of Indians for reasons of policy and the purely professional character of the army, these are the two aspects of the principle of army organization in India with which we have been almost exclusively occupied so far. And we believe we have said enough about both to show that, in their positive and negative reaction on the manpower of the country, they have been factors of vital and primary, and not negligible, importance in making the Indian Army what it is to-day. Yet we would not deny that there are certain circumstances of Indian life and history, beyond the control of the British authorities, which have contributed their share of peculiarities to the existing army. They have operated in the past to give a tribal or clannish character to the army, and will perhaps, until they are overcome by a resolute effort, stand in the way of the creation of a national Indian army.

But even here a distinction must be made between cause and effect. Some of the circumstances I have in mind, were no doubt originally inherent in the Indian social fabric. But hundred and fifty years of British rule have so radically altered them that they must now be called features of *British Indian* rather than *Indian* life. It has become almost impossible to recognize in them any trait of their original character. The close interaction of British policy and Indian tradition has given rise to a state of affairs for which the responsibility, if there is to be any question of responsibility at all, must at least evenly be distributed between the British rulers and their Indian subjects. No Indian ought to be, and as a matter of fact is, unwilling to bear his share of the blame and, so far as it lies in him, is quite ready to remedy the evil. But this is more than can be said for the British rulers of India. Having sown in disarmament they only complain bitterly (even if that) of having to reap in military incapacity.

Nowhere, does the truth of this statement appear more simply demonstrated than in the case of the first factor on the Indian side, which we must take into consideration before we can arrive at any conclusion

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regarding the true relation of the present army to the military potentialities of India. This is the caste or tribal character of the Indian military tradition as modified by British practice.

If a political genius had risen in India towards the middle of the eighteenth century and tried to create a national army he would have found that the Indian society presented a very uneven texture when considered as military material. Not only was fighting the business of a number of professional bands and groups, but these groups and bands, too, were mostly hereditary tribes and castes. The military life of the nation was governed by two principles: the principle of specialization and the principle of heredity; and these two taken together prevented the growth of a tradition of national military service. Here, however, it is essential to remember some elementary facts in order to guard oneself against excessively simple theories. Though fighting in India was the vocation of a number of specialized and hereditary groups, these groups did not belong to any *one* particular caste, nor was their distribution confined to any particular region. As the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab stated in 1879, "The fighting castes are to be found all over India,"* and even in ancient India soldiers were recruited from the Brahmin, Khattriya, Vaisya and Sudra castes, as well as from those innumerable tribal groups who were affiliated to the orthodox caste system by means of extremely ingenious legal fictions.† Thus every region in India had its section of the population specially devoted to fighting, Jats and Rajputs in the Punjab, Brahmans and Rajputs in the U. P. and Bihar, Bundelas in Central India, Gurkhas in Nepal, Rajputs in Rajasthan, Marathas and Tamils in the Deccan, as well as other numerous smaller and less important tribes scattered all over the country. There was also to be found in jungly tracts thoughout India a large number of predatory and wild tribes always at feud with the settled population.

The origin of all these tribes and their caste affiliations are extremely obscure questions. All that can be said here is that it was not the caste system which gave rise to them, but rather it was their existence which imposed upon the caste system its bewildering and amazing diversity. The caste system in India which has been held responsible for all the evils of the country has certainly tended to harden the hereditary aspect of every vocation or ethnic peculiarity. But in other respects it has never stood in the way of a natural social evolution, having only tried to impose some semblance of order upon the infinite variations through a common nexus. In military matters, particularly, the caste system has never stood in the way of the rise of a new military community. What it has done has been to impose a hereditary character on that community, giving a racial stamp to its newly developed capacity, and thus acting in some way as an unconscious selective breeder.

The reason for the existence of specialized martial classes in India must, therefore, be sought not in the caste system but elsewhere. It may be due to a certain extent to the original racial character of the group. But there is a less remote explanation of the phenomenon in the course of the political evolution of Indian society. In India, the social, economic and religious life of the people pursued their course apart from the activities of the State, and therefore, wars and campaigns came to be regarded as the business of chiefs and kings and the professionals who chose to serve with them. The traders and peasants pursued their vocations with equanimity, while kings fought with each other for thrones or territories, and the defeat of one or the other meant to the mass of the people only a change in the person of the revenue taker. Accordingly wars never came to be regarded in India as a condition of national existence nor were the State and the people, the State and the army ever considered as synonymous terms.

This state of affairs, a not wholly unmixed evil, as every European country saddled with an almost intolerable military burden is coming more and more to realize, was not a feature of the political and social life of India alone. In Europe, too, before the tradition of national service was created by Revolutionary France, fighting was the business of professionals and wars did not touch the lives of the greater majority of the people of a country.

* Appendices to the Report of the Special Committee (of 1878) Vol. IV.

† *Kautiliyam Arthasastram* edited by R. Shama Sastri (1919). IX-135-36. Pp. 339ff.

* See the very interesting discussion of the question in note A of Julien Benda's famous book *La Trahison des Clercs*, (p. 253). M. Benda makes the following statement as regards wars between

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And there, as in India, the soldiers came from professional bands or racial groups who had specialized in the military line, though, of course, the hereditary principle was not carried to anything like it extremes as in this country. In the middle ages fighting was the normal occupation of an almost hereditary caste, the knights, and the same tradition continued to be in force even when the first standing armies came into existence with the advent of the modern age. The first standing armies were comp sed almost entirely of the well-known martial races of Europe. The backbone of the army of Francis I of France were the Swiss. Th *corp d'elite* of the army of Henry VIII of England was a body of 1500 Germans, the famous Landsknechts of Swabia, who were the mainstay of the army of Emperor Maximilian also. In the English army it was this body of Germans who marched immediately before and behind the King, and this tradition of enlisting contingents of foreign mercenaries continued throughout the sixteenth century.* Another mainstay of the English army w s the Northern Horsemen, whose home was the three northern counties of Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Cumberland. They had been "called into being at some uncertain period by the enternal forays on the Scottish border," and from the beginnings of the sixteenth century, "appeared regularly on the strength of every expedition as perfectly indispensable."† Even down to the eighteenth century, British Kings and Governments continued to enlist or hire foreign mercenaries to supplement their native forces, and, as is well known, the Hessians formed a very large section of the Brit sh military forces that were employed during the American War of Independence. Besides these facts, the very names of Highlanders, Cossacks, Hussars, Janissaries prove the existence of distinct ethnic or vocational groups in Europe who specialized in fighting, while that of the Samurai prove their existence in another eastern country.

The conclusion seems therefore to be no more than warranted that down to the eighteenth century the evolution of the military vocation (though not certainly of the art of war) had run along almost parallel lines in Europe and India. The analogy seems to be closer still when we compare the new tendencies in Europe and India towards the beginning of the eighteenth century. Just as in Europe, in India also, the tradition of professionalism and caste was showing signs of breaking down before the impact of irresistible historical forces. This new development manifested itself in two mutually contradict ry tendencies, the first of which was to break up the organization of the military vocation in clans and sects and to evolve profe sional military adventurers out of them, while the second tended to unite these clans and sects under a loyalty wider than mere clan loyalty and attempted to make a national army of them. The provinces under Mogul domination, and the revolted territories where a militant type of Hindu nationalism was in full swing, were the two spheres in which the two tendencies respectively asserted themselves with the most marked effects. The disruptive effects of the Mogul service upon the Rajput clans of the East are described in the following words by Captain A. H. Bingley :

"From about the 17th century bands of Purbeah Rajputs were largely employed as mercenaries in most of the Moghul armies. The nature of their service, however, was essentially different from that of their brethren of Rajputana. The latter served the Moghuls more as allies than as feudatories, each Rajput leading his own contingent, over which he exercised supreme and unquestioned authority. The position of the Purbeah Rajputs was one of greater dependence. The tribal organization was no doubt preserved, but the clans, besides being smaller and of minor political importance, were generally employed by one of the Mansabdars, or great Muhammadan nobles, the service being to them rather than to the Moghul Emperors. Intrigues at the Delhi Court caused constant changes in the *personnel* of Provincial Governments and the Purbeah Rajputs unbound by any considerations but their own interests, naturally shifted allegiance from one employer to another, each tribal chief acting according to his own inclination and judgment. The Rajputs of Hindustan were thus accustomed to mercenary service long before the arrival of European settlers in india."*

States : "As regards wars between States, the attitude of the mass was for long time what Voltaire describes in the e lines : 'This multitude of soldiery continually kept up by all the Princes is a nuisance, and a very deplorable nuisance. But this evil, as has already been observed, produces one good : the people do not mix themselves up in wars undertaken by their masters ; the citizens of besieged towns often pass from the domination of one prince to another's without the loss of single citizen's life ; they are simply the prize of him who has more soldiers, more cannon and more money.' (*Essai sur les Moeurs*, sub fine.)" These words might be applied to the conditions in India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries without the change of a single syllable.

* Sir John Fortescue--*The History of the British Army*, Vol. I, p. 114.

† *Ibid.*, p. 114.

* Captain A. H. Bingley *The Rajputs* : Caste Handbooks for the Indian Army. 1899, pp. 19-20.

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While this was the tendency within the Moghul dominion, a new type of militant Hindu nationalism was creating powerful military States in the Punjab and in the Deccan. The army of Shivaji and the later Maratha chiefs was the nearest approach to a national army ever seen in India. The Sikh military power was less political but it was not less closely knit, and closely resembling these two in spirit and organization, though neither so unified nor so disinterested, were the military powers of the Jats and the Bundela Rajputs under Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela. The militant Hinduism of these communities had a profound effect on the military life of the Indian people. They all tended to take the tradition of military service from a clannish or professional, to a broader national or religious ground, and there is no doubt that under their influence a tradition of national service would have been gradually created in India. But before that could be, they shattered themselves in a struggle against the newly established foreign power, who finding in these great military communites the worst enemies to its own expansion defeated them with the help of other Indians.

The military record of the British power in India falls into three divisions from the point of view of the source from which its Army was recruited: the first period of self-defence, in which all adventurerers who came to take service under it were enlisted; the second period of offensive against the indigenous military powers, when only the Rajputs and Brahmins of the Ganges basin were almost exclusively relied upon; and the third period of the domination of India, when the broken up elements of the once hostile military powers are alone enlisted.

In the very early period there was no restriction as to caste and tribe. Even as late as 1839 an Army order of the Madras army laid down that "all natives are eligible for enlistment without reference to caste, provided they are in all other respects perfectly fit for service."* Forces, however, were at work, at the same time, which tended more and more to confine the recruitment of the army of the East India Company to the Rajputs and Brahmins of the U. P. and Bihar. As most of the early wars of the Company were against Muhammadan potentates, it was found expedient to discourage the recruitment of Muhammadans, who predominated in the early armies, and to replace them with professional fighters of the Hindu castes.* This was also imposed upon the Company by the circumstance that most of the professional fighters of the North and West of India belonged at that time to the other Hindu Powers who were at war with the English. The defeat of all these, and the revolt of the over confident sepoys in 1857 led to the third shifting of the military centre of gravity, and this has persisted to this day.

The reasons for which the British Government in India finds itself compelled to harden the caste tradition of fighting in India are profound. Incapable, by its very nature, of inspiring or invoking in its support, any sentiment of national service, the British military authorities in India have of necessity to rely more and more on the hereditary fighting traditions of a caste or tribe to sustain the morale of their soldiers and to save their army from turning into a dangerous mob of mercenaries. They have, therefore, encouraged the tribal prejudices and the exclusiveness of every caste. They flattered the vanity of the Gurkha at the expense perhaps of the Sikh, and that of the Sikh at the expense of the Gurkha, till at last every caste enrolled in the army has come to believe that it was the cream of the fighting races of India. During the war, as well as before and after, every British officer who has commanded Indian troops has repeated the saying that in order to get the best out of an Indian soldier, he must not be treated as if he were a soldier like any other soldier, but that his peculiarities must be respected.† This in plain language means that the fighting quality of an Indian soldier of the British Indian army has to be maintained by a constant pampering of his parochial vanity.

This tendency towards the drying up of the military energies of the Indian people under British rule has developed to such an extent that it has led the British military authorities to enunciate theories of heredity and environment which not only no biologist would ever dare to make, but which hopelessly

* G. O. C. dated September 21, 1839, quoted in Dodwell—*Sepoy Recruitment in the Old Madras Army*, p. 15.

* Bingley—*The Rajputs*, p. 21.

† See Willcocks—*With the Indians in France*, p. 7; also Moberly—*The Campaign in Mesopotamia, 1914-18*, p. 66.

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contradict one another. "Fighting quality," says one authority, "is entirely dependent on race."* Another authority would imply that it depends on food. Replying to a question of the Marquis of Linlithgow, whether the physical superiority of the so-called martial races was due to racial characteristics or to conditions of diet and life, or both, Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, Public Health Commissioner to the Government of India, said :

"I think I said in my memorandum that the question is very much *sub judice* at the moment. Colonel McCay went very strongly for the absence of the protein elements in the diet as being the causation : but I showed how that had been questioned by Dr. Hindhide, a leading Danish dietetic expert, and that is one of the reasons why I say we require more inquiry in India on this particular subject."†

Another authority would possibly have it that the fighting capacity depends entirely upon geographical environment. Referring to the quality of the different classes of Gurkhas, Barrow's well-known manual states :

"Line boys, those born and bred in the lines of a regiment, seldom combine the military virtues and physique of their forefathers and are apt to deteriorate in each successive generation."§

"Still," says the same authority, "some of the very best Gurkha soldiers have been line boys."

The fact seems to be that being unable to make any alterations in the fundamental principles of recruitment, the British authorities in India seek to maintain the martial spirit by subsidiary devices. They emphasize caste traditions, religious traditions, sectional traditions, so that no element of the military efficiency of a section of the Indian people, with the exception, of course, of national sentiment, the most efficient of these, would be lost to them. How far they go in perpetuating every obsolete tradition of Indian life for this purpose will be clear from the following extracts from the standing regulations of the 11th Sikh Regiment :

"Men will observe the customs of their faith. A Sikh found smoking tobacco, or with his beard, moustache, or the hair of his head cut, or who dyes or pulls out the hair of his head or face—and a Musalman found drinking alcoholic liquor or disobeying in part or whole—the rules laid down for observance of *Ramzan* will render themselves liable to punishment for disobedience of regimental Standing Orders."*

But it is not by hardening the caste traditions alone that the British authorities in India have done incalculable harm to the martial spirit of the Indian people. They have also by a system of political discrimination altered the whole character and the distribution of the fighting castes and tribes of India. We have already stated that the so-called fighting races were to be found all over India, and we have also stated how the field of army recruitment has come to be restricted predominantly to the Panjab. In carrying out this process they demartialized many gallant Indian tribes and castes, who do not fulfil their particular requirements. One of these classes are the fighting Brahmans. The accompanying map illustrates the distribution and the strength of this important class. During the war of 1914-18 they furnished 20,382 recruits to the Indian Army. Not a single man of this class is now to be found in its rank, the regiment of the 1st Brahmans which took its name after them being composed of only one company of Garhwali Brahmans.

In their search for combined political security and military efficiency, the British military authorities have created a new and important fighting class in the Punjabi Musalmans, who had no very ancient military tradition behind them, but were well known for their freedom of religious or political fanaticism.† They now form the most numerous single class in the army.

III

The second factor which affects recruiting in India is the low physical development of the general mass of the Indian people, and the army authorities in India have not been slow in taking advantage of this circumstance as an explanation of their recruiting policy. When, for example, the question of a more general discussion was being discussed in 1918, a *communique* issued by the Government of India stated :

"The stress of modern warfare is so severe that it can only be undergone by men of strong

* Bingley and Nicholls—*Brahmans*: Caste Handbooks for the Indian Army, p. 53.
† *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture*, Vol I, Part I, Evidence, pp. 162-163; See also *Ibid.*, p. 143*ff*.
§ *Barrow's Sepoy Officer's Manual* (1922), p. 223.

* *Regimental Standing Orders of the 11th Sikh Regiment*. Nowshera, 5th May 1925. Section IV, para 649.
† Appendices to the Report of the Army Commission of 1879, Vol. I., p. 29.

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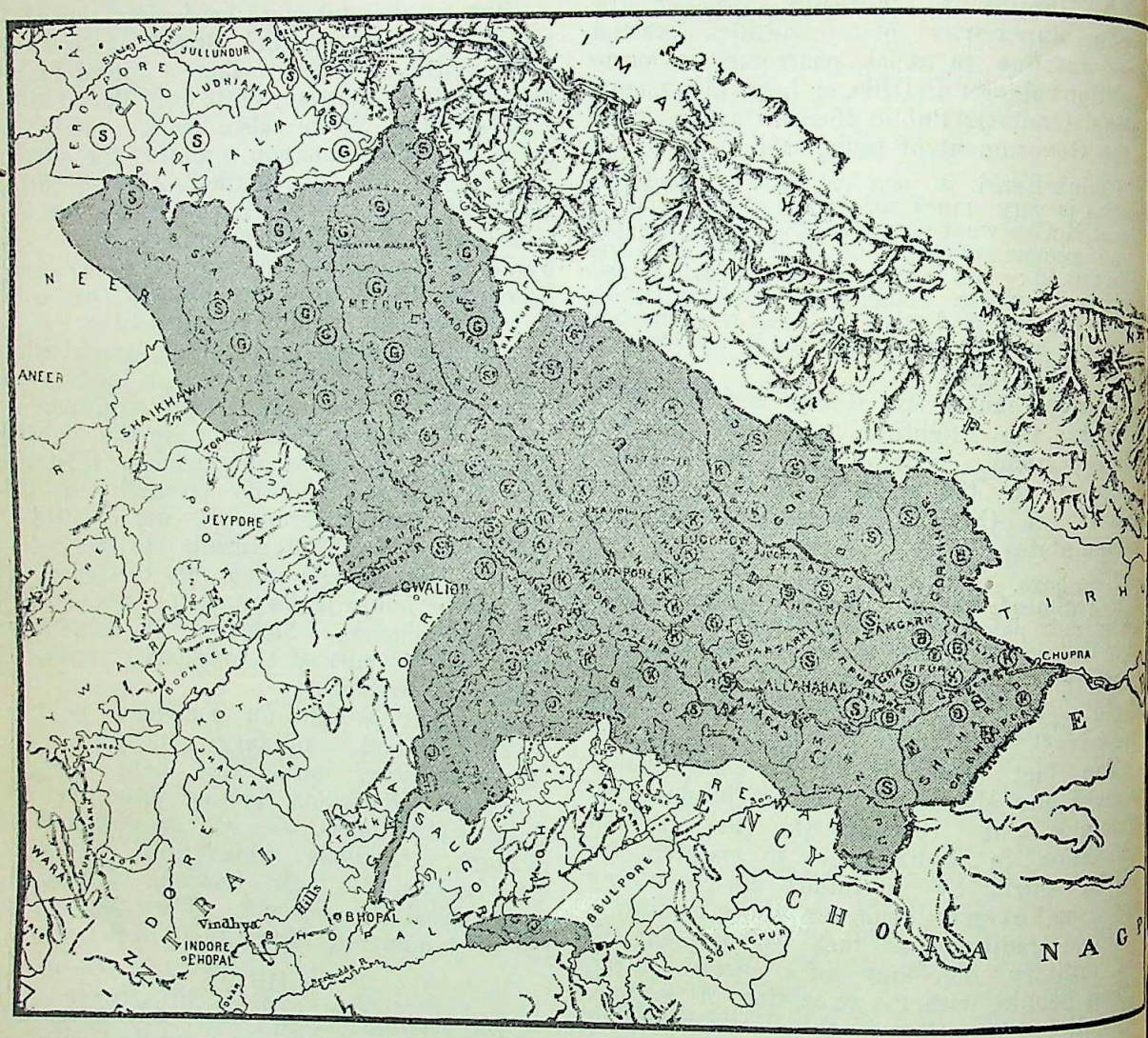
SKETCH MAP ILLUSTRATING THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRAHMAN SUB-TRIBES which formerly furnished the Indian Army with recruits but from which not a single man is now recruited for the Indian infantry.

[The shaded portions indicate the approximate limits of the Brahman recruiting ground]



After the map given in NICHOLLS *and* BINGLEY—BRAHMANS : *Caste Handbooks for the Army. Compiled in the Intelligence Branch of the office of the Q.-M-G in India.*

EXPLANATION OF SIGNS

(The figures in parenthesis indicate male population in 1897)

B=Bhuinhar Brahmans (161,000)
G=Gaur „ (225,800)
J=Jajhotiya „ (32,000)
K=Kanaujiya Brahmans (679,000)
S=Sarwariya „ (968,000)
Sn=Sanadhya „ (34,000)

Among these the Kanaujiyas and the Sarwariyas were the principal fighting Brahmans. They do not generally occur west of the Etwa district. No account has been taken in this map of Brahman sub-castes who have a male population of less than 10,000 in any particular district.

natural physique, and no useful purpose will be served by recruiting those who do not fulfil this test."*

As a principle this was unexceptionable and there can be no doubt that the facts which led the Government to utter this warning were only too depressingly true.

* *The Statesman*, May 3, 1918.

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But in stressing the physical degeneration of the people of India it should not be forgotten that it is not a factor which affects the Army alone. In every sphere of life the baneful effects of this circumstance is being only too keenly felt. The primary reason for this is, of course, under nourishment and disease, which are again due to poverty and ignorance. In drawing attention to the seriousness of the situation the All-India Conference of Medical Researchers passed the following resolution at its sessions of 1924 and 1926:

"This Conference believes that the average number of deaths resulting every year from preventible disease is about 5 to 6 millions, that the average number of days lost to labour by each person in India, from preventible disease, is not less than a fortnight to three weeks in each year, that the percentage loss of efficiency of the average person in India from preventible malnutrition and disease is not less than 20 p. c. and that the percentage of infants born in India who reach a wage-earning age is about 50, whereas it is quite possible to raise this percentage to 80 to 90. The Conference believes that these estimates are under-statements rather than exaggerations, but allowing for the greatest possible margin of error, it is absolutely certain that the wastage of life and efficiency which result from preventible disease costs India several hundreds of crores of rupees each year. The recent census shows that the position in India is one of grave emergency."*

This deplorable state of affairs is due, as we have said, above all to the poverty of the Indian people, and in a lesser degree to their ignorance and dietetic habits. It has become a commonplace to say that the greater majority of the Indian people live upon an allowance of food which is utterly inadequate to sustain a man in the ordinary occupations of life. But what it really means in practice will be very emphatically brought home if a comparison is made between the daily food of an average Indian peasant, of which I believe everyone has a fairly clear idea, with the following scale of rations per day per man which the military authorities issue to troops on field service:

SCALE OF RATIONS IN THE FIELD FOR INDIAN TROOPS AND FOLLOWERS

Daily issues	*Quantity*
Lemon juice	1/2 fl. oz.
Meat, fresh,	8 ozs.
Milk, tinned	2 "
Daily issues	*Quantity*
Onions	2 ozs.
Potatoes	2 "
Sa t	1/2 "
Sugar	2 1/2 "
Tea	1/3 "
Vegetables, fresh (other than potatoes and onions)	1 lb.
Atta	1 1/2 lb.
Chillies	1/6 oz.
Dal	3 "
Garlic	1/6 "
Ghee	2 "
Ginger	1/4 "
Turmeric	1/6 "
Weekly issues	
Cigarettes	40 No.
or Tobacco	2 ozs.
Sweets	4 "
Thrice weekly issues	
Ghee	2 ozs. (Winter only)

The contrast is perhaps too conspicuous to be emphasized at length. During the investigations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, the Chairman, Marquis of Linlithgow, put the question to the Public Health Commissioner to the Govt. of India whether the opportunities of observing men of the same race under better conditions of nourishment afforded by the Indian Army had been taken full advantage of for the purpose of comparison and control of the effect of diet on the physical development of the Indian people. To this question Lieutenant-Colonel Graham replied that the scientific side of the question had not been looked at at all in the Army.* But though no general investigation had been carried out regarding the question, it might have been possible for Lt.-Colonel Graham to give an answer to the question from the case of one or two select classes. The Dogras, for example, exhibit a rather poor physique when they are enlisted in their native hills. But after enlistment the higher standard of feeding quickly develops them, and there is no doubt that a higher standard of living and the improvement of the economic status of the Indian peasant would go a long way towards improving his physique.

But the physical deterioration of all classes of Indians, including those of the so-called martial races, is the result of a vicious circle of ignorance, poverty and, in some cases, of a baneful habit of living, which can hardly be remedied through private and individual enterprise, without State effort on a vast scale. Whether such effort would be

* Quoted in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture*, para 396.

* Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, Vol. I, part I., p. 162.

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coming is a question on which it is permissible to be very sceptical in India. The spokesmen for the Government of India do, of course, claim that a good deal of unostentatious but steady work is being done by the Government Department in the matter of public health and sanitation. This may be true, judging by the standards of the Government of India. But such a claim can hardly be sustained if the criterion of a free and civilized country be applied. The Public Health Department of every country in Europe and America is a very important department, and considering the grave health situation of India, it would have been natural to expect that it would also be a very important department of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments. But what the position it really occupies is, will be apparent from the testimony of Dr. Bentley, the Director of Public Health in Bengal, before the Royal Agricultural Commission. Dr. Bentley was speaking about Bengal, one of the very unhealthy provinces of India. He was asked :

"Judging from the standard of other provinces in India and of other countries, do you think the Health Department is one of the most important Departments of the administration of the province? —It should be, but it is not. It is one of the minor departments.

That is very wrong in your opinion, is it not? —I certainly think that the Health Department should have the same standing as, say, the Ministry of Health in Great Britain."*

The same standing as the Ministry of Health in Great Britain it certainly has not nor is ever likely to have. And only one more instance will be given to illustrate the backwardness of the Government of India in these matters. British experts often make the statement that it is the dietetic habits of the people of certain provinces in India which are responsible for their poor physique. Yet, has the Government taken any steps to counteract these habits or initiated and supported the preliminary researches into the problem of nutrition? Such things are done as a part of the duties of a civilized Government in all the countries of the world. In Japan, for example, an Imperial Institute for Nutrition was established by a Special Ordinance of 1920, and foundations were laid for alterations in the national diet which appeared necessary from the point of view of physical development.†

* Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, Vol. IV Evidence, p. 263.

† Royal Commission on Agriculture, Vol. I, part I, Evidence, p. 156.

But bad as the situation is, there is no reason for giving up all hope of amelioration, if one sets about the task with intelligence, knowledge and energy. There are other countries in the world in which, too, physical deterioration is a disquieting phenomenon. In Great Britain particularly, the poor quality of the recruits who present themselves for recruitment to the army is causing grave concern to the Army authorities there. Replying to a question in the House of Commons on November 25, 1930, Mr. Tom Shaw, the Secretary for War in the Labour Government stated that the difficulty in the way of getting the necessary contingent of recruits for the Army was "that the physique of the men offering was not suitable."* And a few weeks before this statement was made, *The Spectator* was regretting that "many of the lads are not up to the required standard of physique, education or character."† This state of affairs appears to be the culmination of a tendency observable for many years past and not simply the result of the war and post-war years of economic unsettlement and distress. "The Report on the Health of the Army for 1911," for example, states that :

"As in former years the greater majority of recruits raised were growing youths, and a large proportion of them were out of work, so that, as a consequence, many were in poor condition and exhibited the general want of maturity which has always been a characteristic of our young soldiers. There is no evidence of prospective improvement in this respect....."§

The inferiority of the physique and the intelligence of the British recruit became particularly conspicuous when it was compared to the superior development of the Dominion soldier. This was brought to the notice of the Army authorities in England as far back as the Boer War,** and became

* *The Times*, November 26, 1930, p. 8.

† *The Spectator* Aug. 9, 1930.

§ Report on the Health of the Army for the year 1911. 1912 (Cd. 6287) p. 2.

** Report of H. M's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the military preparations and other matters connected with the War in South Africa. 1903 : Minutes of Evidence p. 202 and p. 358. Replying to a question (No. 4758) about the quality of the colonial troops Lieutenant-General Kelly-kenny said : "Yes, I think they were superior to our men not perhaps in discipline and training but in intelligence"; while Field Marshal Lord Wolsely stated : "There is no doubt that the men who came from the colonies were first-rate. You could not have better men in every way."

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very noticeable during the great war. It is described in one of the most poignant passages of C. E. Montague's beautiful book *Disenchantment*:

"You might survey from beginning to end a British attack up a bare opposite slope, perhaps with home troops on the left and Canadian or Australasian troops on the right. You had already seen them meet on roads in the rear: battalions of colourless, stunted, half-tooth-less lads from hot humid Lancashire mills; battalions of slow, staring faces, gargoyles out of the tragical-comical-historical-pastoral edifice of modern English rural life; Dominion battalions of men startlingly taller, stronger, handsomer, prouder, firmer in nerves, better schooled, more boldly interested in life, quicker to take means to an end and to parry and counter any new blow of circumstance, men who had learned already to look at our men with the half-curious half-pitying look of a higher, happier caste at a lower. And now you saw them, all these kinds, arise in one continuous line out of the earth and walk forward to bear in the riddled flesh and wrung spirit the sins of their several fathers, pastors, and masters."*

No wonder the Canadians and the Australians came to regard themselves as the storm troops of the British Army.

This low standard continued in the years after the war. The General Annual Report for the British Army for 1921 states:

"It will be seen that the general standard of the men presenting for enlistment has been poor. This is no doubt largely attributable to the mode of life led by many of them during the war and at a time when they were growing lads."†

But the years following showed no improvement, and the Report for 1924 stated that:

"Although the quality of the recruits accepted has been maintained at a high standard, the physique of the youth of the nation has not recovered from the effects of war and post-war conditions. In consequence a proportion of lads on attaining military age are of such physique that they would be unable to stand the physical strain of military service.

The full effect on the recruiting market will be appreciated from the fact that during the year under review no fewer than 49,245 (out of 84,506) were rejected as unsuitable on account of physical defects."§

They were handy men, they were men of a superior class to our soldiers certainly, of superior intelligence and therefore if you compare them with our troops I should say they were better than any troops that I know of in Europe." (Question No. 9 28).

* C. E. Mantague– *Disenchantment*, p. 152.

† The General Annual Report on the British Army for the year ending 30th September 1921, with which is incorporated the Annual Report on recruiting. 1923 (Cmd. 1941) p. 8.

§ The General Annual Report for the year ending 30th September 1925. 1926 (Cmd. 2342) p. 6.

And in 1925 52,207 out of 89,277 were rejected on this ground.

The following short table gives the figures of rejection for physical reasons in the British Army for the years immediately preceding and following the war:

Year	No of men served with notice papers	Rejected for physical reasons	Percentage of rejections
1911-12	57,681	20,577	35.6
1912-13	46 133	12,277	26.6
1919-20	119,826	37,949	31.7
1920-21	106,954	51,021	47.4
1921-22	106,954	59,736	55.5
1922-23	86,039	49,550	57.7
1923-24	84,506	49,245	58.2
1924-25	89,277	52,207	58.6

This shows a steady rise in the number of men rejected for unsatisfactory and unsuitable physique and illustrates in a very vivid fashion the physical deterioration of the classes which supply soldiers to the British Army.

IV

We come now to the third factor affecting recruitment in India, which is the economic factor. Like every other voluntary army, the Indian Army also is subject to the competition of other vocations, and it is likely that this competition may become more accentuated in the future. As the Esher Committee's Report summed up the situation immediately after the war:

"The Indian soldier has seen the world during the last six years in a way he never has before. His ideas of comfort have risen, and he has acquired certain tastes to which he was previously a stranger. He is well aware of what has been due for the British soldier in the way of amelioration of conditions of life and pay since the war began, and he is now apt to compare his own pay with that of his British comrades.

"We have not found that recruiting generally is languishing, except as regards one or two classes, though it is doubtful whether the physique and social status of the men joining now are what they were before the war. But we have to reckon with the fact that Indians, epecially Sikhs, are taking to work as mechanics in large numbers. Pay far beyond that which the army can offer is obtainable now by India s with even a small knowledge of machinery. There are many well-paid openings in the Far East of which they are taking advantage, while India has before her a period of industrial and agricultural development which will attract many thousands of young men of the martial clas es."*

Now, this competition is not as recent a development as the Esher Committee

* Report of the Army in India Committee 1919-20 p. 62.

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supposes it to be, though owing to the hereditary tradition of military service in the Panjab and other provinces of Northern India, it was the last to make its appearance in those areas. In the Madras Army, which was, in some respects, composed of the best educated and the most intelligent men in the Indian Army, the effects of economic competition were felt as far back as fifty years ago. In his evidence before the Special Commission of 1879, General Sir Neville Chamberlain, the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, stated that "military service no longer occupies the same attractive position as compared with other pursuits."* Commenting on this situation, Sir Frederic Haines, the Commander-in-Chief in India, said:

"I do not think that any extraordinary difficulty exists in getting good class of recruits, beyond that which has been created by the construction of railway and oth-r large public works. As in England, competition for labour has a somewhat adverse effect on recruiting."†

That the economic factor is affecting all the so-called martial classes is also proved by the recruitment of the Mahrattas. Mahrattas now in the Army come mostly from the Konkan, the Dekhani Mahrattas, though better soldiers, being somewhat difficult to enlist on account of their agricultural prosperity.§

All this simply shows that India is energing out of medieval, into modern economic and political conditions, when military service will be rendered as a public duty and, so far as it is a profession, be judged by the standards applicable to all other vocations. On both these counts the British Government in India fails to offer sufficient inducements to possible recruits. We have already seen how its inherent character fails to appeal to any but the predatory elements of the Indian population, and the excessive cost of the British portion of the Army prevents the Government of India from making the pay of the Indian Sepoy more adequate. There is, accordingly, no reason to think that with a change of Government in which the purely Indian interests would be better looked to, there would be any paucity of recruits on economic grounds.

As in the case of physical deterioration, here, too, it is interesting to compare the state of affairs in India with those in Great Britain.

For the last ten years Army authorities in England have been meeting with the greatest difficulty in getting recruits for even their small standing army. Not only is the supply of recruits far short of the requirements, but most of those presenting themselves are undesirable in character, intelligence and physique. The disinclination of the able-bodied and eligible population of Great Britain to shoulder the burden of national defence is such that "The General Annual Report on the British Army for the year ending 30th September 1924" was compelled to state:

"It is a matter of regret that the civil population in some parts of the country, especially in industrial centres, appear to adopt an attitude of apathy towards the Army and military affairs.

"There also appears to be a disinclination on the part of parents to al ow their sons to embark on a career which, they consider, holds out no assured prospect of employment in future life."*

This chorus of regret is daily gaining in volume. In the April (1930) number of *The Army Quarterly*, the leading military periodical of England, a writer drew attention in an article to the difficulties of recruitment in England. And in its issue for August 9, 1930 the London *Spectator* wrote:

"There is a shocking irony in thousands of lads living on the "dole," while advantages of the Army are not taken. Many of the lads are not up to the required standard of physique, education or character; and that is as sad as the fact that those who are fitted are not impelled by self-respect to prefer service to idleness."

The latest pronouncement on the subject comes from Mr. Tom Shaw, the Secretary for War. Replying to a question Mr. Shaw told the House of Commons on November 25, 1930:

"That compared with the same period last year, there had been an increase in the total intake of recruits during the past three months, though the number enlisting into the infantry showed a small decrease and remained considerably below requirements."

Replying to a supplementary question Mr. Shaw said that:

"Steps were being taken to make up the deficiencies. There was, however, no lack of offers of service, the difficulty being that the physique of the men offering was not suitable."†

It seems strange that no one has yet taken advantage of these facts to put forward a theory of the martial races of the British Empire.

* Appendices to the Report of the Special Commission of 1879, vol I., p. 140.
† *Ibid.*, p. 120.
§ *Barrow's Sepoy Officer's Manual* (1922), p. 227.

* Cmd. 2342 of 1925, p. 6.
† *The Times*, November 16, 1930, p. 8.

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V

Want of a general national military tradition, the physical deterioration of the people, and the ecnomic competition, these are three factors which affect recruitment in India, and serious and depressing as the situation is in all three, particularly the first two respects, it is not beyond the efforts of a resolute and public spirited Government. But it is exactly here that we touch the crux of the whole military situation in India. The alien power which rules India to-day is not only not anxious to restore the military spirit of the Indian people, but it has been pursuing, for the last seventy years, a policy of maintaining their army as an insulated body of manhood in the midst of a thoroughly disarmed and emasculated population. In order to accomplish this object it has first, as far as possible, prevented all contact between the army and the civilian population and, secondly, disarmed the latter. Both these aspects of the demartialization of the Indian people must be taken up one by one.

As it is not within the financial resources of even the wealthiest country in the world to maintain and train in peace time an army equal to all its requirements in war, all modern States nowadays maintain a close relation between its military and civilian population so that in case of need, the peace time armies might be rapidly expanded by drawing upon all the available man-power of the country. In countries in which the voluntary system prevails, it is generally the custom to give as large a portion of the civilians as possible a short-term training in a second line army like the Territorial Army of Great Britain. In countries which have conscription but cannot absorb all the available man-power, care is taken that no portion of the eligible quota of men should be wasted through thoughtless rejection. Thus, for example, in Soviet Russia, where the Regular Army absorbs and trains an annual maximum of 270,000 men only, while the annual contingent of recruits is about 850,000, the superfluous personnel is given thorough military training in the Territorial Army or the Militia. In addition to this all these countries possess a wide system of preparatory military training in schools and colleges as well as outside them with a view to developing young men physically and morally for defence, whether or no they actually enter the army. In France this training begins at the age of 17 and is given by athletic clubs, educational institutions etc. In Russia it begins at the age of 19 and continues for two years. The O. T. C. performs a similar function for Great Britain, while in the United States which, relatively speaking, was one of the non-military States of the world, the R O. T. C. under the auspices of the War Depar ment is making strenuous and widely ramified attempts in universities and schools to give elementary military instruction to the youth of the country. It is stated that at the present moment 142,000 boys are receiving this instruction in 318 institutions in every State of the Union. The object of this training is not to make soldiers but only to keep a sufficient pool of men ready to fill up the deficiencies of the Regular Army, should need arise

In India army organization proceeds on radically opposite lines. Not only is there no preparatory military training in schools and colleges, not only has repeated proposals both in the Legislatures and outside them to give wider physical training to the youth of the country been turned down on alleged financial grounds, but if any inference is possible from the past statements of policy and the present activities of the Government, it seems to be the fixed policy of the rulers of the country, as we have already stated, to maintain the army in India as an island in the middle of an ocean of military incapacity. The basic needs of the army and its reserves (but it must be remembered that the present reserve of the Indian Army numbers only 43,643, of which 34,313 alone belong to the fighting units) provided for, the rest of the Indian people must be disarmed and be made thoroughly inocuous from the military point of view. The Territorial Army, as it exists to-day, is a mere skeleton and half-trained force. The Government has not yet acceded to repeated demands to expand it or to give it adequate military training.

One of the frankest and the most cynical avowals of the point of view of the Army authorities in India that I have come across is to be found in the volumes of evidence before the Army in India Committee of 1878. One of the questions raised by this Committee was whether the creation of a reserve for the Indian Army was practicable and desirable. After stating that such a step was open to "grave political objection," Sir Richard Temple, the Governor of Bombay went on to say :

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"In India, under British rule, the former martial tendencies of the Native population gradually become lessened till they almost disappear, and this circumstance is considered to be one of the safe-guards of our rule. So conscious has the Government been of this, that within the present generation the Native population has been generally "disarmed," that is, the people have been enjoined to give up their arms. The Government never passed its Indian subjects through the ranks, nor sent them to their homes in the vigour of life. On the contrary, it has heretofore never parted with its Native soldiers till they were pensioned in the evening of life.—Therefore, to train them, to keep them for a limited time, either with the colours or in reserve, and then altogether to discharge them without pension to their homes in numbers increasingly large would be to ensure a constant influx into the civil population of military men no longer bound to Government and to infuse again into the people a part of that martial spirit which has been disappearing, and the disappearance of which is still advantageous to us. This would be different from the past policy of the Government, which is still as sound as it ever was, and would militate against those maxims of political safety which are likely to continue as imperative in the future as they have been in the past and are in the present."*

It is unnecessary to add anything to so clear and comprehensive a statement of policy, yet for the sake of completeness, it might not be absolutely superfluous to quote the following opinion of Lt.-General H. J. Warre regarding the same subject.

"The chief difficulty," Gen. Warre said, "in India consists in disposing of this reserve during peace, so that an indefinite number of trained soldiers shall not be thrown on native villages, or scattered throughout the agricultural districts, thereby inculcating an undesirable military spirit amongst the now quiet and naturally non-military population."†

The gulf between the Indian Army and the Indian people is, therefore, as wide as the British authorities have been able to make it, and what is more, it has been made still more irremediable by a total disarming of the civilian population of the country.

VI

"I have always been under the impression that the restoration of the martial spirit in India would be fatal to our supremacy"—so said Lt.-General H. J. Warre, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army in 1879, and there can be no doubt that the Government is not far from sharing this view of the right policy to be followed in India, though it cannot imitate the frankness of its military advisers. We possess a very interesting record of the pre-occupations of the Government on this subject in the correspondence which passed between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments about the internal situation of the country in 1878. At that time the Government of India requested the heads of Provinces to communicate to the President of the Army Committee of 1878 their appreciation of the "state of feeling" and "elements of danger" in their respective provinces. In this survey of the political and military situation, the Panjab came out with very great credit for loyalty.

"It is a matter of extreme satisfaction to the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor, it was stated, that he is able to record his deliberate opinion founded upon long experience of the people of the Punjab and the testimony of many experienced and able officers, that the state of feeling in this Province is, at the present time, excellent; and His Honour does not believe that in any other province in India there will be found an equal amount of sympathy between the rulers and the ruled, so much identification of the interests of the people with those of the Government, or so much real, hearty, and active loyalty, as in the Punjab."*

The requirements of the internal security of this province were therefore not considered very heavy. But two of the most dangerous provinces were reported to be the U. P. and Bombay, and the opinion about them is worth quoting at some length:

Of the U. P it was said:

"The general feeling [is] one of apathetic disaffection, The city of Lucknow has the unenviable reputation of decided, but impotent, disaffection to British rule; and His Honour has no doubt as to the truth of this. The glories of the Nawabs are still fondly remembered by crowds of discontented pensioners and starving hangers-on, who contrast the present with the past state of affairs in a manner very unfavourable to the former, and cordially hate our rule."†

The report about Maharastra is more interesting still:

"The mass of the peasantry are generally well disposed and loyal to Government; but as their immediate ancestors were much engaged in wars and revolutions, many martial qualities survive in them, and even of late years they have in some parts shown a certain excitability which leads to violence. The hilly nature of the country sustains habits of hardihood and self-reliance. . .

There is a considerable Mahratta nobility called Sirdars of the Deccan. . . . Much as we may confide in each chief individually, . . . it is to be remembered that these people are the descendants

* Appendices to the Report of the Army Committee of 1878, Vol. I, pp. 191-192.
† *Ibid.*, p. 184.

* *Ibid.*, p. 29.
† *Ibid.*, p. 23.

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within two generations of those who formed the court and camp of the Peishwas; that their immediate ancestors enjoyed wealth, power, honour, all which inevitably pass away in consequence of a foreign rule like ours . . .

"Throughout the whole of the Deccan, the mind of the people is, I believe, affected by the past associations of Mahratta rule, which, so far from being forgotten, are better remembered than would ordinarily be expected, and by the long retained memory of the Mahratta uprising against the Muhammadans—a memory which is constantly recalled by the sight of the mountains which rendered that uprising first practicable and then successful, and by the tradition always so apt to survive in mountainous countries. This memory constantly suggests the analogy between the position of the British and that of the Moguls in the Deccan."*

The mountains of Maharashtra were therefore brought to the notice of the Government of India as a partcuilar element of danger. But, as the Governor of Bombay regretfully observed :

"The nature of the country, (which) on this particular line cannot be artificially changed."†

The next moment, however, he was prompted by an after-thought to add :

"In one respect, however, this abiding difficulty has been to some extent, and is still being, overcome, because the range of mountains has been pierced east to west by railways on two points, and by first-rate military roads for wheeled carriage in eleven points and some more lines of similar communications are contemplated."§

If this happened to the mountains of India men might with cheerfulness be resigned to their fate.

And as a matter of fact, they have not been spared. The Arms Act of 1861 was the first tangible proof of a new and deliberate orientation of British policy in India, and since its inception the application of the Act has been jealously supervised by the military advisers of the Government of India and it is now watched by the General Staff.

Of late years precautions in this respect have been redoubled by the Government. It is a matter of common knowledge in Bengal that athletic clubs are not liked by the executive and the police. They are kept under surveillance and harassed, not simply because they have sometimes, among their members, individuals connected with revolutionary activities. The sweep of the net is far wider. It seeks to keep in check a bewildering series of activities, and it might almost without exaggeration be said that the administrators wage relentless war not on any particular type of activity, but on a type of character—the character precisely which goes to make the courageous, self-reliant and active citizen.

* *Ibid.*, p. 36.
† *Ibid.*, p. 37.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

VII

It now remains only to draw together the threads of a long and rather rambling discussion in a very short conclusion. This enquiry, necessarily hurried and sketchy as it has been, has yet attempted to take into consideration all the facts connected with the military potentialities of the Indian people and has also tried to examine the question from all its possible venues of approach. If it has not been entirely vain, it has perhaps shown that though the creation of a national army in India might not be easy, it would certainly not be as difficult as the British authorities would have us believe.

"When India has got rid of her racial feuds, her religious animosities and her Eastern prejudices and is inspired by one dominating patriotism," wrote Lord Rawlinson in 19'1, "she can begin to think of defending herself. But when will that be ?"

The readiest answer to this challenge suggested by the results of the present enquiry seems to be : "When Indians will have the power to mould their own destiny." But that would be throwing upon the shoulders of others even that part of the responsibility which rightly belongs to ourselves. No nation ever rose to greatness by refusing to acknowledge its own defects. It may be a pity that when Indians will be given the power to regulate their own affairs, there will not be handed over to them their own primitive wilds, but a devastated region. But as Lord Kitchener said during the war of 1914-18 : "We must make war as we have to not as we wish to."

Not much need be said by a way of conclusion regarding the doctrine of the martial races. The theory itself made its first appearance when the effects of the deliberate policy of the disarmament of the Indian people followed after the Mutiny, were making themselves felt for the first time, and even now it draws its principal sustenance from the same source. This reminds me of a story which I heard about the retort of a Bundela chief to a British official during the recruiting campaign of 1917-18. The British official is said to have expressed the opinion that the Bundela

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Jiwans had become women and were no longer men. Like lightning came the response of the old chief: "Why shouldn't they? They were born during the reign of a woman." Then he added more thoughtfully: "How can they become warriors since they have not been allowed to bear any arms in their lives."

The Arms Act policy is the fundamental factor of the demartialization of the Indian people, and after it come the invidious enlistment policy of the Government and the caste tradition of military service inherent in the old Hindu society. What part all these three have played in crea ing the unequalities in military capacity of the people of the different provinces of India has already been explained at some length. All that need be said here is that formidable and deplorable as these are there is no reason to fall into a mood of pessimistic determinism about them. If India society has not become absolutely dead, if the Indian people have not lost the faculty of adjusting themselves to changing conditions of life, which is the sign of every living nation, they will overcome all these difficulties and claim their equality in every respect with every other nation of the world.

Meanwhile there is no reason to think that the upholders of the theory of the martial races will cease to believe in the articles of their creed. As General Von Seeckt, the distinguished German soldier, says at the beginning of a delightful essay in his newly published *Thoughts*: "There are three things against which the human mind struggles in vain: Stupidity, bureaucracy, and catch-words." (*Concluded*)

INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

The Case of the late Mr. Ghose of Tanganyika

The readers of these notes are aware of the fact that I reproduced from the *Tanganyika Herald* certain allegations regarding the treatment of the late Mr. S. N. Ghose, a member of the Tanganyika Legislative Council during the illness that preceded his unfortunate death. I wrote to the *Leader* also on this subject. Pandit Hridaya Nath Kunzru ex-M. L. A., former president of the East African Indian National Congress, happened to read my note and he drew the attention of Mr. H. S. L. Polak of London to this matter requesting him to get an enquiry made into these allegations. Accordingly Mr. Polak wrote on the 28th August 1930, personally to Dr. T. Drummond Shiels, the Colonial Minister, as follows:

May I draw your attention to the marked passages in the enclosed article by Mr. Benarsidas Chaturvedi in the *Leader* of Allahabad of the 1st instant? Mr. Benarsidas Chaturvedi is one of the most responsible publicists on Indians overseas, and Mr. H. N. Kunzru has especially directed my attention to this matter. Mr. S. N. Ghose was personally known to Mr. S. G. Vaze of the Servants of India Society, who is now here with Mr. Sastri. The statement made in the report is of so scandalous a nature that I venture to think you will agree that some enquiry is needed, and I shall be very glad if you can see your way to have one made.

On the 1st September Dr. Shiels replied as follows:

Thanks for your letter. I am going off on Tuesday to Geneva, but I will see that the matter you bring to my notice is looked into. The complaint is rather vague as Mr. Ghose appears to have been taken to the European hospital. I take it that the objection is to his having been placed in a Goan ward as it is not said that he did not get proper attention. I fear that his condition as described suggests that he was not a hopeful case, but I would regret very much if he were prevented from getting proper treatment by any neglect or indifference on the part of the authorities. I hope that this has not been the case, and as I say, I would have liked something more definite to have been charged.

On the 6th December Dr. Shiels addressed Mr. Polak again on the subject in the following letter with two enclosures, and Mr. Polak has obtained permission from Dr. Shiels to publish the correspondence.

You will remember writing to me at the end of August about the allegations which appeared

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in the *Tanganyika Herald* and which were quoted in the *Leader*, Allahabad, in regard to the treatment of the late Mr. S. N. Ghose, a member of the Tanganyika Legislative Council during his illness. I now enclose copies of two letters, one from the senior medical officer in charge of the European hospital at Dar-es-Salaam and one from Mr. Ghose's private medical attendant of Tanganyika. These letters speak for themselves, and I am sure that you will agree with me in thinking that there can be no shadow of foundation for the statement published in the *Tanganyika Herald*.

The following is the text of the letter of the senior medical officer :

European Hospital,
Dar-es-Salaam,
Tanganyika Territory,
16th October 1930.

The Hon'ble,
The Director of Medical & Sanitary Services.
Dar-es-Salaam.

SIR,—With reference to your letter No. 3 B-927 enclosing correspondence relating to the treatment of Mr. S. N. Ghose while under my care in this hospital during his last illness. I wish to reply that there is no element of truth in the statements which were published in the *Tanganyika Herald*.

The facts as far as I am concerned are these: I had known Mr. Ghose for several years and since last December I had been called in consultation by Dr. Malik on at least eight occasions to see him. He was then suffering from chronic nephritis and commencing heart failure. Two days before he was admitted to hospital I saw him in his house. He was then obviously ill, restless and out of breath. I was called again to see him early on the morning of June 5 and Dr. Malik asked me if I would take him into hospital. I explained to him and to Mr. Ghose and his friends that I had no private single rooms empty at that time in which I could accommodate him, that a bed in one of the two large general wards would not be suitable in his present condition and that I thought it would be better to put him into a single room at the end of the Asiatic block. This room *is often used for Europeans* and is a most excellent room and Mr. Ghose on his arrival expressed himself well pleased and content with everything. I do not consider that more could possibly have been done in the way of treatment or comfort. There were relatives or friends with him all the time he was in hospital and almost continuous oxygen inhalation was administered in order to relieve that distressing feeling of suffocation which is inseparable from such cases. Being therefore satisfied in my own mind and *with the assurance of Mr. Ghose that he was being well looked after and content* in his surroundings while in hospital I feel that the statements published in the *Tanganyika Herald* are both mischievous and untrue.

I attach a letter from Dr. Malik which I hope may give support to my statements.

I have, etc.,
(Sgd.) J. H. PARRY,
Senior Medical Officer In Charge.

The following is the text of Dr. Malik's letter:

P. O. Box No. 451
Dar-es-Salaam.
Tanganyika Territory,
15th October, 1930.

Dr. J. H. Parry,
The Senior Medical Officer i. c.
European Hospital.
Dar-es-Salaam.

Dear Sir,

With regard to the allegation which appeared in the *Herald* concerning the late Mr. S. N. Ghose, I wish to state the following:

Mr. Ghose had been ill for some considerable time with chronic nephritis and failing heart, and I had several times had you in consultation. I have to thank you for your valuable advice and assistance.

A few days before Mr. Ghose died I asked you if you could take him in the hospital, you replied, you had a room in the Goans' ward and you wanted me to make this clear to Mr. Ghose and his friends, which I did and they seemed quite agreeable to this accommodation.

I visited Mr. Ghose in the hospital twice during the 3 or 4 days he was there. As far as my knowledge goes he had the best medical treatment available in the hospital and everything was done to make him comfortable. I really cannot understand on what the *Herald* has based his allegations.

Yours faithfully,
(Sgd.) G. B. MALIK,
M. R. C. S.

I have published this correspondence in these columns in fairness to Dr. J. H. Parry of the European Hospital at Dar-es-Salaam, so that my readers may know the other side of the question. I have also written to the editor of the *Tanganyika Herald* to explain the whole thing. In the meanwhile, will any reader of these notes kindly find out the present address of the brother of Mr. S. N. Ghose? I would like to open correspondence with him on this subject.

A Suggestion to the Commision of Enquiry into Missionary Education in India

A Commission has been touring round India making enquiries into the condition of missionary efforts for education in this country. Possibly as a result of this enquiry the entire system of missionary education in India may be revised and future policy devised for this purpose. In this connection I would put a proposal before the Commission. A sub-committee should be appointed by the Commission to visit some colonies where Indians have settled in large number, for example, the West Indies and Fiji Islands to find out what the different Christian Missions have already done for spreading education among Indians and suggest means

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to give greater impetus to these private efforts. No one can deny the very useful work done by the missions in the field of education in India though one may entirely disagree with the proselytising activities of some of these missions. It will be a good thing indeed if the missionary societies open a Model High School in Fiji.

But there is one thing which ought to be kept in mind. The High School should be vitally connected with India. Nationalist agitations in India have their repercussion in the colonies also and if the missionary institutions want to do any real service to the Indian population they will have to befriend this healthy feeling of nationalism. A good deal of pioneering work was done by the missions in India and since other private organizations have sprung up to continue this work, the missions will do well to turn their attention to Greater India. There is a vast field of work for them in the colonies. But have they got the imagination to strike a new line of action?

Tangannyika-Indian Conference

The second session of the Tanganyika-Indian Conference was held at Dar-es-Salaam under the presidentship of Mr. Taibali, Bar-at-Law of Zanzibar. Mr. Akbar-ali. A. Adamji was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Here is a significant passage from Mr. Adamji's speech:

We have hereditary rights in these colonies. Merchants of India have been trading with this coast for over 200 years. Owing to the uncertain position of this country at that time it was not practicable for Indian merchants to have settled in these parts. Within the last 40 years European Empire builders have taken a controlling hand in the "pacification" of the natives and European merchants only came in after the missionaries. It is only within the last 30 years that European settlers actually came in owing to the struggle for existence in Europe. It is these people who are now threatening to take away from us the ordinary rights of citizenship. It is these people who are claiming to rule the natives as well as the Indians. They are denying us equal rights and propose to treat us as nothing better than the natives of the Territory.

We entirely agree with the strong position taken up by Mr. Adamji. Our people in Tanganyika have certainly got hereditary rights in that territory and they must put up a good fight for the protection of these rights. But there is one thing to which we should take exception. We in India have always resented the use of the word 'Natives' for ourselves and we should not use it for the Africans. The sentence 'The Europeans are denying us equal rights and propose to treat us as nothing better than the natives of the Territory" has not been happily put. We believe that Mr. Adamji does not claim any preference over the natives of the territory. But the views of Mr. Taibali are quite unambiguous on this point. He said:

"It is only just that if and when the interests of the children of the soil should come into conflict with those of the immigrant communities the former should prevail. Why anybody should object to the carrying out of such an eminently fair policy passes one's comprehension"

Indian Settlement in Tanganyika

The views of Mr. Taibali on the question of Indian settlement in Tanganyika deserve serious consideration at the hands of Indian public and the Indian Government. He said:

Indians and Agriculture

Although quite a number of Indians are engaged in Agriculture in this territory yet I regret to say that a sufficient proportion of them have not taken to agricultural pursuits. In my opinion the Indians would be making a much more substantial contribution towards the development of this country if they engage in agriculture in larger numbers. Indians of this territory have from time to time requested the Indian Government to bring to the notice of Indian farmers the advantage of an agriculturist's life over here with a view to induce them to this country but so far no steps have been taken by the Indian Government in this direction. I would like to draw the attention of the Government and the people of India that millions upon millions of acres of rich virgin soil in the Tanganyika Territory is awaiting development. There are plenty of people in India who would make splendid colonists. East Africa and particularly Tanganyika Teritrory has been considered and rightly so to be the natural outlet for the surplus population of India. In view of the fact that a special office exists in London to supply to the British public all necessary information relating to these territories, is it too much to hope that Indian Government will also open similar Information Bureaus in some of the large cities in India and give all possible help to desirable intending immigrants? If Indians with some capital and education and particulary with agricultural training could be persuaded to come to this country, they would be a valuable acquisition not only to the domiciled Indian cummunity but also to the country of their adoption. We are justified in h ping that with the advent of national Government in India, no time will be lost in doing what the alien Government has so far failed to do.

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Information Bureaus in India

There was also a resolution on this subject passed at the last session of the Tanganyika-Indian Conference :

"This Conference urges upon the Government of India the necessity of opening Information Bureaus in India and to take other necessary steps to encourage the emigration of Indian settlers to Tanganyika."

No doubt the importance of this resolution cannot be questioned but unfortunately there does not seem any hope of the Government of India doing anything in this direction in the near future. The best thing would be to start the work on a small scale without waiting for the response from the Government. Now is it really impossible to publish an illustrated pamphlet about Tanganyika territory ? Is there not a single Indian in the colony competent to write such a pamphlet ? And can they not subscribe £30 or £40 among themselves to publish such a pamphlet ? If we cannot do anything ourselves then surely we cannot reasonably expect the Government to do it.

Emigration of Indian Youths to Malaya

Mr. S. Antony of Kuala Lumpur. F. M. S. has sent me the following note for publication.

"The object of this note is not to discourage adventurous youths intending to seek their fortunes in Malaya, but to place before them a few facts so that they may be enabled to gauge properly the risk that they are running by emigrating to this country at the present time. Malaya is no doubt a land of opportunities but it is well to remember that the opportunities do not always exist.

Rubber and tin are the main stay of Malaya. When there is a boom in both the industries, Malaya is a real paradise for fortune hunters ; but when there is no boom Malaya is no where, for Malaya has no other industry to fall back upon.

The present time is not a boom period for Malaya. The world wide depression in trade has affected every industry and particularly the Rubber and Tin industry of Malaya. Consequently rubber estates are unable to produce rubber at a price favourable to the industry. Some have already closed down discharging the labour force employed by them excepting a few, absolutely necessary for weeding and clearing. The Indian labourers thus thrown out of employment are being repatriated to India. There are some companies no doubt able to hold out even though the price of rubber has come down to so low a figure as 15 and 17 cents per pound. But such companies have been wholesale contractors for America and other foreign countries for a number of years on a certain specified price per pound and they are very few.

The result is widespread unemployment among the labour force of all nationalities. The condition of estate clerks, conductors and clerks employed in rubber Agencies, etc. are no better. They are the men affected directly. It is a pity to see men discharged from the companies who were holding service in the firms for a number of years for no other reason than the present slump. Everywhere unemployment relief fund is raised and organizations are made to relieve the distress of the unemployed people here.

What then about employees in Government ? They are also affected. The source of revenue being thus affected, the Government feel they cannot maintain the temporary staffs employed by them and they contemplate even closing the Department which is not possible to run at a profit. Such being the conditions in Malaya what is the meaning of unemployed Indians coming over to this country in large numbers ?

The appointment and employment in the Malayan Government is so exquisitely ranked that Indians are counted in the last, for what reason, one cannot understand. Appointments go usually to locally born Malays, the sons of the soil or to the Chinese or to the Eurasians and as a last recourse to Indians and even among them locally born and educated Indians are preferred. It is not usual to find men employed at present in Government services here, for Indian qualifications however high they be are not counted in this country. Men with technical qualifications may no doubt have some chance in the business firms here. But their position too is always of an unsteady nature, considering the precarious position of the rubber and tin markets. Personally speaking, I have been seeing very many Indian youths roaming in big towns in Malaya in search of employment thus cheapening the demand for the Indians already existing here. Not content with that, the new arrivals go in to offer their services below their real worth. The worst part of it is that people with families arrive without even imagining what would be their fate if they were unemployed for some months. The high hopes they must have entertained when they started from India are often shattered on their arrival here and eventually they are forced to endure all sorts of sufferings which they would not have had to endure if they had stayed in their own country. I would therefore take the opportunity of earnestly advising my Indian brethren not to emigrate to Malaya until normal economic conditions are restored in this country.

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NOTES

Bond At Home, Free Abroad !

The citizenship of a British city is sometimes given to distinguished foreigners *honoris causa*. Last month such honour was shown at Edinburgh to the Nawab of Bhopal and Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. On the 9th of that month the freedom of the city was conferred on them at Usher Hall, Edinburgh.

The exact status of the ruling Princes of India is a matter of controversy. They claim that they are allies of the British King, whereas it has been contended by British bureaucrats and imperialistic jurists that they are subordinate rulers. But whatever they may be in theory, *practically* they are vassals, and, as such, subjects of the British sovereign. As for the native inhabitants of British-ruled India, they are, both theoretically and practically, subjects in bondage who have still to attain the status of free citizens.

It was hoped, therefore, that the distinguished Indians who received the freedom of the city of Edinburgh would appreciate the unintended joke implied in conferring the *free*dom of a free city in a free foreign country on persons who did not enjoy the status of free citizens in their own country.

There is just a possibility that the "honour" did not make the Nawab forget the reality and that he had an inkling of the joke.

—

The Nawab of Bhopal Cautious

For, His Highness spoke cautiously and in sober accents. Said he :

If the Round Table Conference succeeded, it would be a Scotsman who as chief representative of the United Kingdom would have delivered the goods and brought peace and prosperity to India and the Empire.

Yes, *if* . . . . . .

—

Mr. Sastri's Exhilaration

But on Mr. Srinivasa Sastri the "honour" seems to have had slightly the effect of heady liquors at dinners. For he gave the reins to his imagination to some extent and spoke in an unwarrantedly optimistic vein, when he said :

"I am divulging no premature confidence when I say that we heard yesterday the Chairman of one of the most important of our Sub-Committees say that at the next plenary session of the Conference the Prime Minister on behalf of His Majesty's Government will make a statement which will go far to satisfy the aspirations and desires of the Indian people (loud applause).

"The freedom of India is going to be achieved, thanks be to Providence, not as in case of Ireland, the youngest of the Empire's Dominions, not by those methods with which they were unhappily too familiar, but by the method of discussion, compromise, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation at a Round Table (loud applause).

The Prime Minister has made his statement on behalf of the British Government ; but we do not perceive that it has, to any extent, satisfied the desires and aspirations of an appreciable section, if any, of the Indian people.

We also shall be thankful if the freedom of India be achieved without recourse to the methods adopted by the Irish for winning their freedom.

Assuming that the freedom of India was going to be achieved through the so-called Round Table Conference, it would be untrue to say or suggest that there was nothing more than that conference which tended to make India free ;—the Round Tablers could not for a moment forget doubts whether their conclusions would be acceptable to the Congress. And, as we shall show presently, Mr. Sastri himself unguardedly admitted that something more than "the method of discussion, compromise, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation" had been necessary.

It is difficult to understand how a man of Mr. Sastri's knowledge of history and politics could think, as he appeared to do, that the Round Table Conference was going to give or even professed or pretended to give India the same freedom as was given to Ireland. It would be a travesty of truth to suggest any such thing.

Mr. Sastri's mention of the methods

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adopted in Ireland reminds one not only of what the Irish did to win freedom but also what the Black and Tans did to frustrate their efforts. It is true that the methods advocated and almost invariably used by the followers of the Congress have been quite different from the methods of violence adopted by the Sinn Feiners; but it would not be true to suggest that the police in India had nowhere used any of the methods of the Black and Tans in Ireland.

—

"A few Imprisonments and a few Lathi Blows"

Mr. Sastri surpassed himself in the concluding portion of the summary of his speech cabled by *Reuter*, which runs as follows:

"The brightest chapter in the history of Great Britain is being written to-day at St. James' Palace in which would be recorded for the benefit of succeeding generations the story of how a long struggle came to a happy consummation without anything more than a few imprisonments and a few lathi blows."

It has still to be proved that the self-government which Mr. MacDonald announced was going to be given to India, is the real thing and not mere camouflage. If it turned out to be the latter, as the speeches of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George made after the last plenary session of the Round Table Conference would lead one to apprehend, Mr. Sastri's "brightest chapter" would be a terminological inexactitude.

Mr. Sastri spoke of a long struggle coming to a happy consummation without anything more than a few imprisonments and a few *lathi* blows. This is a tissue of misconceptions and misrepresentations of facts. The long struggle has not come to a consummation; it promises to continue. But, assuming that it has come to a consummation, it is not a happy consummation. It is not at all true to say that the results of Government's repressive policy have been only imprisonments and *lathi* blows. There have been shootings and deaths, confiscations of printing machines and other equipments of presses, forfeiture of securities taken from owners of presses and newspapers, seizure of houses and other property, alleged to have been used for Congress purposes, and allegations made by responsible persons of burning of houses, granaries and other property and of criminal force having been used against women—allegations few of which, if any, have been properly investigated or proved to be false after such investigation. And the imprisonments and *lathi* charges have not been few. We do not refer here to the murderous and predatory disturbances in Sind, Dacca and Kishorganj, though they are not unconnected with politics.

In his article on "India Under the Lathi" published in *The New Republic* of America, for December 10, 1930, Mr. H. N. Brailsford writes: "Throughout India there are 60,000 persons in prison for political offences, and Bombay has more than its share." This is not an over-estimate. But supposing it is, Mr. Sastri has himself said in his post-prandial oration at the Liberal Party's dinner after the conclusion of the Round Table Conference that the number of persons in jail is 30,000. Is that a small number? Every reader of newspapers in India knows that the number of persons in India who have been battered with *lathis* is at least ten times that of those arrested and clapped in prison. Is it right to speak of 600,000 or 300,000 such assaulted individuals as "a few"?

Those who have suffered and made sacrifices in the cause of India's freedom may say that as yet the sufferings and sacrifices of Indians for gaining freedom have not been adequate. But as Mr. Sastri is not among them, he is not entitled to speak lightly of the sufferings and sacrifices already undergone. In *Romeo and Juliet* Shakespeare says: "He jests at scars that never felt a wound." It may be that Mr. Sastri spoke light-heartedly "of a few imprisonments and a few *lathi* blows" owing to a similar cause. Whatever the cause, the callousness of some distinguished Indians to the sufferings of their countrymen is intensly painful and profoundly humiliating.

Let us, however, take it for granted that a few imprisonments and a few *lathi* blows sum up all the sufferings of freedom-loving Indians. Even then, Mr. Sastri has had to admit indirectly that for winning freedom, in addition to "the method of discussion, compromise, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation," some imprisonments and some *lathi* blows had to be undergone by some Indians—the Right Honourable Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri not being one of them.

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Viceroy's Speech at the Assembly

Lord Irwin addressed the members of the Legislative Assembly, on the 17th of January last. His speech does not seem to us satisfactory. We shall notice a few points in it.

—

"The Army in India"

In praising the usefulness and efficiency of the Indian army in the recent North-West Frontier operations he called it "the Army in India" The use of this expression is not peculiar to him. It is used by all British statesmen. It is implied that the army belongs to the British Empire and is posted in India, though India pays all the expenses incurred for it. It is in effect the British imperial army of occupation. Is it usual to speak of "the Army in Canada," "the Army in Ireland," "the Army in Australia" and "the Army in South Africa" ? It has been said by Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary of State for India, that India has been enjoying Dominion status in action for the last ten years. Is it a part of that status that the Indian army should continue to be called "the Army in India"?

—

The Financial Situation

Regarding the financial situation, Lord Irwin expressed the opinion that the present economic crisis was due in the first place to an almost universal trade depression from which all countries were suffering, and secondly to the disturbances resulting from the civil disobedience movement. Apart from the fact that that movement itself is, at least partly, due to the failure of the Government to satisfy the natural desire of the Indian people for freedom, is not the Government partly responsible for the economic crisis so far as it has been brought about, *e. g.*, by the 18d. ratio ? Even when India obtains economic swaraj, there may be financial disturbances due to the mistakes of her own statesmen and to causes affecting the whole world ; but the financial condition of India can never be satisfactory so long as Indian economic conditions are manipulated mainly with a view to promoting and safe-guarding British interests, as they are at present.

The Viceroy has expressed the opinion that

"If only distrust and attempts to paralyse the Government could be replaced by a spirit of mutual confidence and co-operation, then even in spite of the world crisis we might see the dawn of a new optimism in India and the opening of new ways for the recuperation and development of her economic strength."

His Excellency deserves to be reminded of the hackneyed phrase, "Trust begets trust." Except for the last ten years, Indians have generally believed in the good faith of the Government ; but it is the Government which has all along distrusted the people of India. And even in this very speech in which Lord Irwin dwelt on the need of mutual confidence, he foreshadowed legislation for depriving the Press of most of its freedom and "for dealing with persons who may instigate others to refuse the fulfilment of certain lawful obligations," and threatened to crush the Congress organization by using all his strength. His Excellency wants to have the confidence of the largest most self-sacrificing and most influential section of politically-minded Indians on his own terms. His Government will not change, or will change only to the extent that suits British convenience and interests, but not in the way desired by Nationalist India ; and yet that India must trust his Government and "co-operate" with it. That is an impossibility.

—

Judgment by Practical Results

In the Viceroy's opinion,

"A political movement must be judged and dealt with, not according to the professions of those who initiate it or carry it into effect, but in the light of practical results."

That is a very handy general proposition. We suppose it is permissible to apply it to the principles, policy, methods and doings of those persons also who are for the time being styled "the Government" in the aggregate ; for no men and collections of men are infallible and sacrosanct, even when they are called the Government. If it be right and proper to judge non Governmental policies and movements by their fruit, it must be equally right and proper to judge some particular government-tree by its fruit. But though it is considered lawful and right to put a stop by all legitimate means, the activities of non-Governmental persons who are obnoxious in the eyes of the men styled the Government, officialdom holds that it is never lawful to seek to paralyse the collection of persons called the Government for the

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time being. This is a very easily understood legal distinction, which is rightly considered in many cases an ethical distinction, too. The question is whether it is an ethical distinction in all cases.

—

Anti-Press Legislation

We shall extract a few sentences from that portion of the Viceroy's speech which is devoted to the Press Ordinance and the proposed legislation along the same lines. Said he:

"...We have lately witnessed a disturbing increase in those crimes of violence which have deeply stained the fair name of India and which I know are as abhorrent to the members of this House as they are to all other reasonable persons. The experience of the past few months leaves no doubt as to the existence of an organization, whose insane objective it is to promote the overthrow of established Government by the deliberate creation of a state of terrorism. I know that the vast majority of Indians deplore the growth of a movement wholly foreign to their traditions and instincts, and I see in the wide condemnation of outrages and in particular in the indignation evoked by the attack on His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab a growing recognition of the urgent and paramount need of removing this malignant cancer in the life of India.

Proprietors and editors of newspapers know that their journals can flourish best by securing the support of the largest and most influential section of the public. As, in the opinion of the Viceroy, the vast majority of Indians deplore the growth of terrorism, it follows that newspapers which have the largest circulations represent the anti-terrorist opinion of the largest section of politically-minded Indians. And he also admits that there has been wide condemnation of terrorist outrages—on the platform and in the public press. Therefore, whatever other objects repressive press legislation may have in view, it cannot logically have in view mainly the combating of pro-terroristic views. We cannot, therefore, understand what relevancy and logic there is in referring to the growth of terrorism in order to justify, directly or indirectly, the gagging of the Press.

By way of such justification His Excellency also says:

"Among other influences, which have undoubtedly tended to the encouragement of such revolutionary methods and violent crime, are certain sections of the Press whose reiterated laudation of false sentiment and of distorted patriotism lead all too often to the injection of deadly poison into a certain type of mind. Fair criticism of the administration or of our constitutional proposals I do not fear. I rather welcome it. But when the great power of the Press is diverted from its true functions to dangerous and destructive doctrine, the Government can no longer stand aside."

By the words "certain sections of the Press," what sections does the Viceroy refer to? Are they large or small? From his own words we have shown above that no newspapers which have secured or wish to secure the support of the largest section of politically-minded Indians can or do favour terrorism. Hence the words "certain sections of the Press" ought not to mean the large majority of papers or the most influential papers. But as Press ordinances and restrictive Press legislation of the same character do not generally affect the Anglo-Indian press but only Indian-owned and Indian-edited papers, we are afraid the Viceroy's words will be understood to refer generally to the Indian as distinguished from the Anglo-Indian Press.

If, however, Lord Irwin intends to put a stop to the poisonous effusions of a small section of the Indian Press (regarding whose existence and views we have no personal knowledge), surely human ingenuity should be equal to striking at them alone. It should be as unnecessary as it would be unjustifiable to restrict the liberties and jeopardize the existence of all independent Indian journals in order to minimize the evil influence of a few pro-terrorist organs, if any such exist.

Lord Irwin welcomes "fair" criticism. But no Government can be kept from going astray from the path of right unless there is constant thorough criticism of its doings. And there can never be such thorough criticism, if any Government insists on criticism not overstepping the bounds of fairness laid down by itself. It would have been something if Lord Irwin or any other single individual were himself in a position to read and judge of the criticism of all Indian papers, though the best of rulers cannot possess infallibility of judgment. But as a matter of fact, newspapers are read and judged by numerous different officials of widely different calibre, power of judgment and tastes. Therefore, practically journalists cannot be sure what this official or that would consider fair or unfair criticism.

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"Law and Order," and Satyagraha

According to the Viceroy,

"Whatever may be or have been the true object underlying the present civil disobedience movement, the Government still sees in many parts of India determined efforts to substitute another authority for its own and to interfere with the maintenance of law and order, of which Government is the constituted guardian."

The Government has certainly legal justification for trying to put down efforts to substitute another authority for its own. But it cannot be admitted that the civil disobedience movement promotes disorder or violence. Responsible men who have personal knowledge of what is happening in some parts of the country or other have complained again and again that the use of force by the police has been the cause of creating disorder to a far greater extent than any action of the Satyagrahis. Such complaints find support from the following passage in Mr. H. N. Brailsfords' article on "India Under the Lathi" in *The New Republic* of New York :

The stray acts of violence by Indians are negligible when one remembers the proportions of this movement···Never in a long experience have I seen crowds so passive. They do not stand : they squat upon the ground, the women in one wing, the men in another, and so, motionless and silent, they listen to songs and speeches. Assuredly the speeches are seditious, *but they are not incitements to disorder : indeed*, (for several that I have heard were in English) *they invariably preach non-violence. In the interests of order there is, for a punitive dispersal of such crowds, no reason or excuse whatever.*" (Italics ours. Editor, *M. R.*)

—

Government and Terrorism

The Viceroy's speech contains the assurance :

"I and my Government in our sphere shall spare no effort to protect our officers and the public ; but whatever action the Government may take in this matter, it cannot achieve complete success, unless it is assisted by the wholehearted determination of every citizen to stamp out so evil a thing from their society."

This is followed by the appeal :

"I earnestly appeal to all, who have at heart India's good name, to show by action and words, which will admit of no doubt or reservation, that they regard the terrorist movement with repugnance and those who are actively engaged in it or extend to it their sympathy of support as the worst enemies of India."

Believing that terrorism cannot succeed in overthrowing the present Government and establishing Swaraj ; believing that even if it succeeded in doing what its promoters seek to do, the remedy would in some essential respects be worse than the disease ; and further believing that there is a better, a non-violent means of establishing full Swaraj, we have sought by arguments to dissuade the adherents of terrorist methods from committing outrages. But probably they do not read what we write, or, if they read our Notes, they are not convinced by our arguments. One way to convince them would be to show that non-violent means had succeeded in securing freedom for India. But the liberation of India by non-violent means would require the co-operation of the Government with the real leaders of the people. These leaders have been undergoing suffering and making sacrifices in pursuit of their ideals. But Government has so far non-co-operated with them. The kind of so-called Swaraj the establishment of which at some unknown date has been vaguely announced by Mr. MacDonald at the last plenary session of the so-called Round Table Conference, does not imply any desire on the part of the powers that be to co-operate with the most self-sacrificing and most influential leaders of the people. If the other leaders, namely, those who are called Moderates, succeed in persuading the Government to give India a real Swaraj constitution, that also may succeed in convincing at least some of those who favour terrorism that terrorist methods are at least unnecessary. That which inspires hope must kill despair, which is a parent of terrorism.

Probaly feelings of private and public revenge, roused by allegations of wrong-doing and unjustifiable violence on the part of police and other officials, contained in newspapers, has also something to do with the origin and continuance of terrorism. Believing that that is so, as Lord Irwin has appealed to the public to do their best to eradicate terrorism, we may also be permitted to earnestly ask him and his colleagues in the governance of the country to do their best to purge the administration of all high-handedness, arbitrariness and vindictiveness. Readers of newspapers in India were familiar with allegations of police terrorism in India long before *The Manchester Guardian* published in its editorial and other columns just after Dr. Simpson's murder, opinions and news in support of the view that

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injustice and police terrorism had something to do with the genesis and continuance of non-official terrorism. But, whilst in the Viceroy's speech under notice and many previous pronouncements by himself and lesser officers the police have been highly and uncritically praised and hopes have been held out to Government servants and the public that they would be protected from non-official terrorism, no independent enquiry has been held into the allegations of police terrorism nor any steps taken to assure the public that they would be protected from it if it existed.

Those who read Indian newspapers and those who have read the reports of some non-official enquiry committees, as we have done, know that the allegations against the police are not merely of assaults with *lathis* causing simple or grievous hurt. It has been also alleged that deaths have occurred as the result of unprovoked and unnecessary *lathi* charges and firing ; and the number of such alleged deaths is greater than that of the high and lower officials murdered or sought to be killed by non-official terrorists. These dead non-officials were of humble rank and unknown to fame, but were human beings having souls. May not the people of India appeal to His Excellency the Viceroy to take such allegations seriously and cause independent enquiries into them to be instituted ?

Some short-sighted advisers of the Government may think that as allegations of terrorism on the part of some officials probably give rise to revengeful feelings leading to terrorist outrages, the prevention of the publication of such news would be effectual in extirpating terrorism. Such a view would be unwise and short-sighted. No Government can or should take it for granted that terrorism by any of its officials is impossible. All Governments ought to be in a position to prevent wrong-doing on the part of its servants, who themselves are not likely to report all their own or their fellows' misdeeds to the higher authorities. From newspapers alone can the news of such acts be obtained. The greater the restrictions on the freedom of the press, the less the chances of knowing what is wrong with the details of administration and the lesser also the chances of being able to set matters right. And even if public newspapers can be effectually controlled or suppressed, all secret news-sheets cannot be suppressed. But supposing that also is feasible, no earthly potentate has succeeded or can succeed in preventing the dissemination of rumours.

Therefore, the suppression of terrorism by gagging or suppressing the public Press is a fool's errand. The Press is the safety-valve by shutting which one can only increase the explosive power of discontent.

The Viceroy holds that "so far as the terrorist movement is concerned, there is little ground for supposing that those who direct it are likely to be deterred from their course by constitutional agreements that may be reached." This may be true so far as constitutional agreements reached with non-Congress leaders is concerned. For they voice the aspirations of a very small section of the people. But if constitutional agreements could be reached with the Congress leaders, we venture to think that an atmosphere would be created antagonistic to terrorism. For though the methods of the terrorists and of the leaders of the Congress differ as poles asunder, the political goal of the Congress leaders and of those terrorists who are not moved by mere revenge is the same.

Therefore, as the Viceroy believes that repressive action, "necessary as it is, will not of itself give us the remedy that we seek for the present discontents," he would do well to come to terms with the Congress as speedily as possible.

—

"Unity of all-India"

In the opinion of the Viceroy, among the chief events of the so-called Round Table Conference,

> "The first undoubtedly is the recognition by the Indian States of the essential unity of all-India and their readiness to take their full share in designing the instruments of government through which that conception of unity may gain concrete expression and effect..... I scarcely think I exaggerate when I say that the historian a hundred years hence, commenting on these times, will find in it the turning-point of the constitutional history of India."

The Viceroy's prophecy will be fulfilled if the rulers of the Indian States who have agreed to join an all-India Federation will also agree to govern their States as constitutional rulers, giving their peoples the same fundamental rights and liberties as the citizens of all free countries enjoy and as may come to be enjoyed by the people of what is at present known as British India,

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and if they come to look upon the Government of Federated India with not less respect than they do on the present Government of India. We say this, as they want to have direct relations with the British Crown, which in practice they do not have at present.

—

Two Results of Conference

In the opinion of the Viceroy,

The Conference has had two further results that seem to me of incalculable value. At the time of its convention the atmosphere was clouded with misunderstandings on both sides. Opinion in Great Britain was ill-informed of the realities of thought in India. Opinion in India, even in circles where so-called moderate views prevailed, was suspicious and sceptical of the purpose of Great Britain. If ignorance and suspicion still linger, they represent the rear-guard and no longer the main body of opinion in the two countries. Great Britain has realized, as she has heard it at first-hand from all sections of the Indian delegation, something of the new forces that are animating the political thought of India. While India, feeling no longer that she is misunderstood, is better prepared to recognize that British statesmen have approached the problems, not indeed ignoring real difficulties, but with a single will to find means by which they may be speedily and securely resolved. Thus it might appear that all who have longed to see the Conference bear fruit for the true healing of the nation's trouble, may take new hope. The London discussions have revealed a genuine desire on all sides to find practical means, by which speedy and substantial recognition may be given to the natural claims of Indian political thought."

The India that we know—we refer to by far the larger section of politically-minded India—can by no means be said to recognize that British statesmen have approached the problems with a *single* will to find means by which they may be speedily and securely resolved in the way that Indians desire.

We cannot presume to speak of Great Britain with as much knowledge. But the speeches of Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Winston Churchill and Sir Michael O'Dwyer, made after the conclusion of the Conference, do not lead to the conviction that there is a "genuine desire" among British politicians to give "speedy and substantial recognition" "to the natural claims of Indian political thought."

—

British Ignorance of Present-day India

Indeed we doubt whether the most advanced Indian political thought is accurately known in its entirety in Great Britain. Indian newspapers have few readers in Great Britain. Only distorted and very brief reports of the utterances of Indian political leaders are cabled to Britain from here. There is such strict censorship and such utter indifference that even the atrocities at Dacca and Kishorganj did not find even brief and prompt record in British newspapers. Thought is not so easily appreciable as events. If even events in India are not known in Britain, how can political thought in India be known there? Recently after the publication in America of Mr. H. N. Brailsford's article on "India Under the Lathi" in *The New Republic*, *The Manchester Guardian* wrote editorially:

We have seen no other accounts by trustworthy British correspondents, which have suggested that the methods taken by the police in India to enforce the law have resulted in more than occasional exhibitions of needless personal violence. Mr. Brailsford is a well-known writer, whose testimony cannot be ignored. He was on the spot, and he had means of finding out the truth. Moreover, he writes as though the facts were fairly well known and needed no particular corroboration. Practically nothing of this kind has been published before in this country, though it is doubtless familiar enough to American readers. The matter ought not to be left there. If these things are really common in India and are either condoned or organized by British officers, then they must be stopped; if they are not happening and the picture of widespread and organized barbarity which Mr. Brailsford conveys is untrue then the Secretary of State should lose no time in saying so in the most emphatic language at his command.

A prominent British paper writes thus when the whole of India has been figuratively, and localities in India have been literally, resounding with *lathi* blows dealt by way of the application of minimum force! No wonder, Dr. Annie Besant's organ *New India* observes:

Even if the Secretary of State says so, his information would be based ultimately on the versions which the officials themselves supply to the Government of India. The latter has not shown any inclination so far to have the truth ascertained by impartial investigators, even when startling accounts of brutality have been circulated in the papers with credible evidence. The assumption is implicitly made that all such accounts are part of a mendacious propaganda designed to inflame feelings against the Government.

If the Secretary of State for India wants to satisfy the British public, anything sent to him from here by the officials concerned will serve his purpose. But if he wants to satisfy the Indian public, which is not likely, he should first of all become a little sceptical

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regarding the infallibility of the "man on the spot" and cultivate a little readiness to believe that all non-officials, even if they be Indians, are not liars.

—

The Communal Problem

Regarding the communal problem the Viceroy said in part:

"I would most earnestly trust that leaders of all communities would once more come together, resolved no longer to allow the constitutional progress of India to be impeded by this cause or India herself to lie under this reproach of internal discord and mistrust."

This viceregal appeal is not new. It might have produced due effect, if the Muslim nominees of the Government of India to the Round Table Conference had not been all, without a single exception, been chosen from those sections of the Muhammadan community which are communalism-ridden. The appeal and such exclusive choice of Muslim communalists as the "representatives" of that community, do not harmonize.

—

Tribute to Mahatma Gandhi

Lord Irwin paid the following tribute to Mahatma Gandhi:

However mistaken any man may think him to be and however deplorable may appear the results of the policy associated with his name, no one can fail to recognize the spiritual force which impels Mr. Gandhi to count no sacrifice too great in the cause, as he believes, of India that he loves, and I fancy that, though he on his side too thinks those who differ from him to the victims of a false philosophy, Mr. Gandhi would not be unwilling to say that men of my race who are today responsible for Government in India were sincere in their attempt to serve her.

In a previous passage of his speech the Viceroy had said that "a political movement must be judged and dealt with not according to the professions of those who initiate it or carry it into effect, but in the light of practical results." We do not know whether Gandhiji would be willing to say that the British rulers of India were sincere in their attempt to serve her. But so far as we are concerned, we do not attach much importance to the question of their sincerity or insincerity. We judge them and deal with them "in the light of practical results" of their policy, measures and actions, according to the above-quoted viceregal maxim.

"It has been one of the tragedies of this time that where ultimate purposes have perhaps differed little, if at all, the methods employed by some should have been, as I conceive, far more calculated to impede than to assist the accomplishment of that largely common end, and deeply as I crave to see the dawn of a happier day in India, I am bound, so long as a movement designed to undermine, and sap the foundations of Government, holds the front place in the programme of the great Congress organization, to resist it to the uttermost of my strength."

Purposes are in a great measure inferred from the methods adopted and the results produced by those methods. Therefore, it cannot be taken for granted without compelling proof that the purposes of the British rulers of India and of the leaders of the Congress are the same or almost the same.

But taking it for granted that the purposes of the two parties are the same, just as the Viceroy suggests that the methods of the Congress are "far more calculated to impede than to assist the accomplishment of that common end," so the leaders of the Congress might characterize the methods of the Government in the same way. In spite of Lord Irwin's faith in Mr. Gandhi's spiritual force, the only use he has for him is to keep him imprisoned without trial. If Mr. Gandhi had the same worldly power over Lord Irwin, as the latter has over the former, we presume the Mahatma would have treated the head of the Executive in India in a far different manner;—he would not have said in effect "You are a great spiritual force, but I cannot help keeping you confined in jail."

Lord Irwin says emphatically that he would crush the Congress by using all his strength, because it seeks to undermine and sap the foundations of Government. May we suggest an alternative? Why not so change the foundations of Government as to deprive the Congress of both the desire and the power to undermine and sap them?

"Is it not now possible, I would ask those responsible for this policy, to try another course that in the light, on the one hand, of sinister events in India and, on the other, of the encouragement offered to India by the progress of the Conference in England, would seem to be the more excellent way?"

May not the Congress ask the Government a similar question? Is it imposible and inconceivable that the Government has been following a wrong policy and course?

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Wanted Friendship Between Britain and India

In his peroration Lord Irwin said :

Quite evidently it would be for the good of India that all the best elements both here and in Great Britain should join hands in the work of elaborating and bringing to fruition the undertaking so well begun in London and thus place the seal of friendship once again upon the relations of two peoples whom unhappy circumstances have latterly estranged. On the wide basis of friendship and mutual respect alone can we confidently build the structure of a strong and self-reliant India, one within herself and one with the other partners in the British Commonwealth.

Nothing can be better than friendship between all peoples. But it must be real friendship between equals—not condescending patronage on the one hand and mendicancy on the other, seeking to hide its real character by bluster.

Lord Irwin is mistaken in thinking that the estrangement of the two peoples is of recent date. So long as the people of India had not become politically self-conscious, so long as they had not wanted to be treated as human beings, so long as they had not desired to have the rights of perfect citizenship, Britishers did not express any antagonism to them, though they did not treat them with respect either. But the moment the Indian showed signs of standing up to the Britisher, estrangement began, and that was long ago.

—

What India May be Proud of

The very last sentence of the Viceroy's speech to the Assembly runs as follows :

"I feel confident that I can count on every member of this House to lend at all times such assistance as may be in his power to the furtherance of a work so fraught with consequence to the welfare of India, Great Britain and of that Empire in which I very earnestly pray India may for all time be proud to take her place."

"What's in a name ?" has become quite a hackneyed quotation. But names reveal many things. In the extract made in the previous note, a desire has been expressed that India may be one with the other partners in the *British* Commonwealth. The predominant sections of the peoples of the other self-ruling parts of the British Empire or Commonwealth are of British origin. Therefore, the idea of their perpetually forming part of a British super-state may not go against their grain. But the people of India are not of British origin, and they outnumber by far all the inhabitants of all the other parts of the British Empire taken together. Moreover their civilization is older and in some respects superior to Western civilization. If in spite of all these facts they are asked to partly merge their racial and national identity in the British name for ever they may not feel quite pleased.

But Lord Irwin makes even a greater demand upon Indian human nature. He wishes India to feel proud to take her place in the British Empire for all time. We beg his Lordship's pardon for pointing out that it is not human nature for any non-British people to feel proud to belong to an *Empire* which is not named after them. If the British Empire be named the British Commonwealth, that name may be *tolerated* if the imperialistic spirit be not in the ascendant among the people after whom it is named.

If ever India becomes as free in her internal affairs and external relations as Great Britain is, if India ever has the power and the option to remain or not to remain connected with the Empire, if she ever freely decides to keep up the connection, and if the British Empire be at any time called the Indo-British Commonwealth, then may the time come for her to feel proud of being for ever a part of such a Commonwealth.

—

Mr. MacDonald's Speech

The long speech delivered by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald at the concluding plenary session of the Round Table Conference contains in many parts fine words expressive of fine sentiments, which would be entitled to be taken at their face value, when translated into action.

He is a free man and spoke in a free country. And as the subject of his speech was what his Government would give to India, no Britisher was likely to tell him that he had promised too little and too vaguely. His British critics have been those whose strategy or whose real belief required them to say that he had promised too much or that he had raised hopes which can never be fulfilled or may be fulfilled in the very distant undated future.

Indian self-rule is a question of life and death to Indians. And, therefore, India is the country where his speech has to stand

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the test of criticism, and it is mostly Indians who can criticize him thoroughly and with full knowledge. But unfortunately India is not a free country, Indians are not free men, and freedom of association and speech and a free Press do not at present exist in India. So it is but little that we can write, and that little not as freely as we should like to.

—

Beginnings of Education under British Rule

Mr. MacDonald has asked : "Why did we put facilities for education at your disposal ?" He knows or ought to know the answer very well. It was mainly to obtain clerks and other cheap subordinate officials. And the facilities are still such that after about two centuries of British rule not even ten per cent of the people are barely literate. "When the British came...there was more literacy,...than until within the last ten years." P. 255 of E. J. (Thompson's *Reconstruction of India.*

—

The Premier on the Simon Commission

The British Prime Minister has read his history of India and has also visited India more than once. So he knows we are a weak, patient and polite people. Hence he has eulogized the Simon Commission in the following words :

"India will never be able to be too grateful or to show too great gratitude for the labours of men who composed the Simon Commission." (Cheers)

Indeed !

We wonder who cheered the speaker ! It is to be hoped it was neither Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, nor Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, nor any other Indian boycotter of the Simon Commission.

—

The Premier's Fling at the Mahatma

The following words of the Premier were evidently uttered with reference to Mahatma Gandhi :

"I am one of those who believe that he who stirs enmity between the peoples is not going to advance liberty in the world. He who spreads suspicion, he who makes co-operation impossible is not one of those agents for good that the world in its present distracted frame of mind is so much in need of."

Taken with Mr. MacDonald's fulsome praise of the Simon Commission, this 'nameless' fling shows him in an odious light. Mr. Gandhi is one of the greatest of promoters of inter-racial friendship and international peace of all time. He has not stirred enmity. His movement is meant to kill the enmity that was caused by others and has long existed. He does not spread suspicion or make co-operation impossible. Suspicion has existed from before. He wants to make true co-operation, as between equals, possible by winning liberty for his people. Whatever really reasonable, friendly and 'co-operative' mood there is at present in the minds of some British statesmen is not a little due to the firm, manly and self-respecting stand taken by him.

—

Premier on "Pledges"

The British Prime Minister asked :

"Why have our Queens and our Kings given you pledges ? Why have our Viceroys given you pledges ? Why has our Parliament given you pledges ?"

The present Prime Minister of Great Britain and his successors would do well to carry out those pledges strictly and speedily instead of asking questions which provoke cynical replies, reminiscent of the adage, "promises are like piecrust, made to be broken."

Mr. MacDonald is undoubtedly aware of a confidential document, which is no longer confidential, in which a former, deceased, Viceroy, Lord Lytton, referred to making promises to the ear which were broken in the spirit, and so on. But it would be better to quote the words of a British propagandist who is still living—very much alive and kicking, in fact. Writes Mr. E. J. Thompson in his *Reconstruction of India* :

"The Indian Government has long had a reputation, magnificently earned and set down in the admissions of high authority such as cannot be dismissed as envious or seditious, for making fine promises and then shelving them." (P. 52.)

"To Indians the last seventy years seem a vista strewn with broken promises. Again and again the House of Commons or some authoritative commission or governing group has conceded things for which they have pressed . . . .and the con ession has been made a mockery. The facts are beyond dispute. I could litter my pages with promises and resolutions, clearly worded, in the highest degree binding, and dated. We have fed them with the east wind. And they have been, the most of them, marvellously patient." (Pp. 271-72.)

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Communal Difficulties

With reference to communal problems in India, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald observed :

"I want you to take it from me that the attitude of the British Government in such relations is nothing more than an overpowering desire to leave you to settle your own affairs. We are not pro-Hindu. We are not pro-anything else. If we are animated by anything, t is by the conception of India herself—India a unity, India feeling behind and below and above and beyond her communal differences. That mystic bond of unity which great poets, great philosophers and great religious teachers of India have always taught. Believe me, the British Government has no desire to use your disagreements for any ulterior purpose—but quite the opposite."

We are willing to believe that these words represent the speaker's real feelings and his conception of what the ideal of the British Government is or ought to be at present. But the Prime Minister knows that the British Government has not had one and the same composite personality throughout its history in India and that the British policy has not been the same throughout.

The Premier made the emphatic disavowal first, that the British Government are not pro-Hindu, and then added, as if by way of supplement or after-thought, "We are not pro-anything else." But has it been the main and the most persistent count in the indictment of the British Government that they are pro-Hindu ?

—

"Safe-guards"

The Premier does not like the word "safe-guarding" ; "it is an ugly word." But, though he does not like the *word*, perhaps he likes the *thing* ; otherwise, there would not be so many safe-guards provided in the constitution provisionally outlined for India.

He has said many things to remove the repugnance of Indians to safe-guards. For instance :

"One category is a group of reserved powers given to somebody—the Governor, Governor-General, Crown or somebody. And that category of safe-guard you will find, either expressed or implicit in every free constitution from the rising sun to the setting sun."

The Premier's logic is not flawless. In the Oriental and the Occidental free constitutions, there is freedom, and there are safe-guards. In those constitutions, the freedom is the chief, the characteristic thing, and the safe-guards are merely subsidiary elements. In the constitution proposed for India, there may be a little freedom, but there is the certainty of a big dose of safe-guarding—five grains of sugar and eight grains of quinine, to provide against the contingency of the Indian Federation shivering with ague.

The Premier adds :

"You could not draft a constitution without embodying safe-guards of that kind in it."

He ignores two facts. In all free countries, the safe-guards are operated by the Chief Executive servant of the State who is a national or is in any case a member of the same race as the dominant section of the people. In India the safe-guards are to be worked generally by men of non-Indian extraction and in exceptional cases by Indians under the thumb of non-Indians. That is one fact. There is another and a more important one.

In free countries, *e. g*, Germany, America, etc., the President works the safe-guards for the good of the country over whose destinies he presides for the time being. In India, according to the belief of the people of India, safe-guards are being provided not for the protection of Indian interests and the promotion of India's welfare, but for the protection and promotion of British interests and they will be worked in that spirit by British Governors-General and Governors, etc. Mr. MacDonald and other British statesmen may say, the Indian people are wrong, they are unduly suspicious. But let them convince the Indian people. In the past, have the emergency powers, the powers of promulgating ordinances, of "certification" of budget provisions etc., been used by the British rulers of India to promote the moral and material progress of India—to extend the bounds of their freedom, to leave more money in their pockets. . . . . ? No.

—

Sub-Committees of R. T. C.

The Premier referred briefly to the work done by the sub-committees of the R. T. C. Without fuller details, no just and fair comment is possible. But we shall make a few brief remarks.

Of sub-committee number I, presided over by Lord Sankey, the Premier praised the achievement without giving any details of its work.

"Sub-Committee II has endorsed the principle of fully representative government in the Governor's

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provinces, subject to the retention by Governors of certain powers which were widely agreed to be necessary at this stage."

No judgment can be pronounced until these powers are known and it is also known who agreed to their retention. It cannot be taken for granted that those who agreed voiced Indian opinion. Will residuary powers be enjoyed by the provinces or by the Central Government ?

As to sub-committee number IV, that relating to Burma, the Premier takes it for granted that Burma is to be separated from India, though the majority of the Burmans appear to oppose it, or in any case want it only if their country is given Dominion status.

"Sub-Committee No. VII dealt with defence. That will be proceeded with and if it is possible to put into operation without the delay that will be required in the building up of a full constitution some of its parts by administration, we shall get into touch with the Government of India and see how that can be done. I refer to such things, for instance, as the creation of Military Sandhurst in India (applause)."

That applause has been given in anticipation.

—

Amnesty to Prisoners

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru made a moving appeal to the Premier for amnesty to political prisoners. Mr. MacDonald said in reply :

"If Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's appeal to India as well as to us is responded to in India and civil quiet is proclaimed and assured, His Majesty's Government will certainly not be backward in responding to his plea, which is endorsed by so many of his colleagues here."

This means that before there can be any amnesty, the Congress leaders must call off civil disobedience and the civil disobedience movement must actually come to an end. Of course, the leaders will be justified in calling it off if the Round Table Conference has resulted or is sure to result in India getting the "substance of independence" for securing which it was started. But there are so many things left uncertain and vague in the Premier's statement and there are so many "safe-guards," that without deliberation and mutual consultation, the leaders cannot possibly say whether the statement is satisfactory from their point of view or not. Will the Government supply all *satyagrahis* in prison with copies of Mr. MacDonald's speech (including the statement) and the reports of the sub-committees ? And can arrangements be made for at least the more prominent provincial and local leaders in jail to meet in some big jail for deliberation and consultation ? Otherwise, we do not see how, before they obtain freedom, they can pronounce any joint considered opinion on the conclusions of the R. T. C.,

There is another way in which they can obtain release from prison; [*When we had written the Notes in this issue up to this sentence, we heard of the release of Mahatma Gandhi and some other leaders. We expect to read the details to-morrow in the papers to be received from Calcutta,* as we are not there now. January 26, 1931.—Editor, *M. R.*] that is by apologizing for their political opinions and conduct. It would be dishonourable for them to do so, unless their opinions underwent a complete change.

—

Release of Some Congress Leaders

The following statement was issued at New Delhi on January 25 by His Excellency the Governor-General :

In order to provide an opportunity for the consideration of the statement made by the Prime Minister on January 19 my Government in consultation with Local Governments have thought it right that members of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress should enjoy full liberty of discussion between themselves and with those who have acted as members of the Committee since January 1, 1930. In accordance with this decision and with this object and in order that there may be no legal bar to any meeting they may wish to hold, notifications declaring the Committee to be an unlawful association, under the Criminal Law Amendment Act will be withdrawn by all the Local Governments and action will be taken for the release of Mr. Gandhi and others who are now members of the Committee or who have acted as such since January 1, 1930.

Release Unconditional

"My Government will impose no conditions on these releases because we feel that the best hope of restoration of peaceful conditions lies in discussions being conducted by those concerned under terms of unconditional liberty. Our action has been taken in pursuance of a sincere desire to assist the creation of such peaceable conditions as would enable the Government to implement the undertaking given by the Prime Minister that if civil quiet were proclaimed and assured, Government would not be backward in response.

I am content to trust those who will be affected by our decision to act in the same spirit as inspires

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it and I am confident that they will recognize the importance of securing for those grave issues a calm and dispassionate examination."

(Sd.) Irwin

In his speech on the 19th January, the Prime Minister made amnesty conditional on the restoration of quiet by the calling off of civil disobedience. In not strictly adhering to that declaration, Government has acted in a statesmanlike manner.

Those leaders who have been released will, no doubt, utilize their freedom to hold consultations among themselves and also to feel the pulse of the country. But conditions are not yet entirely favourable for a calm consideration of the Premier's statement. For thousands of Satyagrahis are still in jail. Their sufferings and sacrifice have not been less but in very many cases greater than those of the leaders. Most of them have been deprived of their liberty for imaginary or merely technical offences, some of the latter being ethically commendable actions. "Calm and dispassionate examination" is scarcely possible for the leaders unless these 50,000 or 60,000 women and men and children are released.

Moreover, repression is still in full swing. That is another difficulty in the way of calm deliberation.

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The Prime Minister's Statement on India

The statement of the British Government's policy, embodied in the speech of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald at the last plenary session of the Round Table Conference on January 19, runs as follows:

The view of His Majesty's Government is that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon the Legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such provision as may be necessary to guarantee, during a period of transition, the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances, and also with such guarantees as are required by the minorities to protect their political liberties and rights.

In such statutory safe-guards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period it will be the primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new Constitution to full responsibility for her own Government.

His Majesty's Government has taken note of the fact that the deliberations of the Conference have proceeded on the basis, accepted by all parties, that the Central Government should be a Federation of All-India, embracing both Indian States and British India, in a bi-cameral Legislature. The precise form and structure of the new Federal Government must be determined after further discussion with the Princes and representatives of British India.

The range of subjects to be committed to will also require further discussion because the Federal Government will have authority only in such matters concerning the States as will be ceded by their Rulers in agreements made by them on entering into the Federation.

The connection of the States with the Federation will remain subject to the basic principle that with regard to all matters not ceded by them to the Federation, their relations will be with the Crown acting through the agency of the Viceroy.

Under the existing conditions, the subjects of Defence and External Affairs will be reserved to the Governor-General, and arrangements will be made to place in his hands the powers necessary for the administration of those subjects. Moreover, as the Governor-General must, as a last resort, be able, in an emergency, to maintain the tranquillity of the State and must similarly be responsible for the observance of the constitutional rights of minorities, he must be granted the necessary power for those purposes.

As regards Finance, the transfer of financial responsibility must necessarily be subject to such conditions as will ensure the fulfilment of the obligations incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State and the maintenance, unimpaired, of the financial stability and credit of India. The Report of the Federal Structure Committee indicates some ways of dealing with this subject, including a Reserve Bank, the service of loans and exchange policy, which, in the view of His Majesty's Government, will have to be provided for somehow in the new Constitution. It is of vital interest to all parties in India to accept these provisions to maintain financial confidence.

Subject to these provisions the Indian Government would have full financial responsibility for methods of raising revenue and for the control of expenditure on the non-reserved services.

The provision of reserved powers is necessary in the circumstances, and some such reservation has indeed been incidental to the development of most free Constitutions, but every care must be taken to prevent conditions arising which would necessitate their use. It is undesirable that Ministers should trust to the special powers of the Governor-General as a means of avoiding responsibilities which are properly their own, thus defeating the devolopment of Responsible Government by bringing into use powers meant to lie in reserve and in the background. Let there be no mistake about that.

The Governor's Provinces will be constituted on the basis of full responsibility. Their Ministries will be taken from the Legislature and will be jointly responsible to it. The range of Provincial subjects will be so defined as to give them the greatest possible measure of Self-Government. The authority of the Federal Government will be limited to the provisions required to secure its administration of the Federal subjects and to discharge its responsibility for subjects defined in the Constitution as of All-India concern. There will be reserved to the Governor only that minimum of special powers which is required in order to secure, in exceptional circumstances, the preservation of tranquillity and guarantee the maintenance of rights provided by

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the statute for the Public Services and the Minorities.

Finally, His Majesty's Government considers that the institution in the Provinces of Responsible Government requires both that the Legislatures should be enlarged and that they should be based on a more liberal franchise. In framing the Constitution His Majesty's Government considers that it will be its duty to insert provisions guaranteeing to the various minorities, in addition to political representation, that the differences of religion, race, sect or caste shall not in themselves constitute civic disabilities.

In the opinion of His Majesty's Government it is the duty of the communities to come to an agreement amongst themselves on the points raised there. It is anxious not only that no delay should take place in putting the new Constitution into operation, but that it should start with the good will and confidence of all communities concerned.

His Majesty's Government, in view of the character of the Conference and of the limited time at its disposal in London, has deemed it advisable to suspend its work at this point, so that Indian opinion may be consulted upon the work done and expedients considered for overcoming the difficulties which have been raised. His Majesty's Government will consider without delay a plan by which our co-operation may be continued, so that the results of our completed work may be seen in a new Indian Constitution. If in the meantime, there is a response to the Viceroy's appeal to those engaged at present in civil disobedience, and there is a wish to co-operate on the general lines of this declaration steps will be taken to enlist their services.

In his speech the Premier referred to the purpose of the Conference as "Self-government of India," and observed with regard to its results :

We have gone as far we can go at this moment. You have spoken here subject to reconsideration, subject to the reaction which your public opinion will show to your work. We, the Government and Parliamentary representatives, have spoken in the same way; and we must also listen to the reactions. We must make ourselves champions of your findings and do our best to bring our people with us in our pilgrimage of hope to its conclusion.

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Mrs. Subbarayan on R. T. C.

So far as can be judged from the reports, cabled by *Reuter*, of the speeches made by the members at the last plenary session of the Round Table Conference, Mrs. Subbarayan, one of the two lady members, appears to have taken the most sober and sensible view of the work of its sub-committees and the results of the Conference. She said, in part, referring to the work of sub-committees :

Their reports gave food for hope, but they were only provisional and judgment must be reserved. She did not believe that India would accept a form of Government which while conceding the general principles of a responsible self-Government contained details and reservations which might make it really something different. But she believed that if the filling in of the picture could be approached in a spirit of goodwill that had been apparent at the conference the hopes now entertained would not be disappointed. She expressed thanks of her colleagues and herself for the sympathetic hearing given to the proposals on behalf of the women.

Mrs. Subbarayan has not displayed volubility, but what she has said on this and other occasions has been worthy of her education, standing and parentage. She is a graduate and a fellow of the Madras University and a daughter of the late Mr. K. Ranga Rao, the social reformer and philanthropist of Mangalore.

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On the Premier's Statement

The most self-sacrificing, vocal and influential section of the Indian people have desired for India the immediate attainment of Dominion status as the irreducible minimum. To judge how far the results of the Conference have gone to meet that desire, it is necessary to know the duration of the period of transition mentioned in the Premier's statement. Indians cannot wait for an indefinite period for the fulfilment of their aspirations. Not fixing the duration of the period of transition is one unsatisfactory feature of the statement. Another unsatisfactory feature is the probability that under the proposed new constitution separate communal representation may be given a new lease of life for an indefinite period.

That the precise form and structure of the new federal government have not yet been determined and that with regard to all matters which may not be ceded by the Indian States to the Federation their relations will be with the British Crown acting through the agency of the Viceroy, cannot give satisfaction to lovers of a self-contained and self-respecting India. The ruling princes of India are not acting as true and self-respecting Indians in stipulating that in certain matters they want to have relations with British statesmen instead of with the statesmen of Federated India as a whole. We speak of "relations with British statesmen" because the British Sovereign does things only according to the advice of his ministers. It is putting a slight on India to think that her best statesmen would be less just, less wise, less considerate and less

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heedful of the dignity of the Princes than British ministers. Besides, to have relations with the British Crown would mean that British politicians were for ever to have opportunities of having a finger in the Indian pie and of indirectly controlling the Indian Federation through the Princes. We do feel that the Princes are insulting themselves by preferring Britain to Federated India, as the latter includes their own States.

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Reserved Subjects and Powers

In a previous note some observations have been made on the subject of safe-guards and reserved powers. The problem of the Indianization (!) of the Indian Army never having been squarely faced but shelved again and again, there is nothing for it now but to depend for a short period partly on British military officers for defence. But that is not equivalent to admitting that defence must be made a reserved subject even during the transition period.

In Britain it is not the rule that ministers in charge of war must be military men or ex-military officers. Lord Haldane was reputed to be one of the ablest war ministers. Mr. Lloyd George brought the last world war to a successful issue. In fact war ministers are generally civilians who have had no special military training. Hence, in India it is not an irrefutable argument to say that, as Indians have not hitherto held military commands, therefore the military portfolio cannot be given to an Indian minister.

With so many peace pacts and disarmament conferences, there ought not to be any menace of invasion of India by a first-class Power. For other eventualities the Sepoy army is quite sufficient. But whatever arrangements may be made for the transition period, the period itself should be short and strictly defined, and army expenditure should be votable.

There is no reason why external affairs should be reserved. Our statesmen are as well able as or rather better able than British statesmen to manage India's foreign affairs for the protection and promotion of India's interests and welfare. Hitherto India has had no real independent existence as regards foreign relations. She has been treated simply as an appanage of Great Britain. She has been dragged into wars for quarrels and interests not her own. She does not want to go to war. Negotiations have proceeded on the assumption that it is India's duty to consider that to be good for her which is convenient for Britain. This state of things will continue so long as external affairs are not brought under the power of India's federal legislature.

There is no need to arm the Governor-General with special additional powers to maintain the tranquillity of the State. Members of the Legislature and Indians in general have a greater stake in the country and are more interested in the maintenance of peace in India than any British statesman. The Governor-General may possibly require that a certain minimum amount should be guaranteed for army expenditure during the transition period. But with that exception, all that relates to finance should come under the power of the legislature. If Indian statesmen make mistakes, it is India which will suffer most; and hence, they will be very careful in handling financial matters. British financial experts may be very good for promoting and safe-guarding British interests. But they have not hitherto promoted or protected Indian interests; on the contrary, India's good has been sacrificed again and again to British greed. The loss of some 40 crores of rupees inflicted on India a decade ago by the Reverse Councils, the manipulation of the exchange rate, etc., are only a few examples in support of our statement.

So long as exchange, public loans, etc., remain reserved subjects, it will not be possible for Britain to avoid making profits at the expense of India, and loans will continue to be floated for purposes which are not strictly Indian. Therefore, all financial matters should come under the Indian Federal Legislature. There are already in the country competent Indian financial experts. And when Indian financiers are entrusted with onerous duties, we are sure they will be able to rise to the height of the occasion.

"Dualism" is only another name for diarchy. It has been an unsuccessful and unhappy experiment in the provinces. That experiment should not be repeated in the Central Government. As things stand, the army swallows up the bulk of our revenues. If the army remains a reserved subject and other reserved subjects are added, what proved one of the main causes of the failure of diarchy in the provinces will re-appear in an aggravated form in the Central Government. The men in charge of the reserved

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subjects will take what they want, leaving little for the transferred subjects.

The statement says, no doubt, that "it will be a primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to full responsibility for her own Government." But a superabundance of safe-guards and reserved subjects is scarcely the best means of developing a sense of responsibility and powers of self-rule.

Provincial autonomy, too, will be clogged with the swaddling clothes of Governor's special powers. Moreover, it has been taken for granted that public opinion in Bengal, United Provinces, and Bihar and Orissa favours a bi-cameral legislature. This is not at all a fact. Bureaucrats naturally desire to stem the tide of democracy by means of the big boulders of landlordism and capitalism. But it is not a fact that the provinces named above support that desire.

It is good that the legislatures are to be enlarged and the franchise liberalized. It is to be hoped that the franchise will be the same for all religious communities.

It is an unsatisfactory provision that the Ministers of the Central Government are to be called upon by the Governor-General to resign only if there be at least a two-thirds majority against them. This has not been the rule in the provinces, nor is it the rule in the British Parliament. Moreover, as the representatives of the Indian States (the representatives of the Indian Princes, to be accurate) will form a substantial section of the Federal Legislature, there will always be a considerable number of supporters of autocracy in that Legislature. Hence, a two-thirds majority against autocratic, incompetent or unpopular ministers will not generally be easy to secure.

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What Patiala Said

The Maharaja of Patiala has said, "They all had made it clear that they could federate only with a self-governing British India." The Maharaja ought to remember that British India's opinion, too, is that the people of these regions are willing to federate only with self-governing Indian States. Those States are not really self-governing where the will of the rulers is practically the law and the people possess no citizen's rights.

The Maharaja added that "just as (the princes) did not desire to dominate British India, so also they could not consent to British India dominating them." That is perfectly clear. But, as neither in area nor in population are the Indian States in the aggregate equal to British India, the former cannot obviously expect to send to the Federal Legislature as many representatives as British India.

There is no question of the one dominating the other. But, Federated India should certainly be as supreme over the Indian States entering the Federation as it will be over British India.

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Dr. Sapru or R. T. C. Gains

Whether one agrees with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru or not, one must give him high credit for his great persistence, and his earnest efforts to make the Conference a success. It is important to know what he thinks the Conference has given India. According to him, "Three central ideas have emerged." "One is the higher, nobler, loftier idea of All-India Federation, which has taken such a material shape, if I may say so, mainly because of the patriotic attitude of Indian Princes." The idea of All-India Federation is not new. Its taking material shape would be new, when it does take such shape.

"The second important idea which, from the view-point of British India, is of the highest importance, is the idea of responsibility at the Centre." This idea, too, is not new. But when there comes to be more of responsibility than of reserved subjects and safe-guards, that would be new.

"The third important idea which has emerged and which, if I may respectfully say so, is the integral idea of all the systems of responsible government, is that India must be prepared in years to come to defend herself." This, too, is not a new idea. But Dr. Sapru asserts that the principle that we are entitled to have an Indian Sandhurst "is no longer open to discussion. It has been conceded, and it has been acknowledged that it must be established to qualify Indians ultimately to take the responsibility for the defence of their own country." When an Indian Sandhurst comes to be established, equipped to turn out an adequate number of Indian officers with the highest expert knowledge and training, we shall consider that a gain.

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In the abstract it was conceded long ago that we were entitled to self-rule, and self-rule involved and implied all the three ideas enumerated by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

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Safe-guarding Vested Interests of Britishers

London, Jan. 19.

At the Round Table Conference in Committee Lord Reading was called upon by Mr. MacDonald to read the agreed re-drafted clause fourteen of Minorities Sub-Committee Report as follows :

"At the instance of the British Commercial Community the principle was generally agreed to that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British Mercantile Community, Firms and Companies trading in India and the rights of India-borns and that an appropriate convention based on reciprocity should be entered into for the purpose of regulating these rights. It was agreed that the existing rights of the European Community in India in regard to criminal trials should be maintained." (applause).

Lord Reading said that this had been agreed to except by Mr. Jinnah.

Sir Mahomed Shafi said that Mr. Jinnah had expressed his personal opinion. On behalf of the rest of Mussulman group, Sir M. Shafi accepted the clause.

The Committee then agreed to the amended clause.—*Reuter.*

Whoever may have agreed to this clause in London, the vast majority of Indian men of business and other Indians will certainly not agree to it. The cotton textile and some other lines of British trade were built up at the expense of similar manufactures of India. Indian shipping was destroyed in the interests of British shipping. As in the past there has been discrimination in favour of Britishers, so in the future there must be discrimination in favour of Indians to redress the balance. This is the only way to establish equality. British industries and commerce have been practically enjoying favoured nation treatment in India against Indians. No free country can or does accord such treatment to foreigners.

As regards criminal trials in India, Europeans demand perpetual extra-territoriality. This is the opposite of the "substance of independence," and should not be conceded. When capitulations and extra-territoriality have been abolished elsewhere where British laws do not exist, they ought not to survive in India where British laws are administered by men trained in British methods.

With finance, exchange, etc., in the hands of European officials and business in the hands of European non-officials, it would be an unprecedented kind of glorious Swaraj that India would have.

States' People's Rights

The memorandum relating to Indian States' people's rights circulated among the members of the R. T. C. by Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao, the first President of the Indian States' People's Conference, is an important document. In it he points out that the most characteristic feature of the States is the absence of the rule of law. At present there is no liberty of person in the States, and if a person is put in prison, there is no remedy by way of writ of *habeas corpus* against the officers detaining the person concerned in prison. There is no security of property. The State, in its corporate capacity, cannot be sued in the Municipal Courts of most of the States. The rights of association and public meeting do not exist in most States. There are very few newspapers in the States. The Press does not exist in most of the States, and where a few newspapers exist, most stringent Press regulations have been enacted, with the result that criticism of the measures of Government in the States is almost impossible.

Under the circumstances Mr. Ramachandra Rao rightly thinks that a Declaration of Fundamental Rights is necessary for the States, coming under one or other of the following heads :

(1) inviolability of person and property ;
(2) freedom of religion and conscience ;
(3) right of public meeting and association ;
(4) equality of all citizens before the law ;
(5) right of the citizens to have a writ of *habeas corpus* and trial according to law ;
(6) right of the citizens to public employment and the exercise of any trade or calling, irrespective of religion, caste or creed ;
(7) freedom of combination and association of all citizens for the maintenance and improvement of economic conditions ;
(8) right to bear arms to all citizens ;
(9) right of all citizens to receive free elementary education ;
(10) equal rights to men and women as citizens ; and
(11) equal rights of access for all citizens to the use of public wells, public roads and to all other places of public resort.

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Work of R. T. C. Defence Sub-Committee

Until there is complete Indianization of the Indian Army, enabling India to defend herself, full realization of self-rule would not be accomplished. Hence it is necessary to understand what prospect there is of such Indianization and by what date. The following summary of the work done by the

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Defence Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference, taken in an abridged form from *New India*, will give some idea of the prospects of Indianization :

The Defence Sub-Committee, which held its first meeting on Jan. 7, discussed its work under the following heads, Mr. Thomas being its Chairman.

(1) Indianization of the Army, including the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst.

(2) The question whether any separate force should be raised and maintained outside the regular Army on the lines outlined in the Simon Commission's Report and the Government of India's Despatch ;

(3) the establishment of a Military Council ; and

(4) the financial liability of India for the cost of Defence.

The Committee's meeting on the 9th was a particularly interesting one, because of a speech by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, referring to proposals for Indianization of the Army to which Lord Reading was a party while he was Viceroy, contemplating the completion of the process in three successive periods of 14 years, 7 years and 7 years respectively. He took his stand on those proposals. Sir Muhammad Shafi, Dr. Moonje, Mr. Jayakar and Sir Pheroze Sethna strongly supported him. Sir T. B. Sapru characterized the Skeen Report as already out of date, as it contemplated Indianization of half the Army only by 1952, whereas the proposals of the Government of India, to which Lord Rawlinson and other distinguished Generals had agreed, would accelerate Indianization at a much quicker pace. At his request Mr. Thomas produced the Government of India's scheme. It then appeared that this scheme was never laid before the Skeen Committee.

That was a rather illuminating revelation, of which the details are contained in the following Free Press Beam Service message :

It is well known that the War Office had always stood in the way of progress and perhaps it has been the worst enemy of Indianization, but the Indians learnt for the first time the length it would go in its opposition to any scheme of Indianization and the enormous power which it could wield even over the Government of India and retard the pace of progress.

Mr. Thomas was presiding over the Sub-Committee when the revelation was made by some of the Indian members, who learnt of it only a few days ago. It was made public at the meeting that even five years before the appointment of the Indian Sandhurst Committee, the Government of India had appointed a Committee of Military Experts to advise within what time all officer ranks of the Indian Army could be filled by Indians. The experts prepared a scheme and according to them the period was fixed at 42 years. The scheme was submitted to the Government of India and the Governor-General in Council discussed the scheme. It was felt that the pace recommended was too slow and it must be accelerated. So the Government thought it necessary to cut the period down to 28 years.

The plan then was submitted to the War Office. It did not emerge out of that office. It was pigeon-holed and even to-day it was said there were difficulties in finding it. But the most surprising part of the story is that no reference had been made to the scheme until to-day. The War Office had effectively intimidated the Government of India into silence. Members of the Skeen Committee feel greatly slighted. The Government of India never placed the scheme before them. At to-day's meeting they insisted upon the production of the scheme and a good deal of opposition was forthcoming, but the Indian members stood firm and eventually Mr. Thomas, the Chairman, agreed to try and find out the scheme and place it before the Sub-Committee.

The summary continues :

Mr. Thomas, referring to Indianization of the Indian Army and the establishment in India of a Military College, said that if all recruitment of British Officers ceased on the day the output from an Indian Sandhurst started, and if its output was calculated to meet the normal wastage, it would be about 35 years before the last British Officer was eliminated from the Indian Army.

This shows that decade after decade, some men in power in India and some in Britain could always be found to so oppose the Indianization of the *Indian* army that today, with the utmost expedition promised by the present British Government, that process cannot be completed before 35 years hence ! By that time all Indian political workers of the older generation now living would be dead and gone.

An important statement was made by the Maharaja of Bikaner at the Committee's meeting on the 13th. He said that the Treaties with the States did not provide for the retention of an Army composed of a particular race, and he dissociated himself from the views of Sir Leslie Scott in relation to the question, expressed before the Butler Committee.

This shows that the States cannot be justly compelled to entertain the services of British troops or officers.

The Report of the Committee states that the Defence of India should be increasingly the concern of the Indian people : and immediate steps should be taken to increase substantially the rate of Indianization. It recommends the early establishment of a Committee of experts, British and Indian, including the States, to plan a training college in India for Officers in all arms for the Indian Defence services, as also for the State forces. The Report suggests that the experts' investigation should aim at the utmost reduction in the number of British troops in India. Indian cadets should, however, still be eligible for Sandhurst, Woolwich and Cranwell. It was agreed that a Military Council should be established, including representatives of the States.

It is very encouraging indeed to learn that "the conservative elements in the Committee prevented the fixing of a period within which Indianization must be carried out." That's the right policy. Promise all sorts

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of things--even the moon. But let the date of fulfilment always be the Greek Kalends.

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The Hindu University Grant

Our note on the Hindu University grant in the last issue was based on some paragraphs which had appeared in several newspapers. It appears, however, that the information they contained was not accurate in all respects. We learn that, while it is true that the Hindu University has not yet (fourth week of January) received the annual grant of three lakhs of rupees from the Government of India, it is not a fact that the Government have laid down any conditions or that the Senate of the University has made any representation in the matter. The alleged condition regarding the removal of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya from the Vice-Chancellorship is entirely baseless. There has not been even a suggestion in any quarter to that effect.

It is understood that the Government have made enquiries regarding the teachers and students who have been convicted on account of their having taken part in the civil disobedience movement and the steps, if any, the University has taken in the matter. The Council of the University have supplied the information required. The Government have not laid down any conditions, nor have they said that the grant will not be paid. The latest information is contained in the following Associated Press message:

New Delhi, Jan. 26.

In the Assembly to-day, the question of Mr. Bhupat Singh relating to the Benares Hindu University elicited the information from Sir Fazli Hussain that the grant was deferred pending receipt of certain information which was called for regarding the financial and general administration of the University. This information having been received, the first instalment of the annual recurring grant would be paid now and the second in March. As regards the non-recurring grant, the second instalment would be paid as soon as the university authorities had satisfied Government that the stipulation regarding the reduction in indebtedness which was laid when the grant was sanctioned had been complied with.

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Four Exploded British Arguments

The following is from *Public Opinion* of London:

"For years conservative Britons have had four major arguments against turning India into a dominion. One after another these arguments exploded at the round table conference on India."

The Outlook of New York

THE FOUR ARGUMENTS

"'Unite all India under a native government,' went one of the arguments. 'Why, everyone knows that the native princes would rather rule their independent states under protection of British treaties than risk the dangers of native ballots.' Yet the conference found native princes, through the Maharajah of Bikanir, demanding union in a dominion as earnestly as any Gandhi," adds the *Outlook*.

"'Suppose we do confer dominion status on India,' ran a second British argument. 'Within a fortnight incompatible Moslems and Hindus will be flying at each other's throats.' Yet at the conference in London Moslems and Hindus smothered their religious antagonism in a demand for dominion status, reached some agreement on internal problems, repeatedly belied reports that they were about to split and stood shoulder to shoulder in delivering their ultimatum, with Dr. B. S. Moonje, leader of 200 million Hindus, and Maulana Muhammad Ali, political guide of 70 million Moslems, predicting an all-Indian revolution if Britain refused to make concessions.

"'But,' read a third British demurrer, 'the 43 million "untouchables" certainly prefer government under British guns to oppression by higher-caste Hindus.' Yet at St. James's Palace a 'scavenger'—member of the lowest caste—stood at the round table with his betters, asked for dominion status, and was cheered instead of shunned by Brahmans, who had dined with the 'untouchables' and granted them generous political representation in the projected Indian federation.

"'And the women' came another British objection. 'Where would they be in this native government? What do they want? What could they do? These questions were also answered at London by the Begum Shah Nawaz, wearing pearls rather than a veil, debating on even terms with men, adding her voice to the chorus for home rule.

"So four old arguments popped and disappeared. The conference went into committee with the Indian delegations solid for dominion status. Discomfited Britons are trying hard to think up new reasons for believing that their rule in India is as beneficial to Indians as it is to themselves."

The conference sittings and earnest discussions rather belie this airy summing up, but a section of America sees it thus and gives its opinion. We record it because it is just as well that British readers should understand.

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Right to Take Out Processions

According to the Associated Press,

One Moslem is reported to have been killed and about fifty wounded as a result of police firing upon a mob which is alleged to have attacked the goddess Saraswati immersion procession on Saturday evening.

It is reported that while the procession, which had been taken out with a licence, was passing along the principal thoroughfare of the town a large number of Mahomedans came out of the local Musjid and the adjoining Moslem-owned shops, attacked the processionists with *lathis* and other weapons and showered brickbats upon them from the roofs of certain houses. In consequence of this several processionists, all of whom are Hindus,

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were injured, in addition to a number of policemen on duty.

The police thereupon opened fire with the result stated above.

The Divisional Commissioner and the District Magistrate visited the place shortly afterwards and an armed force was brought from Saidpur and Rangpur by motor and from Jalpaiguri by the Darjeeling Mail. The latter patrolled the streets all night on Saturday.

It is reported that over three hundred Mahomedans were arrested yesterday in the Musjid compound and the adjoining shops.

An earlier (delayed) Associated Press message states that "it is understood that the district authorities had received information that, for some days past, emissaries were being sent to the mofussil asking the villagers to come in large numbers to prevent an attack on the mosque by Hindus." The question is, who sent the emissaries? Will he or they be found out and suitably dealt with?

The following message, sent from Allahabad by the Free Press of India, may be read along with the above :

Allahabad, Dec. 18.—Justices Suleman and Young, in an important judgment in the Allahabad High Court, held that the Hindus, both in their individual capacity and as members of the Hindu community, have the right to take out processions, to the accompaniment of music before mosques, subject to the magistrate's or police orders. Local tradition and custom has nothing to do in the matter.

—

Maulana Mahomed Ali

In Maulana Mahomed Ali India has lost a sincere and fiery patriot and the Moslem world a great Musalman. He had declared that he would not return to India if it continued to be a slave country, and his intention has been fulfilled. The incongruity between his nationalism and his patriotism rose from his wrong medieval and theocratic conception that the unit of the State was, not the politically-minded citizen irrespective of creed or caste, but the religious community. But there was no question of his sincere nationalism. He once declared that if the Afghans wanted to invade India, they would have to walk over his dead body. In his last letter to the Prime Minister, he wrote :

"We want to go back, not just with separate electorates or with weightage, but with freedom for India, including freedom for Musalmans, and unless we secure that I can assure the Premier that the Musalmans will join the civil disobedience movement without the least hesitation."

He had made the following similar declaration in his speech at the first plenary session of the Round Table Conference.

"If we return without the birth of a new Dominion, we return to a lost Dominion. Then you will witness outside, not within, the British Commonwealth, a Free United States of India and something more, United Faiths."

The same speech contains some of his other notable sayings also, *e.g.* :

Maulana Mahomed Ali

"I do not believe in the attainment of Dominion status. I am committed to complete Independence."

"Britain's wrong teaching of history in Indian schools is the cause of communal quarrels."

"I am an old non-co-operator. My brother and myself were the first to be jailed by Lord Reading. I bear no grudge, but want power, when Lord Reading does wrong, to send him to jail."

"The real problem is the Hindu-Muslim problem ; but that is the old question of divide and rule, and the moment Hindus and Muslims decide not to be divided (which is their determination), that moment British domination is doomed."

"Britain's greatest sin is the emasculation of India. It is impossible to kill 320 million people who had developed the will to die."

—

Muslims and Civil Disobedience

Maulana Mahomed Ali said that unless freedom for India were obtained, the Musalmans would join the civil disobedience movement. He forgot or ignored the fact that considerable numbers of them, including many influential and well-known men, had already joined it in all provinces. A foreign observer like Mr. H. N. Brailsford had no difficulty in perceiving that fact. Writes he in his article in *The New Republic* :

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How far the Moslems have been swept into this mass movement it is difficult for a stranger to judge. Those who joined it are conspicuous in the van. They are given the posts of honour and danger, and seem to court arrest. At the legal club in Bombay I asked six Moslem barristers for an estimate; most of them guessed that in this province half the Moslem population is with the Congress, and one went even higher. A police inspector put the figure at one-third. All agreed that the younger, educated generation has ceased to follow the Ali brothers, and is weary of the religious feud. At their great University at Aligarh a debate in the Students' Union gave an overwhelming majority for the Congress. What startled me even more was to learn that the convocation of the Mohammedan clergy, a body elected from the whole of India, known as the Jamiat-ul-ulema, passed a resolution urging non-participation in the Conference. It is a highly conservative body, which thinks of Islam first and only afterwards of India, and yet it adopted the Congress attitude toward the Round Table.

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Teaching of Islamic History and the Principles of Islamic Religion in Bengal Schools and Colleges

The dual alliance between British and Moslem interests in Bengal is always a force to be reckoned with. When to this was added the happy coincidence of one Muhammadan at the head of the Ministry of Education and another at the helm of the Calcutta University, prophets of evil, we believe, had the chance of their life and croaked away merrily about the communal onslaught that was soon going to be made on the schools and colleges of the province. Strange as it may seem, these prognostications have not taken long to show signs of being fulfilled. Time, which is usually so unkind to prophecies and has an art of making rather stale jokes out of them, has yet spared these gloomy forebodings. We seem to be perilously near the eve of an era when the educational system of the country will be handed over to the seven devils of Communalism.

The immediate occasion for these remarks is a letter of the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, to the authorities of the Calcutta University, in which, we understand, he has put forward two suggestions. The first of these is that Islamic history should be included in the list of optional subjects for Matriculation and Intermediate examinations, while the second proposes that provision be made in all high schools of Bengal for the teaching of Islamic history and elementary principles and practice of Islam. To both of these, if it has true wisdom and a vision of its true functions, the Calcutta University ought to reply with an emphatic negative.

We cannot tell whether these suggestions are meant seriously or whether they are simply a trap laid for Hindu opinion to grow indignant over, thus giving to those who would gain by it, an opportunity to work up, to a still more discordant pitch, the communal disharmony already accentuated by the political feud. In either case, we need not hesitate to say plainly what we think of the proposals, for on this question, at any rate, we flatter ourselves our reasons will bear scrutiny and be found to be both educationally sound and politically disinterested.

The very first objection that can be urged against the proposal of the Director of Public Instruction is that, if carried out in practice, it will involve a radical departure from the time-honoured principle of religious neutrality in our educational system. We may, or, again, we may not, like the absence of religious instruction in our schools and colleges. But there is no denying that it works extremely well in practice. If the school curriculum is to include a course in the dogmas and practices of Islam, the Hindu community is sure to raise the cry that the principles and practices of its own faith should also have a place on it. If, again, there is an optional paper on Islamic history, why not another on the history of Hindu culture and Hindu colonization? The truth seems to be that a discussion of these questions will land us into a quagmire of religious controversy from which there is no way out. Even in a country like Great Britain which has a standardized faith fixed by statute and a State endowed Church, it has not been possible to introduce a general system of religious instruction. In a country like India, with its infinite shades of dogma and belief, such a task will be beyond the powers of even the most despotic of Governments.

But the purely educational objections which can be brought forward against the suggestion are more serious still. It would, in our opinion, introduce specialization at too early a stage, and render still more obscurantist a curriculum which is obscurantist enough already. The most urgent reform which our curricula call for today is the inclusion in them of science subjects, both physical and biological, which form the very basis of modern life. We have apparently, neither

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the money nor the ideas and energy necessary to put through these essential reforms. Yet we call for the inclusion in school curricula of subjects like Hindu and Moslem theology and chapters of Hindu and Moslem history, whose glorious but empty shadows can only mock our present shoddiness. For this folly alone we deserve to have another 'Mother India' and 'Father Islam' written about us.

One word more about the study of Islamic history. The school curriculum in Bengal already includes the study of Indian history, which contains one of the brightest chapters of the history of Islamic Power and civilization. It is notorious that this subject is taught so incompetently and so inadequately in our schools that there is hardly a school-boy who, after going through the whole course for at least six years, derives any profit from the study in the end. It is this deplorable state of affairs which first demands our attention in connection with the reform of the study of history in our schools. Before that is done, before the whole method of teaching history in our schools is thoroughly overhauled and put on a sound basis, it would be idle, if not actually flippant, to ask for the inclusion of specialized branches of history—Hindu or Muhammadan—for the teaching of which no properly trained men would be forthcoming.

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The Islamization of India

Here perhaps the question will be raised,—Have we the right to impose upon a community an ideal of education which it does not accept of its free choice? Have we the right to save the soul of a community in spite of itself? Can we, for example, with any pretence of a right, prevent the Muhammadans of Bengal from reading the *Shariat* and giving science a wide berth, even if *El Azhar* should be modernizing itself? These questions touch deep places of educational theory, and there can be no doubt that the proposals of the Director of Public Instruction raise fundamental issues.

"For every State," said Aristotle twenty-two centuries ago, "an appropriate form of education is an object of the first importance." Commenting on this dictum, Dr. Pinkevitch, a leading Soviet educationist, writes:

"The teacher works in a particular society and for a particular society. His activity is directed by *the demands of the class or classes which at the moment rule the State.* Education is the preparation of future as well as present citizens for social life. Therefore schools, elementary as well as higher, *never were and never will be free from politics as long as the State exists.*"

We do not think that even the present Director of Public Instruction in Bengal will dispute the truth of this proposition. For, in spite of all that they may say to the contrary, what he and one of his eminent colleagues on the Indian Educational Service who preaches the disinterestedness of research, as well as the still more eminent co-citizen of both of them, who holds the position of the Police Commissionership of Calcutta,—what all these eminent men mean when they insist on the freedom of the university and other educational institutions from the contamination of politics, is simply that they should be free from the objectional shades of that activity. It is "*Inquilab Zindabad*" they object to, and not "God Save the King." They are quite ready to overlook the second form of political activity, though in the opinion of a Puritanical zealot that would be nothing less than rank Erastianism.

What political purpose, then, and what interest of the classes which rule the Indian State today will be served by the measure which the Director of Public Instruction proposes? To this question, the simplest and the shortest answer is that it would tend to perpetuate the class and communal war on which the Indian State is based. The development of the class and religious consciousness of the Muhammadan rural population of India is a very recent phenomenon. In the two provinces of India in which the communal question is now at its acutest—I mean the Panjab and Bengal, the rural population was Muhammadan in little but name till very recently. As Sir Denzil Ibbetson wrote of the conditions in the Panjab in 1883:

"The so-called Musalmans of the villages were Musalmans in little but name. They practised circumcision, repeated the *Kalimah* or Mahomedan profession of faith and worshipped the village deities. The villager of the East is still a very bad Musalman. A peasant saying prayers in the field is a sight almost unknown, the fasts are almost universally disregarded, and there is still a very large admixture of Hindu practice. As Mr. Channing puts it, the Musalman of the village "observes the feasts of both religions and the fasts of neither." And indeed it is hardly possible that it should be otherwise. As I have already observed, conversion was seldom due to conviction, but was either forcible or made under pressure of confiscation...Living then side by side with their Hindu brethren in the

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same or the next village, sharing property in the same land, and forming a part of the same family with them, it is impossible that the Musalman converts should not have retained their old customs and ideas. The local saints and deities still have their shrines even in villages held wholly by Musalmans, and are still regularly worshipped by the majority.....The Hindu family priests are still kept up and consulted as of old, and Brahmans are still fed on the usual occasions, and, in many cases, still officiate at weddings and the like side by side with Mahomedan priests."

"But," adds Sir Denzil Ibbetson, "the spread of education has its effect on these people. Recently religious teachers have become more numerous among them." After the Mutiny, Muhammadan preachers travelled far and wide through the Panjab, preaching the true faith, and calling upon believers to abandon their idolatrous practices, and the result was that almost every considerable Muhammadan village built its mosque, the villagers said prayers and observed the Ramzan, and the women abandoned the Hindu petticoat for the Muhammadan trousers—"all signs of a religious revival." The conversion of the so-called Muhammadan peasantry of Bengal has also followed parallel lines, though it has been a still more recent phenomenon.

The suggestion to include a course in Islamic history and Islamic dogma in schools comes as the last step in the long educational process by which the Islamization of the rural population of Bengal is to be completed. If carried out, it will complete the alienation of the Bengali Muhammadans from their native soil and their native traditions. This common Indian heritage belonged as much to them as to the Hindus. It is no longer so already. But the measure proposed will poison the common well of goodwill still further and drive the two communities more hopelessly asunder.

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The Imperial Library, Calcutta

The Imperial Library in Calcutta is, we believe, the only library in India which one would think of comparing with the great public libraries of Europe and America. No one would, of course, dream of comparing it with the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Vatican Library or any other historical library of the first rank. But it might well, as the biggest public library in India, invite and sustain comparison with public libraries like the New York Public Library, the London Library, the Bibliothéque Ste Geneviéve, the Boston Public Library and other libraries of the second rank. This, however, is more than can be claimed for it even by those to whom it has been an undoubted boon. Not only has its reading-room been thrust into the darkest and the most undignified *godown* in Calcutta that could be spared by a mere Controller of Military Accounts, but it is housed in the same building with seven or eight Government offices (including three Income-tax Offices), the noise and bustle in which, added to the depredations of famished legions of bugs in the chairs, make quiet study absolutely impossible. Its method of public service (both in the reading-room and the lending department) is based on a system in which red-tapism runs wild, while its treatment of readers and visitors can only be explained on the hypothesis that they are all potential thieves. The time taken by it to acquire catalogue, and place, at the disposal of the public, those new publications which it cares to buy—and that does not include even all the most important publications of the year—is on a par with its bureaucratic affiliations. A period varying from three to six months or more usually elapses before a new book is received in the Library, and it usually takes another six months to catalogue it, though a delay of even two years in cataloguing is not absolutely unknown. The whole set of League of Nations publications, for example, was received in the Library before 1928, and they are not even now available to the public through ordinary channels.

The reforms in the Imperial Library, which seem to be imperatively called for, will not be facilitated by the translation of a Home Department employee to the post of Librarian. We know very little about this gentleman except perhaps that he is an ordinary graduate (pass B. A) of the Panjab University, entered Government service as a clerk on a salary of Rs 30, and gradually rose to be the Librarian of the Library of the Home Department of the Government of India. He does not, we believe, possess any knowledge of French or German, and knows no more about library management than what he has been able to pick up in the Secretariat Library—hardly a school of modern librarianship. The fittest person for this position would have been somebody who had learnt librarianship in one of the big libraries of

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England or America. The first librarian of the Imperial Library was Mr. Macfarlane of the British Museum. He was followed by the distinguished Indian scholar, Harinath De, who was succeeded in his turn by Mr. J. A. Chapman, a poet and a man with a keen interest in books. Mr. K. M. Asadullah may, for all we know and can anticipate, turn out to be a very competent librarian indeed. But he was hardly the best qualified candidate to choose at the present moment.

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Press and Unlawful Instigation Bills

Consideration of the bills to convert the Press ordinance and the Unlawful Instigation ordinances into laws have been for the present postponed for tactical reasons. But they are sure to come up again in the near future. Then it would be seen who among the M. L. A.s is what.

—

Bengal Deportation Bill

The Government of India wanted to pass the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Supplementary Bill speedily. But opposition has come from some unexpected quarters, including many prominent Muslim members like Sir Abdur Rahim, Dr. Suhrawardy, Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhuri and others. Dr. Suhrawardy said among other things that "if the Government was anxious to crush revolutionary crimes in Bengal they should also deport from India some of their own officials who had created a good deal of discontent in that province."

Mr. S. C. Mitra's motion for circulation of the Bill was accepted by the Legislative Assembly by 64 votes to 48.

The Bill is intended to deport from Bengal to other provinces those persons who have been or may be deprived of their liberty without any sort of trial.

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Independence Day and Lathi charges and Arrests

Neither when the Independence resolution was passed at the last Lahore session of the Congress nor at any time afterwards has that resolution been declared unlawful by the Government. Similar, we believe, is the case with the National Flag and its hoisting. Yet on Independence Day, 26th January, in many places all over the country many persons have been arrested, many (including ladies) assaulted with lathis for assembling and hoisting the National Flag. It is needless to discuss whether it is morally right to do what hundreds of thousands did on that day. We are concerned only with the legal aspect. But the law can be changed at their will by the rulers. So, that also need not be discussed. What may appeal to Lord Irwin and those of his way of thinking is that the effect of the release of the Congress leaders would be destroyed by these acts of repression.

What purpose is served by releasing Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta and jailing Mr. Subhas Bose almost simultaneously ?

—

Partial Neutralizing of Lifting Ban Against Congress Committee

The lifting of the ban against the Congress Working Committee was meant to facilitate the meeting of the leaders for joint deliberations on the Premier's statement. It was also calculated to produce a suitable atmosphere for calm examination of the work of the R. T. C. But there have been almost simultaneously some additions to the already long list of Unlawful Associations, partly marring the effect of the withdrawal of the notifications against the Congress Working Committee.

An extraordinary issue of the *Calcutta Gazette* issued on Tuesday evening (January 27) announcing (1) the Bengal Council of Civil Disobedience, (2) The Council of Action, (3) Nari Satyagraha Samiti, and (4) Burrabazar Congress Committee as illegal associations under the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

—

Sufferers from Satyagraha

New Delhi, Jan. 26.

In the Assembly to-day, replying to a question by Mr. Sant Singh, Sir James Crerar said that those convicted in connection with civil disobedience up to the end of December, 1930, numbered 54,049, and those undergoing imprisonment 23,504.

The provincial figures, respectively, for those sentenced to imprisonment for civil disobedience offences and those now undergoing imprisonment are :

Provinces	Sentenced	Now in Jail
Bengal	11,463	2,973
Madras	3,998	2,110
Bombay	9,732	3,803
U. P.	7,606	4,555
Punjab	3,561	1,349
Bihar and Orissa	10,899	4,980
C. P.	3,861	2,139
Assam	1,088	291
N.-W. F. P.	761	337
Coorg	6	4
Delhi	1,073	953

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The casualties among the public during April, May, June and July due to firing were 101 killed and 427 wounded. The figures after July were being collected. (*Associated Press of India*).

—

Mr. Sastri Makes Partial Amends

Having criticized Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's Edinburgh speech on "A few lathi charges and a few imprisonments," it is but fair to record that in his speech at the Liberal Party's dinner to the Indian Liberal members of the R. T. C. he made partial amends for his previous speech. Said he, in part:

Mr. Sastri proceeded to say that they had just concluded a miracle in political achievement, but that was only part of the story. In India they had been conducting a pacific struggle under the guidance of one who believed in non-violence. They had borne great sacrifices. To-day there were 30,000 men and women in jail in India. (Voices: "60,000"). Persons nurtured as gently as they themselves, who had been to school and college, read the same classics and imbibed the same ideals received at the hands of the police—he did not blame the police who maintained peace and order against great odds—severe blows on their bodies.

These were not things to be forgotten. They were adding to their troubles, in a way which could not be imagined. The situation in India, to which the work accomplished during the past nine weeks would be an instant remedy under ordinary conditions, was such that he feared even the miracle achieved would not go down.

APPEAL FOR AMNESTY

Mr. Sastri eloquently affirmed that, if the work of the Conference was to be appraised at its true worth and bring peace and contentment, it could only be if they called into consultation those whom the fortunes of politics had deprived of their liberty.

So, an eminent Indian, who has not witnessed any *lathi* charge, holds that the police *lathis* are being used only to maintain law and order, but Mr. H. N. Brailsford writes as an eyewitness of some of them: "In the interests of order there is, for a punitive dispersal of such crowds, no reason or excuse whatever."

—

Pandit Motilal Nehru's Illness

Along with the rest of our countrymen we have learnt with great concern that Pandit Motilal Nehru's illness has taken a bad turn. Our earnest wish is that he may be soon restored to health. The presence of his son and daughter-in-law with him must be a great comfort to him.

—

Mr. Lloyd George on the "Goal"

At the Liberal Party's dinner to the Indian Liberal members of the R. T. C.,

Mr. Lloyd George stressed that they must not rejoice prematurely. The goal was long way off. Although they had only finished the first part of the journey, an important fact was that they had reached the end together. If they failed to keep step in the next twelve months, it would be difficult to recreate the opportunity. There would be difficulties both in India and Britain. But if all went well in India, he was convinced that public opinion in Britain, without distinction of party, would be prepared to go the whole length of the Conference proposals in meeting the aspirations of their Indian fellow subjects.

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All-India Women's Conference

The Round Table Conference and other political topics have taken up so much of our time and space, that we are sorry we are unable to write at such length on the All-India Women's Conference and the All-Asian Women's Conference, both held recently at Lahore. They were very important gatherings, betokening the awakening of the women of India and Asia and rich with the promise of great good.

Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddy presided over the All-India Women's Conference, at which the following were among the resolutions passed:

"The Conference again urges that a definite effort should be made to educate public opinion against the practice of polygamy, and customary purdah.

(a) This Conference congratulates the States of Travancore and Cochin on the abolition of *Devdasi* service in temples and gives its whole-hearted support to Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty's Bill for the prevention of dedication of women and girls to service in Hindu temples. It calls upon all constituencies where this practice exists to educate public opinion against it. (b) This Conference congratulates the Portuguese Government on passing a law forbidding *Shess Vidi* (*i.e.*, a mock marriage which initiates girls into an immoral life) and urges the Government of India and all Provincial Governments to take similar steps immediately.

This Conference appeals to its own members and to the public to aid in every way in establishing—

(1) Rescue Homes for each Province;

(2) In educating public opinion against traffic in women and children;

(3) In taking steps to bring in legislation where necessary for the closing of brothels and in asking Government to appoint women officers for the proper enforcement of the Acts aleady in existence.

This Conference reiterates its firm conviction that women should be adequately represented:

(a) On the Central and Provincial Legislatures,

(b) On District, Municipal and other local bodies,

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(c) On Commissions and Committees affecting women and children.

This Conference is of the opinion that members of the Central Legislature be urged to take early steps to amend the present state of Hindu Law relating to women in order to make it more equitable.

This Conference is of the opinion that the laws in regard to the rights of Muslim women laid down in the *Koran* should be substituted for the current Customary Law.

Sardarani Pritam Singh (East Punjab) moved :

This Conference urges the Constituencies to call the attention of their members to the insanitary condition of cities, towns and villages and to do all in their power to keep their neighbourhood clean and to insist on the work being properly done by the local authorities and their employees.

"This Conference of women gives its whole-hearted support to Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty's Bill to remove disabilities affecting the untouchable caste of the Hindu community and calls upon (a) the members of each constituency to educate public opinion in favour of the removal of untouchability, (b) the local governments to help the cause of the untouchables in their efforts to secure citizen rights."

In the afternoon session, the Conference considered resolutions on Labour, which were all carried unanimously

This Conference reiterates the importance of tackling the problem of Adult Education in every way possible and urges the Government, Municipal Councils, Local Bodies and Women's Associations to organize classes and centres for the promotion of literacy and general education, among adult women and suggests the establishment of cinemas, moving libraries and publication of suitable books and magazines in the vernaculars.

This Conference reiterates the importance of educating girls of all communities in the same schools in order to promote mutual understanding and a common cultural unity.

This Conference is totally opposed to the infliction of corporal punishment in schools and institutions for boys and girls and it calls on everyone to report instances to the authorities concerned and on the latter to see that the laws forbidding such acts are strictly enforced.

—

All-Asian Women's Conference

The first All-Asian Women's Conference was a unique gathering of the women of Asia. Says *The Tribune* :

A delegate from Persia suggested the name of Madame Naidu for presidentship, and the Conference enthusiastically agreed to elect the "Bulbul-i-Hind," now a prisoner in one of His Majesty's jails, to the Chair.

The idea of the Conference originated with Mrs. Cousins—that indefatigable friend of India. "Asia lacked solidarity," she found. One part was ignorant of another. Despite a heritage of common culture the women of one country knew very little about their sisters in the neighbouring country. To bring about unity and friendship a Conference was planned. And the efforts of Mrs. Cousins and her colleagues have now been singularly successful.

Delegates from China, Japan, Java, Persia, Ceylon, Burma, Afghanistan, etc., attended the Conference.

After eight days' session the All-Asian Women's Conference concluded yesterday. Resolutions urging free compulsory primary education of children, equal rights of women for guardianship of children and property, teaching in schools of lives and teachings of great religious leaders of the world in order to promote a spirit of religious tolerance, love and harmony amongst the communities and asking all countries in Asia except Japan to spend money for health schemes and founding of research institutes for development of indigenous systems of medicine in the light of modern science were adopted.

Another important resolution says that in order that every individual and every nation may have an unfettered right of self-expression for enrichment of human synthesis, the conference considers it imperative that each country shall have full responsible government.

There was a consensus of opinion that India must have prohibition.

Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins, the originator of the Conference, has contributed to the papers her impressions of the Conference in a charming and inspiring manner.

Says she :

At least twelve hundred men and women wended their way through the sunlit streets and clear cold air of the city which has been called the "Gateway into India" on that historic afternoon. "And what went they forth for to see ?" Women unknown before in their vicinity, women of countenance and costume different from their own, women who had travelled from Japan, Java, Burma, Ceylon, women from other continents—New Zealand, America, Europe, all interested in achieving increased powers of service through increased union of goodwill, of increased interchange of knowledge of one another, and of increased self-consciousness of oriental possibilities for world enrichment.

The opening ceremony of the conference was impressive and inspiring beyond the organizers' highest hopes. The original intention had been to hold the meeting in the artistic Town Hall, but there was such a rush for invitations that on Saturday it was realized that the Hall would be too small. In a day and a half all arrangements were carried out for the putting up of the splendid durbar shamiana, for its decoration with evergreens and hanging baskets of beautiful ferns, its seating and dignified dais, all the work of the Secretary of the Reception Committee, Mrs. Rafi, a little non-purdah Muhammadan lady who is a born organizer and an epitome of efficient energy. The shamiana walls of yellow with green hangings behind the dais on which hung a large red khaddar greeting "Welcome from India" made a striking background for the group who gathered on the platform.

The Lahore members of the All-India Reception Committee had remained at the shamiana entrance and at the appointed hour escorted in procession the delegates to the dais, led by the Senior Rani Amrit Kaur, of Mandi, Lady Bandaranaika of

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Colombo and Rani Rajwade, Hon. Organizing Secretary.

"United in Progress.
United in expression.
United in thought,
Let our minds approach Thee
With the same objects before us in this great gathering."

There were messages from abroad.

From far away Asian lands also came cables, from the Jewish Women's League for Equal Rights, in Jerusalem, Palestine, from the Japan Women's Committee for International Relations, "We are praying for the grand success of the Conference," from Madam Nour Hamada, President of the Arabian Women's Congress, and Madam Nasik Abed Behyum Beyrouth, Syria, saying that illness only prevented them from attending, from Madam Mastoore-e-Afshar, Teheran, Persia.

The conference was still in session when Mrs. Cousins wrote her impressions, of which the concluding paragraph runs:

At present the delegates are holding most interesting daily sessions and the seal of the necessity and usefulness of the Conference was set upon it by a message from Alice Paul of America requesting the help of the Conference in supporting the appeal of the International Women's Committee on the Nationality of Married Women to the Council of the League of Nations, at present sitting, that this Women's Committee should be appointed a Commission of the League and send its recommendations to the Assembly regarding the right of women to retain their own nationality after marriage. America calling: Assembled Asia cabling support! Support of Europe discussing equality of nationality rights of the world's womanhood! Asia had only been just born as a self-conscious unity when she got her accolade of opportunity of world service. And that is only the beginning!

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R. T. C. Debate in Commons

This issue of *The Modern Review* does not contain anything about the debate in the House of Commons on the Round Table Conference, because Reuter's cabled summary reached us in the mofussil too late for careful reading and expression of considered opinion, and because it does not appear to tell us authoritatively anything very important in addition to what the Premier said at the last plenary session of the Conference.

—

Moslem Opinion on Joint Electorates

British officials and non-officials appear to hold that the Muslim community is wholly or predominantly in favour of separate electorates. This is not true. The Muslim members of the R. T. C. were, no doubt, solidly for it. But none of them belongs to the influential Congress group of Muslims. Among those who have not actually joined the Congress and gone to jail or courted imprisonment, influential Muslim leaders have voiced the opinion of their community in favour of joint electorates. They belong to various parts of the country from the Panjab to Assam and Oudh to Madras. These leaders have among them persons who, in culture, public spirit and services, social positions, former official rank and present following, are not in the least inferior to the communalists who went to London as *nominees of the Government*. We need name only Sir Ali Imam and his brother Syed Hasan Imam, and the Maharaja of Mahmudabad without meaning any want of regard for the others. Nor must we omit to mention the name of Mrs. Sophia Khatun and the other more than seventy members of the Bengali Muslim Women's Association who have spoken emphatically in favour of joint electorates.

—

For the People's Welfare

The following passage is taken from the report of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's broadcast address on the R. T. C.:

I could not help wondering, as the days went on, how far the great mass of the working people in both towns and country were benefited by these constitutional changes. We are bound to make changes. What will be the effect on the Indian masses? What counts most in the lives of the Indian people is their incomes and wages, their Labour laws, which they must obey and which must protect them, the day-by-day administration of Law and Order, the wise handling of land revenue and settlement policy, the honest management of irrigation and the suppression of corruption in all its forms. These things, however, must come from the Indians themselves, with every backing, of course, that we can give them, but essentially from themselves. If responsibility evokes interest, all will be well. I believe that will be the case, and my trust is based very largely upon the active intelligence of so many Indian women whose political status is beginning to be recognized.

We wonder if the Premier who showed so much concern for the welfare of the masses, thought that the British bureaucracy in India and Britain did or tried to do everything possible for the good of the Indian people, or that the system of administration here had been devised with that object, and that the Indians who might in years to come be responsible for the administration would be inferior to the British

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bureaucracy, not only in the capacity to do good, but even in the desire to do good to their own countrymen! In any case, we need not complain of what he may think, if only he and other British statesmen would make Indians fully responsible for the governance of their country and give them full power to perform their duties.

—

Sir Muhammad Iqbal's Address

The All-India Muslim League is a high-sounding name. But at its last session in Allahabad, there was not even a quorum, as the attendance of members was less than 75, the number required. To such a poor house, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the President of the session, delivered his address and left precipitately before the close of the session. What in his address has attracted wide attention is his demand that there should be a Muslim State in North-West India, consisting of Sind, the Panjab, the North-West Frontier Province and British Baluchistan. As Mr. Fazlul Haq and his friends want "domination" in Bengal in the East and the Poet Iqbal wants a Muslim State in the West, very many people have found in these sentiments the key to a proper understanding of Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points.

—

What Mahatma Gandhi Wants?

Mahatma Gandhi has told interviewers after coming out of jail that he has come out "with an absolutely open mind, unfettered by enmity, unbiassed in argument and prepared to study the whole situation from every point of view." He has also said:

"I personally feel that the mere release of the members of the Working Committee makes the difficult position infinitely more difficult and makes any action on the part of the members almost, if not altogether, impossible. The authorities evidently have not perceived that the movement has so much affected the mass mind that the leaders, however prominent, will utterly be unable to dictate to them a particular course of action. This, in my opinion, is a very healthy condition, because independence of thinking is the very essence of the principle of democracy. These, therefore, are persons, who are better able to deliver the goods than all the released leaders combined. In my opinion, therefore, if the release of the leaders is to be effective, the release of all the Satyagrahi prisoners is a necessary condition, and this release in itself will be ineffective if repression is not stopped altogether.

"No amount of goodwill, specially between Great Britain and India so far as I can see, will reconcile the public to the drink evil, the foreign cloth evil or the prohibition of the manufacture of salt. Speaking for myself I am hankering after peace, if it can be had with honour. But even if I stood alone I can be no party to any peace which does not satisfactorily solve the three questions I have mentioned. I should, therefore, judge the Round Table tree by its fruit. I have given three tests that are in operation, but as the public know, there are eight more points. I want the substance of Independence and not the shadow and even as a doctor names the disease after proper diagnosis, so also I will name the tree of the Round Table Conference after I have examined the fruit in the light of the well-known eleven points which are conceived in terms of the man in the street."

—

An American Sermon on Indian Self-rule

Two Years ago the Rev. Dr. F. C. Southworth came to and travelled extensively in India in connection with the Brahmo Samaj Centenary celebrations. Recently he gave a sermon on "Ought India to Be Free" in the Church of the Messiah in Montpellier. First he dwelt on India's past history.

India is the seat of one of the earliest civilizations in the world. For 2,500 years, before it was deprived of its freedom by Great Britain, when the Mogul empire was breaking up, it had self-rule. With the exception of China it has a larger population than any other country of the world, comprising a sixth of the human race. When Europe was still inhabited by barbarians, there flourished on the banks of the Ganges and the Indus a highly developed civilization with a great variety of arts and manufactures. Two of the six great religions of the world were born in India. It was the home of two of the six men who, according to H. G. Wells, were the greatest of all time, Buddha and the Emperor Asoka. It has been, throughout its history, the land of philosophy, of science, of poetry, and of religion. These are a few of the facts that seem to afford a reasonable presumption that the people of India are capable of ruling themselves.

But is there a demand for self-rule in India today? Dr. Southworth answers:

Two years ago my wife and I were permitted to spend a winter in India under conditions particularly favourable for coming in contact with various elements of the population. Our travels brought us to the homes of untouchables as well as to the homes of Gandhi and Tagore, to colleges and universities as well as to religious and political assemblies, into the presence of Mohammedans, Buddhists and Hindus as well as Christians. One and all of these were animated by the same unconquerable longing, to escape from subserviency to a foreign power and to gain their freedom as self-respecting citizens of a free state. More and more, as we talked with these gifted men and women, did we find ourselves sharing their resentment and their hopes. We believed with Lincoln, as loyal Americans, before we went to India, that no nation is good enough to rule another nation. We came away with the conviction that such rule is invariably bad for the

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nation that rules as well as for the nation that serves.

The Reverend gentleman then briefly described the tragic record in India of the last months, and concluded with a reference to the Round Table Conference and prayers for India.

And now at the Round Table Conference, the representatives of the elements in India supposed to be most hostile to self-rule have been making fiery speeches in its favour. And the prime minister of England has closed the preliminary sessions with the solemn declaration that all the official pronouncements of the government looking toward self-rule will be scrupulously carried out. In these words there was speaking not the prime minister alone, but the voice of the England of Magna Charta, of Milton and of Burke. The ultimate decision rests, of course, with parliament. Will it be dictated by generous humanity or by insular prejudice and the pocket-books of those whose investments in India are at stake? Gandhi and 40,000 Indian patriots, languishing in prison, await the verdict. In this house of God, dedicated to justice and humanity, I invite your prayers that this long-suffering nation shall be free.

—

Indian Theatre in Munich

The Deutsche Akademie has the pleasure of announcing to the Indian public that the Indian Students' Club of Munich staged the famous drama *Chitra* of Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali on the second December, 1930, in the hall of the Studentenhaus under the joint auspices of the Deutsche Akademie and the Deutsche Akademische Auslandstelle for the benefit of poor German students. It was a spontaneous act on the part of the Indian students and at the same time a unique experiment; for this is the first time that an Indian drama was played in Europe in the original Indian (Bengali) text! Still, strange as it may seem, the big hall of the Studentenhaus was full, and such was the success of these amateur actors that they were requested to repeat their performance on the eleventh December. Mr. T. Sen appeared in the very difficult rôle of Chitrangada, the heroine, and, although nobody understood the meaning of the Bengali words which came with musical effect from his rich melodious voice, his acting was done with so much feeling and devotion that the main plot of the play was clear to everyone in the auditorium. Many Munich papers praised him specially for his wonderful acting. Dr. A. Mukherjee too was a success in every way in the rôle of Arjuna and Dr. K. P. Basu produced a deep impression as Madana. A special feature of the evening was the real Indian music played on real Indian instruments for which the Munich public is thankful to Mr. N. Das.

The best society of Munich gathered that evening in the Studentenhaus to watch the noble performance of the Indian students. Nobel prize winners like Wieland, Willstätter, Sommerfeld and world famous professors like Oertel, Fajans and Gerlach were present there. Representatives of many Munich papers were also present at this evening and press opinion was wholly favourable. The *Bayerische Staatszeitung* was enthusiastic over the "beautiful figures of the Indian students in their classical costumes" and their earnest devotion in the performance and compared the piece with Goethe's Tasso. The *München-Augsburger Abendzeitung*, in a short but vivid review, would hardly admit that it was a performance by amateurs. The success of the evening was complete, but that is not all. It has a much deeper significance. It shows clearly that the Indian students in Germany have learnt to love Germany and their German fellow-students and for that reason their sympathy for the German students in distress. This sentiment was fully expressed when Mr. Raju, president of the Indian Students' Club, Munich, in his opening speech said: "This performance is the expression of our gratitude for all the sympathy and kindness we have received in the German Universities, from our German friends and in the German families." Truly it is the sign of a great process of cultural rapprochement that is going on between India and Germany, and it is a pleasure to note what the "*Welt am Sonntag*" wrote on this performance: "Everyone who took part in the performance did his best to make its wholesome effect equally felt in both the continents and to connect in this evening the two continents by the bonds of friendship, Asia and Europe, and specially the two countries India and Germany." (Contributed by the Deutsche Akademie.)

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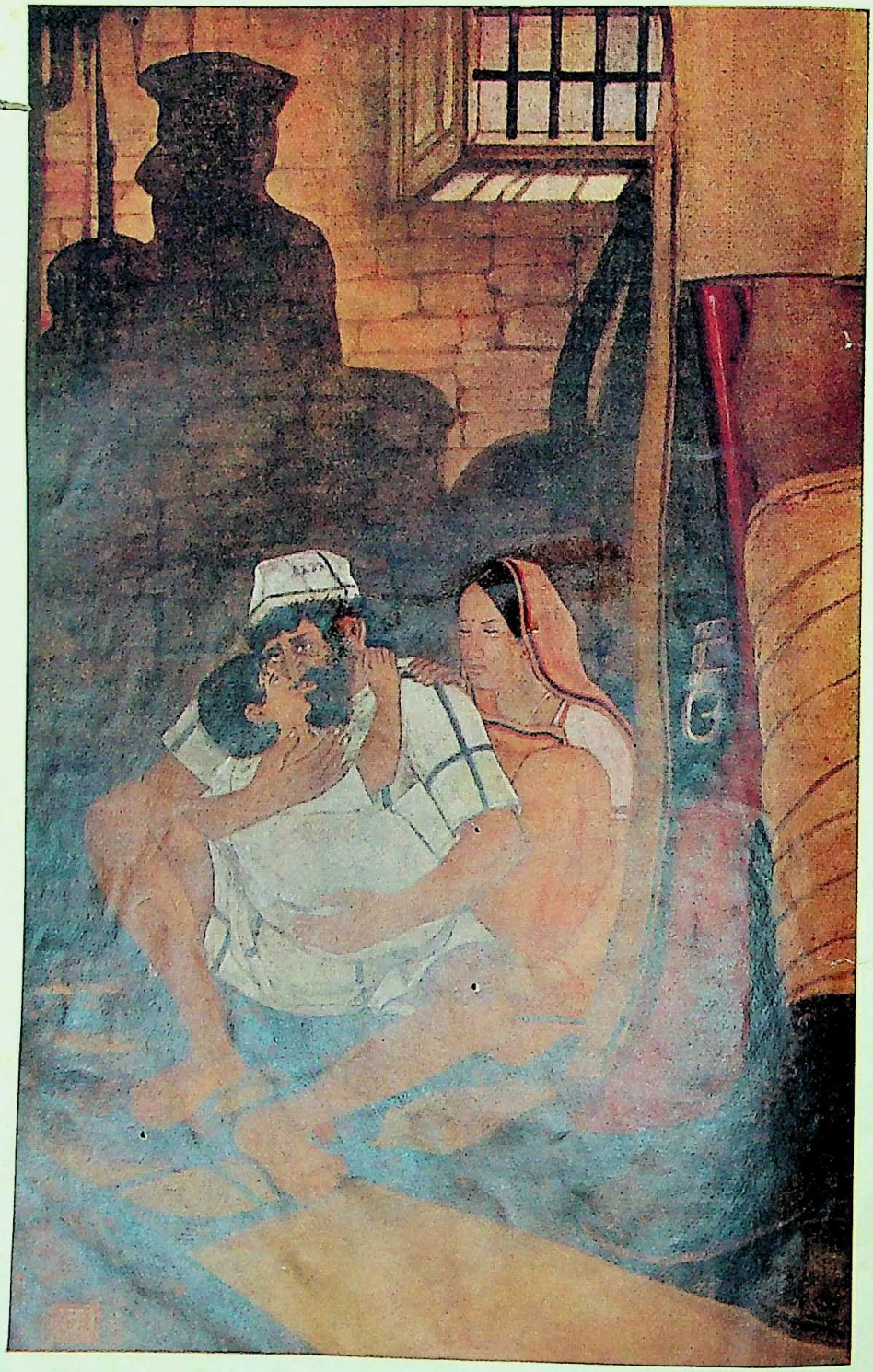

"C" CLASS PRISONER
By Kanu Desai

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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The Patriot who Gave his All to India

A TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

ONE day early in the summer of 1910 my wife and I alighted at the Allahabad railway station from the mail train we had boarded at Lahore. The sun blazed overhead in all its tropical majesty. A wind, heated as if in a huge furnace, charged with sand and finely powdered dust, blew against the face, drying everything—living or dead—that it touched.

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, then far more active as a journalist than now, was waiting for us on the platform. He and I had been in correspondence for years but, as thousands of miles separated us, had not met face to face. As soon as he was able to recognize me he rushed towards the compartment from which we had just got down and shook us cordially by the hand. While the servant attended to our luggage, he conducted us to a motor car that drew up under the *porte cochère* as soon as the chauffeur caught sight of us.

"We are going to Pandit Motilal Nehru's," he explained, with a bland smile.

We were somewhat taken aback: for we had come at his invitation and naturally expected to stay with him.

Noticing my surprise, he added: "Panditji has a Goanese cook and I thought Mrs. St. Nihal Singh would be better pleased with his food than with any my cook could prepare, so we arranged for you to stay there."

Since Sinha had taken our consent for granted and all arrangements had been made, nothing further was said by either of us. But we felt a little awkward, as Pandit Motilal Nehru was, at that time, little more to us than a name we had come across now and again in print in connection with his public or law work.

After a quick wash we hurried to the luncheon table. Sinha apologized for our host's enforced absence. Panditji was away at the court. We incidentally learned that Rs. 500 a day was his minimum fee.

Panditji's Goanese cook certainly knew his job. We began with a delicious *hors d'oeuvre*. A rich cream soup followed. Then came two or three courses—I forget just how many or what. I do remember, however, that *pâte de foie gras* was served towards the end of the meal, as I took it to be.

More was, however, to come—a whole Indian meal, in fact. The "curries"—as they are called in Anglo-Indian parlance—were deliciously cooked.

"No Goanese prepared these dishes," I said to Sinha.

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"No. Panditji has other cooks besides the Gonnese," he said.

"Two meals in one," remarked my wife.

"The best of both worlds," was my comment.

After dessert we retired to the huge suite of rooms which had been placed at our disposal. It was elaborately and beautifully furnished. The chairs, tables, twin beds, wardrobe and the like had all been imported from Europe. They showed exquisite taste. Nothing that would conduce to comfort had been overlooked. Money certainly had not been spared.

Near about five of the clock the butler announced tea. We could have it in our rooms if the lady was tired, or in the *gol kamra* (drawing-room) with the family—just as we pleased—he told us.

II

On our way to the drawing-room—a lofty, spacious chamber—we met our host. I was greatly impressed by him.

Panditji was tall and slender—erect as a dart and lithe as an athlete.

His finely developed head was crowned with hair tinged with silver. One could see at a glance that the locks were carefully cut by a fashionable barber and that much attention was paid to dressing them.

His forehead was broad and lofty. There was a bare trace of lines pencilled by reflection across it.

From under arched brows shone two dark eyes aglow with some fire hidden away back in the brain. They were kindly eyes. They looked upon the world with great tolerance—even amusement. They could be gay, too, or suddenly blaze with indignation if the occasion demanded.

The nose was bold. It conveyed a suggestion of strength as well as high spirit—like the dilated nostrils of a thoroughbred race horse.

The lips were those of an aristocrat—thin and shaped like a bow in a painting after the traditional Indian style. Resonant, cultivated speech poured from them like the water of a spring gushing from a never-failing source hidden from human sight. Good-natured banter came from them as easily as fervent, impassioned appeal or stern warning pitched in tense, determined diction.

The chin gave an impression of combativeness but nevertheless was in complete harmony with the almost Greek purity of the other features. Beneath it the neck was long and shapely.

Panditji was dressed like an Englishman from top to toe. For all I could tell he might have just walked out of one of the most exclusive tailoring establishments in Bond Street in London. His elegant clothes were in perfect accord with his debonair manner. They emphasized the gay side of his character.

I doubt if he had a stitch of clothing on his person at that time that had been made in India. I learned a little later, in fact, that his friends used to tax him with sending his shirts to be laundered in Paris. That joke was an eloquent commentary upon his taste in those days.

III

I was captivated with the charm of Motilal Nehru's manner even more than by his handsome face and physique. He apologized for his inability to meet us at the station—welcomed us cordially to his house. Within a few minutes we felt at ease, as if we were friends of long standing.

After these preliminaries he took us to a corner of the room where sat a lady in a pale rose *sari* in front of a gate-leg tea-table and a series of "tea-poys" loaded with sandwiches, cakes, biscuits and fruit. "My niece," he said by way of introduction. She was Mrs. Shyam Lal Nehru—if my memory serves me aright.

The lady of the house and the children were away at Mussoorie, we learned. Panditji would join them there as soon as the courts were closed.

We took our time at tea—chatted about all sorts of matters.

Mrs. Shyam Lal Nehru was a highly cultivated lady "emancipated" in an age when women belonging to respectable families in Upper India were supposed to spend their lives behind the purdah. She spoke English fluently and without accent. Her comments were at times quite piquant.

Panditji had travelled widely but had not been able to explore the United States. He was keenly interested in American institutions. He had not merely borrowed notions—or rather prejudices from Britons. Knowing that human nature is frail and envy often clouds and colours intellectual sincerity he had refused to take his ideas at second hand. He had met Americans during his

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tours in Europe. Only a little while before our arrival he had entertained a rich American lady who owned a factory (or was it factories ?) that turned out hatchets (or some such tool) by the million.

As the sun was sinking Panditji proposed a drive. We all got into a large family car. He took the wheel and asked me to sit next to him, so that we could chat as we went along.

"Never been in Allahabad before, I presume," he said to my wife.

"My first visit to India," she replied.

"Very well, then, we shall give you a sight of the *Sangam*" he continued.

I shall never forget my first glimpse of the confluence.

From the Himalayan heights, where *Ma Ganga* takes her birth, she sweeps across the plains to Prayag. She manages, however, to preserve her snowy purity.

Not so the Jumna. Flowing over reddish soil, she takes on a roily appearance.

For some distance below the point where the two sister-streams entwine in a fond embrace they look like two ribbons laid side by side—one white, the other mud coloured—in close proximity to each other but finding it difficult to merge their individualities into each other.

"Like India of our day," I said, half to Panditji, half to myself. "The new and the old clasp hands but each refuses to lose its separate entity."

Then it was that a light dawned upon me.

The care-free, jolly Indian habited in the height of Bond Street fashion—who had sent his son to Britain for education of the public school brand—was no blind votary of Westernism. He had received a thorough grounding in Oriental culture. He adored Persian and Urdu poetry—could repeat long poems from memory.

He felt that we could, with advantage, learn certain things from the West. But he had knocked about Europe sufficiently to know its foibles as well as its praiseworthy points. He did not, at any rate, acknowledge its superiority except in material things. In many matters Europeans could profitably sit at our feet, he thought.

IV

Darkness had folded the world in its arms when we returned from our motor drive. As we walked through the ante-chamber I noticed something in the corner wrapped about in a red quilt.

Upon enquiry that mysterious object turned out to be an apparatus for lighting up the house with electricity. It had gone wrong and apparently there was no-one in Allahabad who could set it right.

"Can you ?" asked Punditji. He perhaps thought that any one who had lived in a land so advanced mechanically as the United States of America should know how to make a dynamo go.

I had however, to admit my ignorance of even the rudiments of electrical engineering.

The ladies retired to their rooms while Panditji and I went out into a corner of the compound where chairs and small tables had been placed. We found Sachchidananda Sinha talking with some friends who had arrived a few minutes before.

Visitors began to pour in. Soon we were a considerable company.

I particularly recollect Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya among the early arrivals. How different he looked from my host !

A small, white turban was neatly tied about Malaviyaji's head. His *tilak* stood out prominently on his forehead. A white *daupata* was wrapped round his neck and fell gracefully over his white *achkan*, fastened down the front with tiny strings instead of buttons. His thin legs were covered with tight, white trousers. His bare feet were thrust into red shoes slightly turned up at the toes. As he took a seat beside me facing Nehruji he looked like a visitor from another world.

Malaviyaji refused all refreshments—soft and otherwise. He was chaffed for his "orthodoxy"—not for the first time, I imagined. He turned off the joke with a smile.

This was my first introduction to Malaviyaji. I immediately fell in love with his old-world—his almost other-world—gentle, ways. His voice sounded powerful even in the open. He enunciated his words with care. Even syllables not entitled to accent were not slurred. It was a delight to listen to him.

The sentiments that fell from his lips were touched with the fire of patriotism. I often felt that he could make the fire burst into flame if he wished to do so. He had it within him. But he was like unto the goldsmith, who puts his crucible upon a

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tiny pile of coals and blows gently upon them.

I also recollect Dr. (now Sir) Tej Bahadur Sapru. With his alert mind stocked with knowledge on a variety of subjects, he stood out among the throng.

Sapru subjected every statement that was made to cold, critical analysis and gave expression to his own views in a quiet, restrained manner. He appeared to me to be more Scotch than Indian in his mental processes.

He was, however, an urbane "Scotsman." His manner was polished. His consideration for the feelings of others was greater than his passion to prove his point, except, I suppose, in a court of law.

Pandit Motilal Nehru was different.

He felt keenly about things and spoke his mind directly, even bluntly. He was a radical in thought and talk—a radical nearly a quarter of a century ago.

The times were critical, Minto was at the helm at Simla and Morley at the India Office. Between them they had worked out a policy of repression-*cum*-conciliation.

A measure of reforms had been pushed through Parliament. It looked promising—upon the surface. The way it was put into effect, even though an Indian—S. P. Sinha, afterwards a Peer of the British realm—presided at the time over the Legal Department that framed the "rules" implementing it—destroyed such usefulness as it might have had. It, in fact, entrenched the bureaucracy in their position of power.

Gokhale, who had blessed the scheme when it was a bare skeleton, was disgusted. So were the other "Moderates."

The official machine sought to crush discontent by repressive acts. Sinha had been persuaded to stand sponsor for a measure that virtually abolished the freedom of the press upon the pretext of stamping out terrorism that had been born shortly after Curzon's inglorious exit from India.

Resentment at such action found vent from the platform. The bureaucracy was, at the time, engaged in manufacturing an instrument to throttle free speech.

The police, too, was active as, indeed, it had never been until then. Statements made during press prosecutions showed that its agents were secretly at work all over the country.

Our publicists suspected that they were being shadowed. Even Gokhale did not feel himself to be immune from such surveillance.

Repression had the effect of demoralizing some of our people. Instances in which a public worker would interrupt his political talk to go quietly to the door and open it to make sure that some one was not outside with his ear to the key-hole, were not infrequent. I was disgusted.

Repression roused all the fighting instincts latent in a radical like Motilal Nehru. I remember that while we were discussing matters pertaining to the freedom of the Indian press he declared, with flashing eye:

"So long as a single brick is left on top of another in my house I will defend the right of *The Leader** to fight in the cause of freedom."

I was young then, and fresh from the States, where people spoke their mind pretty plainly. Motilalji's love for freedom and his indignation at our people's wrongs made a deep impression upon my mind.

V

The orthodox among the callers departed round about nine o'clock. Those left behind made ready for dinner.

While we were talking the servants had been busy. They had set a table in the open, not far from us. My wife, who had joined us some time before and who intervened in the conversation usually when it veered round to her native America, had been watching them.

She admired the deft manner in which they had arranged the floral decorations—making a pretty pattern on the table-cloth with fern fronds and finely chopped petals of pink flowers. The wind-proof lights had, she noted, different coloured globes and gave a touch of fairyland, as she put it, to the *al fresco* dinner—a wonderful adventure for a daughter of the wind-swept Western prairies.

If the luncheon had been a sumptuous meal, what must be said of the repast served in the evening. Course after course came, of deliciously cooked food.

Having had our experience earlier in the day we ate lightly of the European dishes—tempting as they were—and reserved space

* Pandit Motilal Nehru was part-owner of *The Leader* at that time. Some time later differences of opinion led him to withdraw and he established another daily at Allahabad which soon gained a reputation for outspoken comment.

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for the Indian food which we felt sure would be coming along. Nor were we disappointed in our expectations. *Pillaos* and *koormas* followed and, I am afraid, we ate not wisely but too well.

Talk round the dinner-table was jolly. The company was large. Jokes were cracked. Some of us related amusing incidents that had occurred in our experience.

The recital of a droll experience that my wife, who carries the family keys, had had at the Customs jetty in Bombay put Motilalji in a reminiscent mood. When he had returned from Europe not long before, he told us, the Customs men insisted upon going minutely through his effects. The examination took time—there were so many trunks and packages he had brought along with him, containing clothes, travelling requisites and presents for his numerous relatives and friends. With dogged persistence they went on with the search.

Something about the performance appealed to Panditji's sense of humour instead of making him indignant. He took every opportunity to poke fun at the officials.

In his inimitable way he resurrected the scene before our eyes. As he spoke we seemed to see a Customs man picking up a small box and asking its owner: "What does it contain please?" and the reply: "How should I know?" or "Do you think that I remember each article that has been packed by my servants in every one of these boxes?" or "If you wish to know what is in the box, open it and see. You are welcome."

And the poor Customs man trying to do his duty with loyalty worthy of a nobler cause, would open the box and rummage through its contents and find some garment or trinket that did not bear the slightest resemblance to a revolver or to seditious literature.

We nearly split our sides with laughter as we listened to these details.

Wine flowed plenteously as the meal proceeded. I, an abstainer from my birth, am no judge of liquor: but my companions at table who could speak with authority based upon experience, praised Panditji's taste in selecting wines. Judging by the number of bottles brought in the course of the meal and the variety of drinks poured out of them, I could say that the cellar of *Anand Bhavan* (of those days) was better stocked than many a famous hostelry in Europe.

It was late when the party broke up that night. But the next morning Panditji was up and dressed before us and hard at work studying his briefs. With his quick mind he soon got to the bottom of a case and with his genius for pleading he usually won. No wonder that he could name his fee and get it.

VI

The ten days that we spent at *Anand Bhavan* on that occasion were filled with unalloyed joy. They were a repetition of the one that I have described.

Sundays and other holidays were particularly pleasant. We did not have to share Panditji with his clients and the courts. We had a rollicking time.

Beneath hilarity there always was, however, a serious under-tone. Panditji was constantly thinking of the travail through which the Motherland was passing. He read with avidity every scrap of news relating to the situation. I have some recollection—rather a faint one—that he had some arrangement whereby a message was sent across to him whenever a telegram reporting any grave development was received at *The Leader* office. He was frequently in conference with Malaviyaji, Sapru, Sachchidananda Sinha and others. Unable to see eye to eye with some of them on matters of editorial policy and mode of protesting against obnoxious official acts, he nevertheless co-operated with them, as far as he could, in the cause of the Motherland.

Busy man though he was and though his niece was most attentive and considerate and the house—more of a palace than a house—was full of faithful and efficient servants, he never forgot his guests. Nothing that could contribute to my wife's or my comfort or pleasure was left undone. His hospitality was princely. The personal element that he put into it made it unforgettable. It was with a heavy heart that we left *Anand Bhavan* to go to Simla, where I had appointments with the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab.

VII

We had the opportunity of meeting Panditji a few months later.

In January, 1911, we were staying at Lakshmivilas Palace as the guests of the Maharaja-Gaekwar of Baroda. One evening at dinner His Highness announced his intention of proceeding to Allahabad to view the

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Exhibition that was then being held there. He had received an invitation from some landed magnate—I forget his name. He feared that accommodation would be limited : but would Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and I come along ? He would make arrangements for our stay at a hotel.

Just then hotels at Allahabad were crowded and busy. But the management did all in its power to make us comfortable.

What a difference, however, between the hospitality at *Anand Bhavan* and residence at a hotel in Allahabad !

Anyhow, the visit to that city gave me the opportunity of renewing contact with Nehruji. The officials had, in the meantime, forced the "Seditious Meetings Bill" through the "Imperial" or "Supreme" Legislative Council—as it used to be called in those days. Repression was driving agitation underground on the one hand and demoralizing some persons on the other. Bureaucracy had not the eyes to see how it was defeating its own object.

Panditji gave a grand banquet to the Maharaja-Gaekwar and also a garden party. The latter was a resplendent affair. Everybody who was anybody in Allahabad or on a visit there attended. Refreshments were provided on a lavish scale.

A few months later we left the shores of Ind. My wife had fallen in love with the land that she had tried to serve long before she had set foot on its soil. We expected to be gone only a few years at the most : but the war broke out—the Indian troops were put into the firing line - before hostilities ceased the Indian constitution was on the Parliamentary anvil—and the news came of the terrible happenings in my own province of the Five Rivers. My presence in Britain was deemed necessary by indulgent friends and we did not again set eyes on the Motherland till December, 1921.

VIII

Pandit Motilal Nehru's life had, in the meantime, undergone a transformation. He had cast aside his foreign clothes and donned pure *khaddar* instead. Wines and spirits were banned from *Anand Bhavan.* The tradition of princely hospitality for which the house was famous was maintained : but he restricted himself to simpler fare.

Panditji occupied only a corner of the immense pile where life had been so gay in other days. Later he shifted to a bungalow he had built in the compound, and, in time, *Ananda Bhavan* became *Swaraj Bhavan*—the national headquarters of the self-rule movement.

While at the height of his popularity, he gave up his practice. He must have been earning at that time Rs. 300,000 to Rs. 400,000 a year. So I understood.

In making these sacrifices Panditji had the willing, even enthusiastic, co-operation of his large family. Mrs. Nehru and the children stood ever at his side.

What a blaze must have shot up towards heaven when the contents of the many *armoirs* (almirahs, as we call them) were heaped up in the compound of *Ananda Bhavan* and set on fire !

I was deeply impressed by the sacrifice. Who was not ? Even tongues to which mockery comes easy were silenced.

I cannot say, however, that the transformation in Motilalji's life came to me as an utter surprise. No. The glimpses I had had into his soul in 1910 and 1911 had prepared me for the crowning act.

The style of living had altered : but not the inner man. The spirit had soared above counsels of caution even in the unregenerate days of "moderatism." I have already borne witness to that fact.

IX

I was still in Britain when news reached me of the huge responsibilities that Motilalji in concert with Mahatma Gandhi and others had assumed in connection with the Non-Co-operation movement. A legal friend of his—Mr. R. C. Reginald Nevill, who was a Liberal in more than name—informed him of the effort I was making to awaken the British conscience to a realization of the enormities committed by their agents in the Panjab during the spring of 1919. Patriot that Panditji was, he cabled authority to that friend to finance a publication—"Ruling India with Bullets and Bombs"—that I was bringing out specially to enlighten the British Parliamentarians on the eve of the debate on "Amritsar." He also had me sent, at his cost, a lengthy cablegram summing up the debate.

Rather more than a year later I had occasion to come across Panditji in Calcutta. I met him at the residence of Chittaranjan Das—another great soul—who had invited me for a chat.

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Nehruji has just arrived from Allahabad that morning—a couple of hours prior to my call at "Deshbandhu's" house. The meeting was affecting.

As he rose from the chair in which he was seated at the time of my entrance—his *khaddar*-clad figure still erect and his face, handsome despite the furrows ploughed upon it by anxiety for others—the great sacrifice that he was making for our people swept over me. I said something about it—utterly inadequate, to be sure, in terms of his self-denial and also of my own feelings about it.

Not a word crossed Panditji's lips, however. With quiet dignity he directed the talk into other channels. He asked me how my wife was and what had happened since we had last met. Then, at my request, he gave me a rapid but comprehensive summary of the events that had taken place since the Indian National Congress embarked upon Non-Co-operation.

X

That proved to be my last sight of Motilal Nehru. Before I could get up to Allahabad he has gone the way of Chittaranjan Das and Lajpat Rai—a martyr to the cause of our Motherland.

It is for others to speak of the work he did in Councils—district, municipal, provincial and central. It is for others to talk of the sage counsel he gave in Congress conclaves. I have no personal knowledge of such matters.

I knew him as a friend—and as a patriot. In both spheres he was inimitable.

Though these mortal eyes of mine shall never again see his foreign-garbed or *khaddar*-clad form, he will live in my memory so long as memory lasts. I shall think of him as one who refused to put any frontier to Indian freedom—as one who gave his all so that we among whom he was born could walk erect in the sight of the captious world.

Will Durant's "The Case for India"

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

WE have recently heard a proposal to segregate the Indian population in some Christian Commonwealth of South Africa. It is a plan to smother their self-respect under the cover of political untouchability.

India has been suffering from such segregation of her personality for a long period of foreign subjection. She is exiled in a dimness of insignificance. Not only is she ostracized by her rulers from human relationships with themselves, but under a prolonged primitive condition of indecorous indigence she is ignored by the community of nations. This is the worst calamity that can happen to any country when before the modern lidless gaze of publicity all peoples are exposed to each other's view. If India were completely concealed and forgotten she could bear it much more easily than now when she is pilloried before the world public in her unkempt poverty, illiteracy, fierce stupidity of fanaticism and all variety of ragged wretchedness which inevitably follows the lack of education and negligence from an unsympathetic overlordship.

It is easy to be unjust to those whose existence is blurred by privations of all kinds, who are made inexpressive, inarticulate. There can be no question that the minds of the vast masses in India remain muffled under an appalling ignorance and destitution, and this remediable fact is too often exploited in order to classify them as eternal victims to others whose prosperity must be maintained by a perpetual parasitism upon these repressed races. I have more than once had the occasion to notice an outburst of irritation even from some Americans at the idea of India ever dreaming of political severance of British connection. It costs them nothing to think that we Indians are innately and immutably different from themselves and that it would be annoyingly

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absurd for us to aspire after the same human rights for which they once had fought against their own brothers. Such an attitude of contempt we helplessly bear through our suppressed opportunity of self-expression, because we have been forced too long to dwell fettered in an oppressively narrow cell of closed prospects.

I do not wish to go into details about the elementary needs of our people which it is the moral obligation of a civilized government to provide, the needs of adequate education, sanitation, medical help and economic well-being. I take this opportunity merely to emphasize the greatest of all our needs, which is to remind ourselves and others that this universal degradation in India is not inevitably founded upon an inborn incapacity of the race. The dark facts of our bankruptcy are evident to any casual visitor, but the truth which is permanent in the spirit of the people must be explored in the history of our past. A critical search should be made to find out the nature of the accidents that are responsible for the present condition of the country which once had the dangerous reputation of a fabulous wealth attracting round her treasure-house adventurers from distant shores.

This is what Will Durant has taken the trouble to attempt in his book *The Case for India*."* Once when travelling meant real trouble strange countries gradually yielded themselves to be properly known. The comfortable method of touring today is like hastily gorging one's meals without mastication, ignoring the necessary process of taste and digestion. Geographical experiences have become thinned into shadow pictures and the modern means of publicity have enabled the purveyors of superficial unrealities to ply their trade with too great ease.

But our author has taken the trouble to know. The miserable condition of the country he has seen with his own eyes; but, what is rare with most tourists, he has explored the history of our misfortune. Will Durant has treated us with the respect due to human beings, acknowledging our right to serious consideration. This has come to me as a surprise, for such courtesy is extremely rare to-day to those people who have not the power to make themselves obnoxious. When I was young, we had a romantic vision of the West, which still revealed its soul in the last glow of the illumination of the French revolution. It was the chivalrous West which trained the enthusiasm of its knights errant ready to take upon themselves the cause of the oppressed, of those who suffered from the miserliness of their fate. And we felt certain that the special mission of the Western civilization was to bring emancipation of all kinds to all races in the world. Though the West came to our shore as a cunning tradesman, it brought with it also the voice of Burke and a literature whose background was majestic and which claimed justice for all humanity. The atmosphere of that century was generous with the young hope of man. But the tradesman has triumphed at last and the spirit of chivalry loudly laughed to extinction. From this inhospitable age of the overgrown national worldliness, which everywhere outside Soviet Russia is in idolatrous awe of material power we have long ceased to expect justice, we of an alien continent brought to the altar of power as sacrifice. And I repeat once again that I was surprised when I noticed in Will Durant's book a poignant note of pain at the suffering and indignity of the people who are not his kindred, an indignant desire to be just to the defeated race whose own voice is lost within the solitary cell of its obscurity. I know that the author will have a small chance of reward in popularity from his readers and his book may even run the risk of being proscribed to us, not having the indecency to deal with an unwholesome calumny against the people who are already humiliated by their own evil fortune. But he, I am sure, has his noble compensation in upholding the best tradition of the West in its championship of freedom and fair play. I am specially thankful to him for the service he has rendered to the English nation by largely quoting from its own members the condemnation of British policy where it has cruelly betrayed its responsibility to India; for after my recent disillusionment I sadly need confirmation of the faith I still wish to maintain in the rare magnanimity of soul in those who are the true representatives of this great race.

SANTINIKETAN.

11th February, 1931

* *The Case for India*: By Will Durant. Published by Simon and Schuster, New York. Price two dollars.

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The Goddess of Violence

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

VIOLENCE is the primary instinct of all living creatures, whether brute, bird or human. All creatures are easily moved to anger and fight either in attack or defence. Some are animals and birds of prey that kill others and devour them. Others quarrel and fight for the mate, while yet others are roused to fury at the mere sight of others of their species. A dog will attack another dog at sight apparently without any provocation. As among the brute creation so among the human race men have fought and slain one another from the beginning. The lower creatures fight with the weapons with which nature has armed them—their teeth and claws and tails. Man with his greater ingenuity has devised other arms of attack and with growing intelligence and the advance of science has produced fearful instruments and engines of destruction.

The first act of violence recorded in the Old Testament is the slaying of a brother. Cain was wroth with his brother Abel because 'the Lord had respect for Abel's offering but unto Cain and his offering he had not respect.' It is not mentioned how Cain killed Abel; he might have done so with a stone or with any primitive agricultural instrument they might have invented for themselves. But this first taking of human life, the slaying of a brother by a brother, is symbolical of all the killing that has followed. If the first murder that was committed was a fratricide, all the slaughter that has taken place since that time belongs to the same category since it is not denied that all men and all races are descended from a common ancestry. White, black, brown, red and yellow men are brothers all the world over, however much one race may contemn or oppress another.

Men have been addicted to violence at all times and in all stages of progress. Deeds of violence are done not only by individuals in moments of wrath, but with calm premeditation on an organized scale. Fighting is not confined to savage tribes living in a state of nature but is equally common among the most civilized nations. Man glories in violence and the man of war is a hero. While the animal and the savage have retained their primitive weapons of warfare one of the boasted triumphs of civilization is the invention of weapons and machines that kill at a distance without the opponents coming to handgrips. Hand in hand with the march of civilization has advanced the science of wholesale slaughter. Formerly, the actual work of fighting was confined to the trained warriors, the braves among the savages, the soldiers among the civilized nations, the rest of the population, the civilians, women and children held aloof. Only in rare instances when a particularly savage and fierce marauder descended upon a helpless city were the weak and the unarmed put to the sword and other nameless horrors were perpetrated. Now when civilization is at its height war threatens the extinction of whole nations, and peaceful cities and townships far away from the battle zone are laid waste by aerial raids and giant shells projected to long distances. It is not mere ruthlessness or frightfulness but a blind and demoniac lust for blood, an insensate and insatiable frenzy for destruction of human life without distinction of age or sex. Ships full of noncombatants or neutrals are sent to the bottom of the sea, school buildings full of young children are blown up with as little conpunction as if they were the enemy on the battlefield. And there is no regret or remorse at any time, but only an unholy sense of exultation. What is in reality nothing else than a cowardly assassination and uncalled-for massacre is lauded as a valiant deed and justified as an act of war.

It is not to be wondered at that violence has scriptural sanction since scriptures are ancient books of authority and many primitive instincts and customs are justified and even enforced in certain of these sacred books. In spite of such evidence all these books are revealed and they cannot be criticized without hurting the susceptibilities of those who have implicit faith in them. In the Mosaic law deeds of violence are enjoined as divine laws and were carried out without hesitation. Among others are to be

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found the following:—the penalty for stealing and selling a man was death. The same penalty was inflicted for striking or cursing a man's father or mother. Then there is the well-known doctrine:—"Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe." A woman taken in adultery was to be stoned to death. Enticement to idolatry was punishable with death, and neither brother, son, daughter, wife nor friend was to be spared. "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." It was in conformity with this law that witches were burned in England. The sacrifice of animals was ordained as a divine law among many peoples. Even human sacrifices were made to propitiate divine favour or appease divine wrath.

Thus the use of violence was considered not only justified but sanctioned by divine authority. What was originally a mere animal instinct, the law of the forest and the primitive savage, was raised to the sanctity of a divine commandment. Not only have the strong preyed upon the weak at all times but the law of retaliation was clothed with holy sanction. The extension of this law resulted in conquests and the founding of empires. The dialogue between the robber and Alexander the Great is based upon undeniable truth. The founder of an empire and a robber who plunders with violence stand precisely upon the same footing with the difference that the robber is said to be at war with society while the empire-maker wars with nations. The distinction is between success and failure. A successful robber lives in luxury in his mountain fastness or his forest lair upon his ill-gotten booty, a successful conqueror is crowned king or emperor and is greeted by the homage of the multitude. A robber when caught is hanged or shot, a Napoleon when defeated is exiled to St. Helena to pass the rest of his life as a prisoner.

No violence, no forcible seizure of another man's property can be justified or defended on moral grounds. In spite of scriptural sanction witches are no longer burned, and it has been realized that there are no such women as witches. A nation that dispossesses another people of their land is guilty of a much greater offence than the thief or robber who takes away a little property. Every land belongs to the people born upon it and who derive their sustenance from it. The children of the soil are the inheritors of the soil and their right is indisputable and inalienable. There was a time when the children of men were not numerous and the earth was sparsely populated. There were nomadic tribes that wandered over the face of the land with their cattle and their scanty belongings. There were large tracts of uninhabited territory and there was nothing to prevent the nomads seeking fields and pastures new. The right to a land belongs either by birth or by peaceful occupation if there are no other claimants. But this right has been habitually overpowered by force and fraud, and weaker or simpler peoples have been always deprived of their lands by more powerful or more scheming peoples. In some cases the usurpers possess themselves of other lands by cunning artifices and then claim to have conquered it.

Founded upon the violation of all primary principles and the elementary rights of all men these kingdoms and empires set up the apotheosis of cant and sicken gods and men with their sanctimonious professions of justice, the sanctity of law, and their anxiety for the well-being of the people placed in their power. It is a case of adding insult to injury all the time. How can there be a superstructure of justice upon a foundation of rank injustice? How can the law be established upon a basis of lawlessness? Every people, every nation, owes obedience to its own laws and not to the laws imposed upon it by another people who have usurped the right of ruling them. It is submission under compulsion, not cheerful obedience. The moral authority of such laws is a mockery. No nation can rule another unless its authority is backed by force and violence. It may not always be ostentatious violence; violence may be masked when there is no need for its application, but it is unmasked at the slightest indication of restlessness on the part of the subject race. In Europe, ancient and modern, the laws of Rome approximate closest to perfect legislation. Almost all legal phrases are Latin and borrowed from the legal phraseology of Rome. Even today a jurist is a man versed in the science of law, especially, Roman or civil law. In ancient Rome a certain class of prisoners, whether prisoners of war or others convicted of grave offences, were condemned to the galleys. These convicts were employed as

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oarsmen on vessels of war, the biremes and triremes that comprised the navy of Rome. These galley slaves were identified by the numerals painted upon the benches to which they were assigned. The custom now prevailing in prisons of identifying prisoners by numbers is a Roman custom. These oarsmen neither spoke nor sang at their work; communication between them was not allowed; the oar holes were so covered that the men could not see each other's faces while they laboured. The hortator sat on a raised platform overlooking the men at work and the speed of the oars was regulated by the strokes of his gavel on the board before him. The slightest sign of laxity was immediately punished by cruel lashings. When the ships went into action the galley slaves were chained to their seats by heavy anklets; if the ships came out safe their fetters were loosened; if the ships went down these men went down with them; for them there was no *sauve qui peut*. That was the law of imperial Rome. Even without the perils of the deep and the contingency of being drowned like imprisoned rats the ordinary limit of a galley slave's life was about a year, for the work killed him with the certainty of slow torture.

Modern Europe has worshipped assiduously at the altar of Violence until the goddess has turned round and threatens to send her faithful votaries. So did the guillotine devour her own children and the serpent swallows its own brood. It would have made no difference to the history of the world if the science of war had been left where it was in the time of the Romans, the Goths and Huns. A war is decided one way or another whether ten thousand or a million men partake in it. But if science has opened out a new realm, a new wonderland for man, it has also multiplied manifold man's inheritance of the curse of Cain. Nowhere has this terrible fact been more fatefully demonstrated than in Europe, which claims to have reached the acme of modern civilization. Such a thing as peace based upon mutual trust is unknown in Europe. Every nation on that continent is a firm believer in violence. Most of them are not satisfied with the territory that rightfully belongs to them. Many of them have succeeded in acquiring territories abroad and this is inseparable from violence. Even little Belgium, which suffered so severely during the Great War, has colonial possessions and the history of the Belgian Congo is a record of violence. It is scarcely to be wondered at that the nations of Europe are distrustful and suspicious of one another. Nations that are frequently at war abroad can hardly be expected to be at peace at home. Their instincts are the same as those of animals and birds of prey, which attack one another just as they attack weaker creatures. This is the réason why Europe has never known unbroken peace for any length of time.

It is the spirit of violence that has prompted the more powerful nations of Europe to employ all the ingenuity and inventive resources of science to produce instruments and engines of war of increasing distinctiveness, forgetful of the grim fact that evil reacts upon itself and violence ends by destroying itself. There can be no monopoly in methods of violence, 'for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.' When Europe found itself at war in 1914 involving five continents the preparations for war were so extensive and the weapons used so deadly that all Europe was threatened with ultimate extinction. When a man sets fire to his neighbour's house how shall he escape when the leaping flames lick his own house and set it ablaze? The League of Nations is the outcome of the terror that filled Europe during the four fearsome years of death and devastation. It is the embodiment of S. O. S. messages sent out by the sinking ships of the nations of Europe. It is noteworthy that the League was not organized by the defeated Powers of Central Europe but by the victorious Allies. They had won only a Pyrrhic victory and had escaped destruction by the breadth of a hair. But does the League of Nations indicate a real and permanent change, will the altar of the goddess of violence be razed to the ground, will the image be cast into the sea? It will be an unwise prophet who will predict that Europe will permanently bear in mind the lesson of 1914-18. There are signs already visible that the fear is passing and the old assurance is being restored. Swords are rattling in their scabbards ominously, and little straws like the one at Malta are showing the direction of the wind. The divinity of violence is under a cloud for the moment, but there are no indications that the believers have lost all faith in the omnipotence of force.

If the nations of Europe are really tired of the display and use of violence, if they

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realize in their heart of hearts that violence is a boomerang that may recoil upon themselves and that it must be abandoned for their own safety then alone can the League of Nations guarantee enduring peace to Europe and the world. If peaceful arbitration is to replace the arbitrament of war the necessity and justification of war should disappear at once. There is no international difference that cannot be settled by a court of arbitration like the League of Nations without resort to arms, provided the two or more parties to the difference are open to reason and prepared loyally to abide by the terms of the decision. In every case the cause of war is either trivial, or unprovoked aggression; national honour can be easily soothed and satisfied without the horrors and miseries of war. The League of Nations can do nothing unless the nations abjure the creed of violence and renounce territorial ambition. There must be no further conquests and annexations. Disarmament must be real and substantial. The constant haggling that now goes on in regard to the reduction of armies and navies is due to the deep-seated distrust which pervades the nations of Europe. Not one of them believes wholly the professions of sincerity made by its neighbour. It is difficult to get rid of habits of the mind formed and hardened for hundreds of years.

The mere possession of a large army and navy is a menace to peace and a constant incentive to war. The possession of a large armed force produces a spirit of swagger; it creates a consciousness of strength and the disposition to use it. A king or emperor who constantly reviews his army and insists upon maintaining it in a state of high efficiency wants to see it in action and will seize upon the slightest pretext to declare war. Manœuvres and mimic warfare do not give much satisfaction; the army itself seeks an opportunity to prove its prowess upon another army. It is an incubus upon national well-being, it is an idle monster devouring the largest share of the resources of the State. If Europe is really desirous of lasting peace, violence and war will have to be effectively banned. There is the lesson of history writ large for every one to read. No nation that has pursued a course of territorial aggrandizement has survived very long. Destruction is the Nemesis that has followed and overtaken every empire in the world. Quite recently, before our own eyes empire after empire has perished and disappeared. The will and the authority of the people have asserted themselves all over the world. All the greater reason, therefore, that large armies and navies should be reduced and the panoply of war should not be flaunted in the face of the world. Science should no longer be permitted to invent new infernal machines of death and destruction. Some of these now in use should be banned and destroyed. Such fiendish devices as the torpedo, the submarine, the mine and the bomb dropped from the air must never again be seen in use and all stocks of them must be broken up and scrapped. Even now when the League of Nations is supposed to be functioning, bombing planes are used against tribes and clans who do not possess these machines, without a word of protest from any one. What is the use of such nations being members of the League of Nations? They would be the first to cry out against the abuse of the usages of war when they themselves are affected, but no feeling of compunction troubles them when they use the same methods against others who cannot retaliate with the same weapons.

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The Girl Wife

By SEETA DEVI

THE first and the second floor of the Bose family mansions had become quite still. It was a hot day of ummer, but the schools and colleges had ot yet closed for the vacation. The older hildren had all gone to their schools. f the two Bose brothers, one was a akil and the other a professor, and both ad departed to their places of business. he elder mistress of the household, the ife of the vakil, was indulging in a idday siesta with her baby daughter by er side. On the second floor, Muktamala, he professor's wife, sat idly turning over he pages of a magazine. She too was eeling drowsy but she had resolved not o go to sleep this time. She had a lot of ewing waiting for her for a long, long time, nd she must finish them. Everyday, in he morning, she decided that she would ake them up this very day, but as soon s she finished her lunch, her eyes would et heavy with sleep and she would forget ll about her work.

Even today, she was getting drowsy, and he *Strand Magazine* slipped down on the oor from her fingers. She started, picked t up again. She was just mustering up etermination enough to get up and take the ewing out of her basket when someone alled from the outside, "Bohooma."*

Muktamala sat up bolt upright and sked, "Is it Rooplal ? What do you want ?"

The old servant Rooplal entered the oom slowly. His eyes were full of tears hich he kept wiping off every now and hen with the dirty towel he carried on is shoulder. He had been in the family or a long time. He first began to work ere when the masters of the house were till boys and the old mistress was alive. He was a Hindustani, but he spoke Bengali uently and correctly. He had adopted this amily as his own and went to visit his people only once a year. This arrangeent, too, was a recent one. There were none in his village home except a widowed aunt and a cousin. So he used to visit them once in five years, and write to them once a month. This kept his conscience clear. But four years ago, he had let himself be caught in a snare. He had got tired of the eternal wailing of his aunt, and being ill-advised by his friends and relatives, he had gone and married a young girl. He had to spend a lot of money too. Because in his caste brides are not to be had for the mere asking. So now, he had to go home, at least, once a year. His wife was called Jhoolani and was about sixteen years of age. She lived in his village home with and under the surveillance of his widowed aunt.

Muktamala was surprised to see him weeping and asked, "What's the matter, Rooplal ? Why are you weeping ? Has anybody scolded you ? Is it sister ?"

"Who can scold me ?" asked Rooplal. "I have seen every person in the house in their babyhood, and the elder Bohooma too, I have seen as a young bride. So why should she scold me ? Besides, I don't do anything to deserve a scolding."

"Then, why on earth are you crying ?" asked Muktamala.

"A wire has come from the village. My aunt is dead," said Rooplal. "I must go home tonight," and he began to cry again.

Muktamala tried to console him, "What's the use of weeping ?" she said. "It won't bring your aunt back. Nobody lives for ever, and parents and aunts must die some time. Your aunt has died in ripe old age. This is one comfort. Untimely death is a terrible thing. So, you must go ? When are you coming back ?"

"I shall return as soon as the shradh is over. The elder Bohooma won't give me a long leave of absence."

"Very well," said Muktamala, "you may go."

Still the old man stood there and hesitated. "Do you want money or anything ?" asked Muktamala. "Hasn't sister paid you your salary ?"

* The daughters-in-law are thus addressed by servants.

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"Yes, she has," said Rooplal. 'It is not money. I wanted to speak to you about something else. Do you want a maid ?"

"Yes, I want one badly," said Muktamala. "Have you anybody in mind ?"

"If you will employ my wife I can bring her down with me," said Rooplal. My aunt is dead, so there's none there who could look after her. You may pay her whatever you like."

Muktamala laughed. "All right," she said, "bring her over. A strange woman is seldom any good. As my ayah is going away at the end of the month your wife can take her place. It will be convenient for me too."

"I shall certainly return at the end of the month," said Rooplal and went out. He seemed to be very much relieved. He had been more upset about Jhoolani than at his aunt's death. She was very young and he did not know where he was going to leave her. The people of the village were so malicious ; even when his aunt was alive, they talked all sorts of nonsense about the girl. But Rooplal had never believed them. The only living relative left to him was his cousin. But she had her own husband and family and would never like to take charge of Rooplal's wife.

But since Muktamala had agreed to take Jhoolani into service, a load was lifted off his shoulders. Taking care of children was not very heavy work, Jhoolani could easily get into the way of things if she was shown what to do. She was born and brought up in the village and was accustomed to work.

The talk with Rooplal had driven away Muktamala's drowsiness. She took out her sewing and fell to work. But soon the angry voice of her sister-in-law talking in the room beneath her disturbed her.

There were two other servants and two maids working in the house besides Rooplal. But nothing went right when the old man was absent for a single day. He had taken on himself the task of superintending everything and he never let the servants idle away the time. The elder mistress was too busy looking after her numerous progeny. Muktamala had only two children but she took little interest in the household. She was far more interested in reading, sewing and embroidering, and specially in the cinema. So everyone began to feel extremly uncomfortable after Rooplal's departure. The servant who now went to the bazar in Rooplal's stead stole half the mon regularly. Nothing was done aright or proper time. The masters as well as t mistresses got more and more angry. The va sat down to his breakfast and asked his wi with cynical politeness, "Cannot they g anything except stale shrimps in the bazar Or is there no money for anything better ?"

The professor had a shot at his mode wife. "If you would kindly cease to bot about European politics and tell the co how to prepare a simple vegetable curry y would oblige us tremendously."

The masters vented their ill-temper o their wives, the ladies took it out of th servants. The servants became restive, so threatened to go away, others became mo unmanageable and idle. The ayahs began t beat the children surreptitiously.

As days passed on, things became more a more impossible. The vakil's wife becam so furious that she nearly drove everyo crazy with her continuous bad temp Muktamala gave her husband notice that sh was going away on a long visit to h mother.

Just at this juncture Rooplal returne With him came Jhoolani. She had a love face and a very good figure. He complexion was dark, but it had a beaut of its own. The glow of health that sho through it made her complexion look fin than a fair one. Her eyes were large and brig and they appeared brighter and larger o account of the *surma* she applied to them The parting of her hair was neatly painte with vermilion and her forehead was full o tinsel *tiklis*. Muktamala was horrified at th wealth of brass ornaments on her arms a feet.

"How are you going to entrust your ba to her ?" asked her sister-in-law, "the baby body will become black and blue, thanks her terrible ornaments, and his head t might get broken."

Muktamala laughed. "Let me see," s said, "if I can influence Rooplal and ha some of these ornaments at least do away with."

Jhoolani did not appear to be a bit s at the strangeness of the place. She talked in her village dialect with any and everybod She was a jolly, cheerful girl with pleasing smile. Rooplal appeared to extremely fond of her. He had given many dresses and ornaments and always careful that Jhoolani should n

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vertire herself. For this reason Rooplal would seldom let the girl do their own cooking and would do it himself most of the time.

"Look at the old fool!" sneered the older mistress. "He is ready to carry the girl on his head!"

"True, sister," said Muktamala. "We have been shamefully cheated. I am not much older than Jhoolani myself, but I never have the good fortune to hear a good word from your brother-in-law. Old husbands, at least, make much of their wives.

So everybody was pleased at Jhoolani's arrival with the single exception of Muktamala's ayah. She had heard that Muktamala intended to employ Jhoolani in her place. The work was not heavy, the pay was good, and Muktamala was a generous mistress in every way. So the ayah really wanted to stay on. She had given notice simply for the purpose of getting an increment. But the arrival of Jhoolani got into the way of her plans. She became furious with the girl.

She had to go in the end, since she could not take back her notice. It would be demeaning herself too much. She wanted to go away at once to soothe her wounded self-love. "But did not you say that you would stay for some time yet and teach Jhoolani her work?" asked Muktamala.

"No, madam," answered the ayah sullenly, "my mother is very ill and I must go at once."

Muktamala was generous, but she never let servants get cheeky or feel important. So she let the ayah off without another word. The woman went, but before going she delivered a parting shot. "You must watch the girl a little," she told her mistress. "I don't like her stealthy looks. Whenever she sees a good *sari* or an ornament, she looks so greedy!"

Muktamala told her sharply to mind her own business, which shut her up effectively.

At first, she had expected Jhoolani to blunder, as she was fresh from village, and not used to the ways of townspeople. The girl appeared healthy and strong, but Muktamala thought, she had probably been spoilt by Rooplal's infatuation.

But when she was put to the test, Jhoolani came out much better than any town-bred ayah. She could work like a Trojan, even the male servants were no match for her. And she worked with a smiling face, she never sulked. Whatever she was told to do once, she did every day regularly and unfailingly. She made friends with the children almost at once, and they forgot the old ayah without delay.

But the removal of her ornaments was a difficult job. The brass bangles which covered her arms up to the elbow were much prized by her. When told to remove them, she began to weep tears of agony. Rooplal too, did not appear to agree to this. If anyone came over from the village and saw Jhoolani without her ornaments, there would be much talk, and they might even refuse to take water at Jhoolani's hands.

But gradually they were won over to a better way of thinking. They no longer regarded the deed with horror. Rooplal was a very old servant, and accustomed to self-sacrifice for the sake of his master's family. Jhoolani too agreed to take off the bangles at last, partly through persuasion and partly through greed. Muktamala promised her a set of real silver bangles. These were sure to be far superior to brass bangles in loveliness.

Jhoolani was inordinately fond of dressing up and putting on ornaments. She was a village girl and the wife of a servant. So she had never seen any gold ornaments in her life. Silver ornaments were great treasures to her. In their village homes, they used to hear tales that the rich ladies of the town put on gold nose-rings and gold necklets. The nose-rings were so big that at the time of eating, they had to be flung back, round the neck. These ladies never step down from their large bedsteads. The heaviness of their frames as well as of their ornaments was a matter of surprise to the beholder.

So when the silver bangles really materialized, Jhoolani did not make any fuss at all about removing the brass bangles. Within this short period of time her opinions had undergone a radical change. She had began to dress her hair in the current fashion and had much decreased the amount of vermilion and *tiklis* on her forehead. Up to this she had always washed with the aid of good mother earth, but now soap had become essential. At first she had utilized the washing soaps she received from Muktamala for washing baby's clothes, but this did not satisfy her long. She mustered up courage and went to Muktamala. "Will you give me a cake of soap, madam?" she asked.

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"What do you want it for?" asked Muktamala with a laugh.

Jhoolani felt a little embarrassed, but she answered truthfully, "Just to wash my hands and face with. You told me the other day to be neat and clean." Muktamala at once handed over a cake of good toilet soap. Jhoolani went off trumphant.

Old Rooplal did not much like this quick change in Jhoolani, but he hesitated to speak about it, lest Jhoolani might feel hurt and cry. She was a young girl after all, and it was natural for her to love fineries. A girl is quick at imitating others and here everybody did the same. So he decided not to find fault unless Jhoolani went to extremes. He kept his temper even when Jhoolani bartered a pair of her new *saris* for a cheap mirror and new-fashioned hair combs. The *saris* were of coarse cotton but they were brand new; still Rooplal remained quiet, though he was choking with anger.

But Jhoolani never knew where to stop. Suddenly one day, she took off her large ear ornaments, which too were of brass and asked for gold ear-rings to put on. Rooplal was not a poor man, he was always lending money to people on high interest. Jhoolani herself had seen a bag full of rupees in his wooden box. Could not he buy her a pair of real gold ear-rings? It would only cost about fifteen rupees. Who was going to profit by his hoarding money like a miser? He could not take it with him when he died?

Rooplal could not restrain himself any longer. He took up a stick and chased her, shouting filthy terms of abuse. She had tried him too much, and there are situations when even a worm will turn.

Jhoolani ran into Muktamala's room and took sanctuary there. Muktamala was rather amazed when she saw her crying, and she asked, "Why did you run in like this and why are you crying?"

"He is running after me with a stick to beat me," said Jhoolani.

"Why?" asked Muktamala again. Jhoolani had a very good imagination and she now made good use of it. "He says that I have become a great memsahib. I do no work, but sit idly all day long, dressed up to perfection," Jhoolani said.

Muktamala became very angry. "He seems to be in his dotage," she said. "He wants everybody to wear one dress for six months at a stretch. Here, Behari, go and call old Rooplal."

Rooplal came up at once. Jhoolani inside Muktamala's dressing-room and down to play with the baby.

Muktamala was very sharp with the man. "You are becoming quite impossible," she began. "Have you lost your sense completely? I hear that you threatened to beat Jhoolani. You may do anything you in your own house, but here you must behave. I detest all these boorishnesses."

"But what am I to do, Bohooma?" asked the old man. "Shall I not correct her, even if I see her going astray?"

"Going astray?" asked Muktamala in surprise. "You think she is going astray because she is not as dirty as yourself? But as she is in charge of the children, she must be clean."

Rooplal went away without attempting to defend himself. He wondered what Jhoolani had told Bohooma. But she was a young girl and might behave foolishly now and then. But Rooplal could not be foolish on that account. There was no use washing dirty linen in public. If he could not keep his own wife in check, others could not be expected to do it for him. They would only laugh at him.

But old Rooplal and Jhoolani had brought peace to the Bose household, though they had lost their own peace of mind. The masters did not lose their temper, their wives too were content with the way in which things were managed. But trouble was brewing in an unexpected quarter.

One morning, the elder mistress sent her son up to Muktamala to ask whether any of the children had taken away a powder box from her dressing-table. Muktamala felt rather displeased. "When did the children go down?" she asked. "I did not see any box in their hands. Khooki is too small to reach up to her dressing-table. Jhoolani have a look round the room, it might be lying about somewhere."

Jhoolani searched all over the room and said, "I do not see it anywhere."

The elder mistress talked on for some time, then she quieted down. She was still feeling sore at her loss, but she was ashamed to make more fuss about such a trifle. Muktamala was a rich man's daughter and she might think that her sister-in-law being born of poor parents, did not know the proper value of things.

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A few days later, a new Turkish towel disappeared from the same room. This time the elder mistress lost her temper completely. "I wish, I could set fire to the thief's face. She has marked out my things for stealing." Her ayah Sauravi too added fuel to fire by making random insinuations. "I tell you, madam, it is that pert minx Jhoolani," she said. "She is so fond of fineries, and the old man is a stingy skinflint. So she must have taken to this way to satisfy her vanity."

"I wish Death would take her," said her mistress. "Could not she steal from her own mistress's room ? Don't let her enter my room again."

But the whole household soon got to know about it. Rooplal abused Jhoolani as profusely as he could and Jhoolani wept her eyes red. This also led to a slight estrangement between the two sisters-in-law.

Everything remained quiet for a few days. Then another thing was missing, this time from Muktamala's room. It was a gold tie-pin, belonging to the professor. He scolded his wife for her negligence and then departed for his college. Muktamala called up everyone of the servants separately, and rated them soundly. She had ignored the previous offences, because the things stolen were trifles, but this time the thief had gone too far. Since they had began to steal valuables, they might as well commit murder. She threatened to call in the police. Her sister-in-law too, agreed with her, though she might have been gloating inwardly.

Rooplal came forward as the spokesman of the servants and said, "Bohooma, I have become old in this family ; the others too have eaten your salt and would never commit such a crime. But since suspicion has entered your mind, before calling in the police and disgracing us, please search us and our belongings yourselves. If anything incriminating is found, then call in the police."

Muktamala was seriously angry this time. She took the keys of the servants rooms and boxes and went to search them. But nothing was found. One servant escaped that very day, and the others, too, expressed their desire to leave in a body very soon. A few days passed off like this.

This dining room was on the ground floor. The professor had his breakfast first ; his brother, the vakil, was a bit late, everyday. Muktamala had come down with her husband that day to supervise. Suddenly, she jumped up from her chair, and cried, "Good gracious ! I have left the cash box open upstairs."

"You never learn a lesson," her husband said. "Your negligence makes the servants take advantage."

Muktamala ran upstairs quickly. Jhoolani was dusting the rooms. As soon as she caught sight of her mistress, she pushed something under the wardrobe with her foot. Muktamala pretended not to see anything. She went up to her cash box, and began to examine it minutely. Everything was just as she had left them. She locked the box and called Jhoolani, "Go down and find Behari, I want to send him to the shop."

A soon as Jhoolani had gone down, Muktamala ran to the wardrobe and pulled out the thing Jhoolani had pushed in. Wrapped up in a piece of paper, she found a gold brooch belonging to herself. She had used it a few days ago and left it pinned to her blouse. She had forgotten all about it and now she found it here.

Muktamala felt tears of vexation and rage starting to her eyes. She had tried to defend Jhoolani, while the wretch was committing theft in her own room.

Jhoolani returned at this juncture, and said, "Behari is coming, mother." But seeing the brooch in her mistress's hand, she stopped dead.

"What's this, you imp of Satan ?" asked her mistress. "You are a deep one, are not you ?"

Jhoolani began to sob loudly. Muktamala ran to her window and called, "Rooplal, Rooplal !"

Rooplal ran up at once. "What's it, Bohooma ?" he panted.

Muktamala held out the brooch which was still wrapped up in paper. "Jhoolani had concealed this under the wardrobe and I have found it accidentally," said she.

Rooplal struck his forehead with his hand and dropped down on the floor. "Why did you do this ?" asked Muktamala, of Jhoolani. "Don't you have enough to eat or enough to wear ?"

Jhoolani was still sobbing. She had not hidden the brooch with the motive of stealing it, she said. It was lying on the floor and she was afraid lest it might be swept away with the other refuse. So she had wrapped it up and thrust it under the wardrobe. As

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soon as she had finished sweeping and dusting she would have taken it out and handed it over to her mistress.

Both the listeners knew that she was telling a lie. But there was no use speaking about it. Rooplal got up and said, "I shall take her away to the village this very day, Bohooma. But I am an old man, old enough to be your father, please grant me one request I ask, touching your feet." He really bent down to touch her feet.

Muktamala moved off quickly. "Don't do that," she said, "Tell me, what you want."

"Don't let anyone know about this," begged Rooplal, "I shall tell everyone that Jhoolani's father is seriously ill, and is asking for her."

Muktamala had calmed down. She was feeling sorry for the poor old man. "All right," she said, "I agree for your sake, but your wife ought to have been punished. A small chit of a girl, how did she dare to steal so many things ?"

Rooplal tried to defend Jhoolani. "But, Bohooma, no one saw her stealing the other things. As she had been caught red-handed once, the whole suspicion will naturally fall on her, but might not she be innocent ?"

Muktamala felt inclined to laugh. He was still trying to exculpate his wife ! But she refrained from any comment. Roopal took Jhoolani downstairs. The girl cried to the last.

Everyone was surprised at their sudden departure. But Rooplal had spread the news of Jhoolani's father's illness everywhere, so nobody talked much about it. A new ayah arrived a few days later and things went on much as usual. Rooplal, too, returned after a week.

"Is not Jhoolani coming back, Rooplal ?" asked the elder mistress.

Rooplal replied gravely, "No, madam, her father is very ill now and she cannot come back."

Days went on. One day, the elder mistress said, while they were at dinner, "It is clear now, who the thief was. Since she has departed not a stick or stone had been found missing." She had not noticed Rooplal, standing by the door.

But three days later, the whole establishment was in uproar, a valuable wrist-watch, belonging to the elder master was missing. Muktamala was too surprised to speak. "What a state of affairs !" she thought. "The house seems to be haunted."

This time the gentlemen took the field. Scolding, beating, threatening, everything was resorted to, but with little result. As he started for court, he delivered his parting shot. "If on coming back, I don't find the watch, I will send for the police at once. Whoever has taken it, will do well to return it while the returning is good."

He had not expected his words to have any effect. But the unexpected too happens sometimes in this world. As soon as he had returned, his son rushed forward with the news that the watch had been found. His wife and the other children crowded behind the messenger.

"Where did you find it ?" asked the vakil.

"In Rooplal's pocket," was the answer, delivered in chorus.

Being a lawyer, he was used to human frailties of all kinds. So he kept his temper and sent for Rooplal. He ordered everybody else to go away.

Rooplal came and stood before him with bowed head. "What made you do it ?" asked his master. "You have grown old in this house, and no one expected this of you."

Rooplal remained silent at first. Being asked repeatedly, he said, "Please hand me over to the police, Babu. I did not take it through greed. I do not want money, I have got plenty through your bounty."

"I know that," said the master. "That's why, I am asking, why you did it. We gain nothing by handing you over."

"Everyone thought that Jhoolani had committed all the thefts," Rooplal said. "No thefts took place after she had left. It struck me to the heart, Babu. I thought that another theft now might take away suspicion from her."

"The fool is in his dotage !" said the elder mistress sharply. "How dare you say such things to our face ?"

"What's the use of scolding him now ?" said her husband. "An old man with a young wife is always a fool. Go away, Rooplal. I shall hush this up somehow."

His wife continued to abuse Rooplal. The old man moved off slowly.

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Further Light on the Black Hole

By SUDHINDRA K. DUTT, M.A. (*Oxon.*)

THE story of the Black Hole has for a long time excited the horror and indignation of mankind. Nevertheless grave doubts have been entertained about the truth of the incident, and the views of the sceptics have been admirably stated by Messrs. Akshay Kumar Maitra and J. Little. The curious may turn to the pages of *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XII for a thorough discussion of the subject. Messrs. Maitra and Little proved that Holwell was a consummate liar and that there were serious inconsistencies and inherent improbabilities in his story that made it unworthy of credence. In this article I do not intend to cover the ground already traversed by Messrs. Maitra and Little but my object is to carry the controversy a stage further. I propose to show that the real author of the story in its present form was not Holwell but another man who never was and never claimed to have been in the Black Hole. Holwell simply adopted his version and passed it off as his own. I shall further show that another survivor, Captain Mills, also borrowed almost *verbatim* from the same source.

Only three of the alleged survivors of the Black Hole, namely, Holwell, Captain Mills and Cooke have left accounts of the tragedy. Of these narrators, Holwell was the most important. He was in charge of the defence of the fort after the flight of Governor Drake and others, and it was his leadership that was questioned by his critics. He was the chief of the survivors and it was he who has related the tragedy in all its grimness of detail. No false sense of modesty has stood in the way of his making himself the hero of the piece. If the evidence of such a man is proved to be false, our belief in the truth of the Black Hole will be considerably shaken. And very little will remain of it if the testimony of the other two survivors is similarly rejected. No amount of reasoning based on second-hand or third-hand evidence can convince us that such a thing as the Black Hole ever took place. If we cannot believe the story of the men who are relating their personal experiences, can we place the slightest reliance on the versions of those who never were in the Black Hole, but merely heard of it from others, who in their turn had probably heard it from somebody else? If the story cannot be proved by the evidence of Holwell, Mills and Cooke, M. Law's *Memoires* cannot be invoked to prop it up.

Holwell's Accounts.

After their release from the Black Hole, Holwell, Court, Burdett and Ensign Walcott were handed over as prisoners to Mir Madan. On 24th June they were embarked on a boat and sent to Murshidabad. According to Holwell, they arrived there on 7th July,* but that is not correct, for Sykes in a letter from Kasimbazar dated 8th July writes that Holwell and his three companions passed that morning on their way to Murshidabad. Holwell wrote two letters, one addressed to Law requesting him to supply some provisions and the other to Sykes. In this last letter he gave an account of the tragedy, which is the first version of the incident that we get from Holwell, about 18 days after the event. The letter of Sykes† is important and should not be ignored. It must be remembered that Sykes wrote the letter on the very day that he received the account, and it is extremely improbable that he would make any mistake. The version briefly is this. The garrison fought on the 20th and 21st of June and about twenty-five of the best men were killed and seventy injured; they were compelled to surrender for lack of ammunition; convenanted servants, soldiers and officers to the number of one hundred and sixty were put into the Black Hole, of whom one hundred and ten were dead by the next morning. All convenanted and military servants were dead. All night the Nawab's people fired through the door of the prison. Such was the first version of Holwell. He attempts to make out that the garrison offered a stout resistance and therefore prolongs the fight to the 21st, though the fort had in fact surrendered on the 20th.

* S. C. Hill—*Bengal in 1756-57*, vol. I, p. 115.
† Hill, i. 61.

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The real cause of the surrender is not even hinted at, and there is a grotesque story of firing into the Black Hole. The number of prisoners in the Black Hole is put at 160—a figure near to which he sticks until he comes to Hugli.

Holwell and his companions arrived at Murshidabad on 8th July. They were seen by the Nawab on the 16th and were released by his order. Holwell went and took refuge at the Dutch Mint where he stayed until the 19th.* On the day after his release he wrote a letter to Bombay and Madras.† This is the second version of the incident and it differed materially from the first. The story of fighting till the 21st is discarded as also that of firing by the Nawab's soldiers into the Black Hole all night. He attempts to prove that he had no real intention to surrender the fort, he showed the flag of truce "intending to amuse the enemy"§ and retire to "Prince George" at night. The Nawab is made directly responsible for the Black Hole; he was infuriated at the resistance offered by the English and the losses occasioned by them, 5000 of his people being killed. The number thrust into the Black Hole remains about the same (165 or 170), but the number of survivors dwindles from 50 to 16. And with all his ingenuity, he is at a loss to supply the names of more than 7 victims and 8 survivors and vaguely hints that 3 captains and 9 subalterns also died. He however promises to supply the lists later on. On 19th July he left for Hugli and arrived there a few days afterwards.

After the fall of Calcutta, those Englishmen who were unable to proceed to Fulta, fled for protection to the French and Dutch settlements, and thus numbers of them flocked to Chandernagore and Hugli.** They had apparently no story to tell of the Black Hole. In the first report of the fall of Calcutta dated 21st June†† there is no mention of the Black Hole.§§ Even up to 2nd July, there is no mention in any account of a massacre of prisoners at Calcutta. The English refugees were blaming the defenders of the fort for having surrendered it too early, as, with the ammunition in their hands, they could easily have held on for two more days and could have driven out the besiegers.* The surrender, in their opinion, was too precipitate and not warranted by the circumstances. In a letter from Chandernagore dated 3rd July,† we hear for the first time of the Black Hole, where, on the authority of "an Englishman who survived this hell," the writer states that 160 men were put into that place for two nights and that on the first night 132 died and Eyres died the next day. Then there is a long silence; we scan the documents in vain for any mention of the tragedy until we come to a letter from Watts and Collet to the Court of Directors dated 16th July§ where we come across the statement that 146 persons were put into the Black Hole and that only 23 of them survived.** So the story of the Black Hole must have been related by some persons who arrived at Chandernagore and its neighbourhood between the 2nd and 16th of July.

The latest arrivals in that locality at that time were Capt. Mills, Grey (junior), Dr. Knox and a few others. Let us trace their movements after the Black Hole.†† Capt. Mills along with Dickson, Pat Moran and another went to Surman's in order to embark on the ship that was lying there, but unfortunately for them the ship had already left for Fulta, carrying a large number of the defenders of the fort. An officer of the Nawab's advised them not to proceed further downstream, as there was considerable danger of their being ill-treated. So they returned to Govindapur. On the Nawab's permitting Europeans to return to Calcutta, they joined Dr. Knox, Grey (junior) and took up their abode at the house of the former. But on 30th June, a drunken soldier killed a Mahommedan and the Europeans were again expelled the following day. So they went to Ghyrettee, where resided John Young, the Prussian Supercargo, and after staying there for one day, left for Chandernagore. There they remained till the 8th or 9th of August and reached Fulta on the 10th. There is reason to believe that the Englishman referred to in the Chandernagore letter of 3rd July was none else than Capt. Mills, for no other man of the party

* Hill, III, 356.
† Hill, I. 109-116.
§ Hill I. 114.
** Hill, I. 59, 64
†† Hill, I. 23
§§ On the contrary it is distinctly stated that the lives of the Englishmen were spared.

* Hill, I. 64
† Hill, I. 50
§ Hill, I. 99-106
** Hill, I. 103
†† Hill, I. 194

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claimed to be a survivor of the tragedy. The number of prisoners in the Black Hole according to Mills bears a surprising resemblance to that mentioned by Holwell, the more so as there could have been no communication between the two persons after the 21st of June. We shall see that both these persons subsequently modified their figures — a circumstance which raises grave doubts about the truth of their story.

In the meantime Grey (junior) had not remained inactive. He had composed a narrative of the loss of Calcutta and of the Black Hole apparently in June, though probably it was written early in July.* Sufficient attention has not been paid to this narrative, probably because of the fact that he was not in the Black Hole. It is abundantly clear, however, that Watts and Collet derived their figures from him. After the composition of the narrative he showed it to nearly 80 refugees from Calcutta, who all agreed that it was true.† It is to be observed here that they could only vouch for the truth of the story of the siege, for not one of them had been into the Black Hole. (Of the few alleged survivors, four, *viz.*, Holwell, Court, Burdett and Ens. Walcott were at Murshidabad, and Cooke and Lushington had proceeded directly to the ship). But they accepted his story unhesitatingly as coming from a man who had been in Calcutta after their departure and who was present there at the time of the tragedy and for ten days after it. So the story spread from mouth to mouth until the whole neighbourhood was ringing with it. Watts and Collet must have either heard it from some people or must have read Grey's account, for they mention the fact that they have seen his account§ and even enclose a copy of it to the Court of Directors, though they state that their own account is based on the best information they could get. It is they who for the first time mention the figures 146 and 123—figures that were subsequently adopted as correct.

Let us now examine Grey's account. Leaving aside for the present the story of the capture of Calcutta, we shall focus our attention on the story of the Black Hole. According to him, most of those that remained in the fort after its capture numbering 146 were put into the Black Hole and on the next morning 123 were dead. He then gives a list of the victims and mentions no less than 34 of them as well as 6 of the survivors.

So, on the 16th July we have these undisputed facts, *viz.*, that Grey (junior) had written an account of the loss of Calcutta and of the Black Hole, that Watts and Collet had seen this account, that they mentioned the same figures 146 and 123 in their letter of that date and that Grey's story had obtained great currency in Chandernagore and its neighbourhood. Holwell's figures at Kasimbazar at this time stood at 160-170 and 16. Grey had already supplied the names of 34 victims while Holwell had given only 8 names and hinted vaguely of 12 officers.

Holwell left Murshidabad on 19th July (3 days after the letter of Watts and Collet was written) and arrived at Hugli and its neighbourhood about the end of July. On his arrival he found that the story of the Black Hole was in everybody's mouth and that they all said that of the 146 people thrust into the Black Hole 123 were dead. With an alacrity rare in ardent champions of truth Holwell threw overboard the figures mentioned in his first and second versions and readily adopted the figures of Grey. The change in Holwell's story is first seen in Young's letter;* 146 or 150 were put into the Black Hole and only 23 survived. (The date of the letter is wrong and it must have been written much later than 10th July, for Young states that Holwell came a few days ago from Murshidabad). Not only did Holwell adopt the figures, but the man, who had hitherto with the best of efforts for over a month failed to supply the names of even 10 victims, at once came out with a full-blown list of 51 persons, and in the list the name of every one of the persons in Grey's list was included. What is more surprising is that he even accepted some of the facts about the siege mentioned in Grey's account and modified his own account in that light. The reason for this sudden tranformation is not far to seek. He found a certain story in circulation, and he was shrewd enough to perceive that it would be dangerous to contradict this story. That would at once excite suspicion and might land him in serious difficulties. It would

* Hill, I. 106-109
† Hill, III. 334
§ Hill, I. 105.

* Hill, I. 65-66

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be much better for him to accept the story as he found it, give it his blessing and adopt it as his own. It was easy for him to do so, for no one yet knew what he had written to Sykes or to Bombay and Madras. A supplementary letter to Bombay and Madras correcting the former story in certain particulars would put matters right. This was precisely what he proceeded to do. In a letter to Madras and Bombay written on 3rd August,* he states that on a re-perusal of the letter of 17th July "I find a few errors and omissions occasioned by the wretched state I was then in and which now I beg leave to rectify." Then he proceeds to adopt certain details about the loss of Calcutta, which occur in Grey's account but were lacking in his letter of 17th July. When the three batteries were withdrawn on 18th June, the English troops, according to Grey, occupied the Church, Cruttenden's, Eyres and the Company's houses (surrounding the fort); so Holwell now mentions the fact and adds Omichand's house, though he is positive about Cruttenden's house only. Those houses were abandoned on the next morning, but Holwell makes the false suggestion that this was done *after* the desertion of Drake, etc., though he knew perfectly well that this had happened *before* their departure and, in fact, was the immediate cause of their flight. He also mentions for the first time that the enemy made a lodgement on the Church on the morning of the 20th. Following Grey, he alse states that at the time when the fort was captured, most of the garrison rushed out to escape by the western gate, and that many of them were killed, some escaped and others received quarter. He mentions that all these particulars came to his knowledge after his return from Murshidabad.† But the most important and significant modification of all was about the Black Hole, though he is careful enough not to admit that that also came to his knowledge after his return from that place. In direct contradiction of his second version, he absolves the Nawab from all responsibility for the crime.§ He further writes "I over-reckoned the number of prisoners put into the Black Hole and the number of the dead; the former being only 146 and the latter 123, *many recovering after air was let in* by opening the door in the morning." This was the most curious explanation of all, for if some of the prisoners had revived, they had revived on the morning of 21st June and not between 17th July and 3rd August. The fact must have been known to Holwell on 17th July about a month after the event; his omission to mention it on that date shows that it was an invention of his to explain away the inconsistency of his figures. He is completely silent as to the material on which he bases his new calculations, but we know what the source of his information was. These identical figures were mentioned by Watts and Collet on 16th July and they had derived them from Grey. On his arrival at Hugli Holwell unquestioningly accepted Grey's statements and passed them off as his own What is more, he who had failed to mention the names of even 10 victims, now came out with a list of 51 names and in that list every one in Grey's list was included. This cannot be due to mere chance or coincidence. It will not do to say that Grey, who had not been in the Black Hole, had borrowed from Holwell, for we have undisputed evidence that Grey had composed his account and that the figures 146 and 123 were current in Hugly, etc., before 16th July and that Holwell had mentioned quite different figures on 17th July. The only logical conclusion to adopt is that Holwell borrowed from Grey,—a conclusion which is confirmed by the fact that he adopted from Grey even some details about the loss of Calcutta. It is thus seen that the modern version of the Black Hole originated with a man who had nothing to do with it.

It is worthy of note that the Hugli version ultimately triumphed over the Fulta version of the story. At Fulta it was current at that time that 200 prisoners had been put into the dungeon and that 10 or 20 survived.* But in November we find they are fixed at 147 and 23.†

A curious feature of Holwell's lists is that all Company's servants except three are put into the Black Hole. So, according to Holwell, none of the Company's servants except those three died in the fight. This contradicts his statement in the first version that 25 of the best men were killed and 70 injured and that the writers and officers behaved bravely.

* Hill, I. 185-191
† Hill I. 186.
§ In the memorial that he erected in 1760 he again changed his statement and wrote that they were killed "by the tyrannic violence of Surajud-daulah."

* Hill I. 88 : 160.
† Hill I. 264.

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Captain Mills' Diary.

There remains however another account of the Black Hole written by another alleged survivor of the tragedy—I mean the diary of Captain Mills.* It has been used as strong corroborative evidence of the story told by Holwell. Much importance has been attached to this document and it has been emphatically asserted that it cannot be ignored. I shall however show that it is a worthless document, on which not the slightest reliance can be placed.

Anyone who reads carefully the diary of Captain Mills and the account of Grey cannot fail to be struck by the resemblance between the two. Indeed the one appears to be an almost *verbatim* reproduction of the other. I shall quote a few extracts from both.

(1) Grey writes† :

"On the 17th of June the enemy attacked the redoubt at Perrins about noon, and at 3 o'clock in the afternoon 40 men with 2 field-pieces were sent to the assistance of that place, where in the engagement, the Moors from behind the trees and bushes killed 2 Europeans, one of whom was Ralph Theresby. About 8 o'clock an 18-pounder came out to Perrins, and the 2 field-pieces with the reinforcement that had been sent in the afternoon went back to their former stations. In the night, Lieutenant Pacard, who had the command at Perrins, sallied out upon the enemy, and having drove them from their guns spiked up 4 of them and brought away some ammunition."

Captain Mills writes§ :

"On the 17th the enemy attacked the redoubt at Perrins about noon. At 3 in the afternoon 40 men with 2 field-pieces were sent to reinforce that place where in the engagement the Moors from behind the trees and bushes killed 2 of our men one of whome was Mr. Ralph Theresby, one of the Honourable Company's writers.

About 8 at night an 18-pounder gun was sent out to Perrins ; and the 2 field-pieces with the reinforcement that had been sent were ordered back to their former stations.

In the night Lieutenant Pacard who had the command at Perrins, sallied out with his party on the enemy, and having drove them from their posts, spiked up four of their guns, and brought away some of their ammunition."

(2) Grey writes** :

"On the 18th about 9 o'clock in the morning our outworks were attacked. Small parties were dispatched to the tops of some of the highest houses, from thence to annoy the enemy on their approach."

Captain Mills writes†† :

"On the 18th of June about 9 in the morning our outworks were attacked by small partys in the skirts of the town, we dispatched several small partys to the tops of several of the highest houses near hand to annoy the enemy."

(3) Grey writes* :

"In the evening the enemy killing and wounding several of our men, and surrounding us on all sides, we were ordered to retreat from our outworks (after having spiked up our guns) and take possession of the Church, Mr. Cruttenden's, Eyres', and the Company's houses, which we quietly kept all night."

Captain Mills writes† :

"In the evening the enemy attacked us smartly, killing and wounding several of our men with their small arms, they endeavoured to surround us. Were ordered to retreat from the outworks, after having spiked up our guns, and take possession of the Church, Mr. Cruttenden's, Aires's and the Company's houses which we quietly kept all that night."

(4) Grey writes§

"The new Governour made a publick declaration of his detesting Mr. Drake's base flight, at the same time encouraging the military to hold out the siege with a promise of 3 chests of the Company's treasure containing 24000 rupees among them if they could keep the place. But upon so many of the principal officers leaving us, the souldiers could not be hindered from breaking into the rooms of those that were gone, and taking from thence what wine or spirits came in their way, by which getting drunk they began to be mutinous and unruly. In the night a corporal and 56 men, most of them Dutch, deserted us and went over the walls to the enemy."

Capt. Mills writes**

"Mr. Holwell . . . . made a publick declaration upon the bastions of his detesting Mr. Drake's flight, at the same time encouraging the military to stand to their arms and hold out the siege with a promise of 3 chests of the Honourable Company's treasure containing 24,000 rupees, amongst them if they would keep the place.

But for want of a sufficient number of officers, so many having left the place the Dutch soldiers could not be hindered from breaking into the rooms of the officers that had absconded, . . . and takeing from thence what wine and spirits they could lay their hands on, by which means they began to be mutinous and unruly. In the night a corporeal and several private men, most of them Dutch, deserted us by droping over the walls and going to the enemy."

(5) Grey writes††

"About noon the Governour and Council thought it proper to write to the Nabob and duan, demanding a truce and accommodation, but had no answer

* Hill I. 40-45.
† Hill I. 106.
§ Hill I. 40.
** Hill I. 107.
†† Hill I. 40.

* Hill I. 107.
† Hill I. 41.
§ Hill I. 107
** Hill I. 42.
†† Hill I. 108

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returned. The ship "Prince George," which had hitherto layn before Perrins was ordered down abreast of the fort, but in the way unluckily ran ashore by the misconduct of the pilot Francis Morris and was taken by the Moors."

Capt. Mills writes*

"At noon the Governour and Company thought it proper to write to the Nabob and duan demanding a truce, but he disdainfully threw it away and would not give us an answer.

The Honourable Company's ship "Prince George" which had hitherto layn before Perrin's Gardens was ordered down abreast of the fort, but in the way unfortunately by the bad conduct of the pilot, Francis Morris, a Dutchman, ran ashore and some time after was taken by the enemy."

(6) Grey writes†

"About 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy called out to us not to fire, in consequence of which the Governour showed a flag of truce, and gave orders for us not to fire, upon which the enemy in vast numbers came under our walls, and at once set fire to the windows which were stopt up with cotton bales, began to break open the Fort Gate, and scaled our walls on all sides."

Capt. Mills writes§ :—

"About 4 of clock in the afternoon the enemy called out to us not to fireing in consequence to which the Govournor shewed a flag of truce, and gave orders for the garrison not to fire. Upon which the enemy in vast numbers came under our walls and at once began to sett fire to the windows and gates of the fort which were stopt up with bales of cotton and cloath, and began to break open the fort gate, scaleing our walls on all sides."

(7) Grey writes** :—

"But most of those that remained in the fort were put into the Black Hole to the number of 146, of whom 123 were miserably suffocated by the heat occasioned by so many being shut up in so small a place."

Capt. Mills writes†† :—

"But most of those that remained in the fort where put into the Black Hole to the number of 144 men, women, and children.

Off whome upwards of 120 where miserably smuthered by the heat occationed by so many being shut up in so small a place, as to be obliged to stand upon one another."

All these excerpts will leave no doubt in the mind of any person that one of them had copied the other. While however Grey mentions the names of 34 victims and 6 survivors, Capt. Mills mentions those of 44 victims and 20 survivors. It is significant that in Mills's lists every one in Grey's list is included and that the names of the victims occur almost in the same order in both lists, the additional names coming at the end of Mills's list.* Captain Mills however showed his originality in one respect; he put not only men but also women and children into the Black Hole.

It is then quite clear that one of these accounts was reproduced from the other. It now remains to see which of them was the original and which the copy. There can be no doubt that Grey's account was the original document. We find that Grey's version was written in June while Mills could not have written his before 3rd July at the earliest, though it was probably written in the middle of August. It was certainly not written every day, for we cannot conceive that while the fate of the English settlements in Bengal was hanging in the balance, Captain Mills was sitting down quietly to make entries daily into the diary. That supposition is also belied by the fact that the Black Hole and the names of victims and survivors are stated even before the fort is surrendered. Moreover, we find in the Chandernagore letter of 3rd July that Mills gave the figures as 160 and 133, and that he tried to make out that the confinement in the Black Hole continued for two days. The altered story in his diary must have been caused by Grey's account. It will also be remembered that while Watts and Collet mention Grey's account on 16th July they have not a word to say about Mills's diary. From this circumstance it is not unreasonable to deduce that Mills's diary had no existence at that date. It is well to remember that amplifications are made in later versions, for if a long list has been in existence, it is inconceivable why a shorter list would occur in a later version. If Mills's list, containing the names of 44 victims and 20

* Hill I. 42
† Hill. I. 108
§ Hill. I. 43.
** Hill. I. 108.
†† Hill. I. 43.

* Grey's list—Eyres, Baillie, Coales, Dumbleton, Jenks, Reveley, Law, Jebb, Carse, Valicourt, Bellamy (Senior), Drake, Byng, Dalrymple, Johnston, Street, Stephen Page, Edward Page, Grub, Dodd, Torriano, Knapton, Ballard, Captains Clayton, Witherington, and Buchanan, Lieuts. Hays, Simpson, Blagg, Bishop, Pacard, and Bellamy, Ensigns Scott and Wedderburn.

Capt. Mills's list—Eyres, Bailie (senior), Coales, Dumbleton, Jewkes, Revely, Law, Jebb, Carse, Vallicourt, Bellimy senior, Bellimy junior, Drake, Byng, Dalrymple, Pat. Johnstone, Street, Stephen Page, Edward Page, Grubb, Dodd, Torriano, Knapton, Ballard, Captains Clayton, Buchanan and Whitherington, Lieuts. Simson, Hays, Blagg, Bishop, Paccard, Ensigns Scott and Wedderburn, James Guy (Carpenter), Capt. Hunt, Robert Carce, T. Leach, 2 Stopfords, Porter, Hylierd, Cocker and Carce.

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survivors, was the prior document, there is no reason why Grey in copying it would leave out so many names. Captain Mills attempted to give an appearance of verisimilitude to his diary by wilfully misspelling words and names e.g., *where* instead of *were*, *Maggot* in place of *Mackett*, etc. Such artistic touches would at once convince the unwary of the genuineness of the story written by a rough unlettered sailor. Captain Mills has also the unique distinction of mentioning certain persons as victims and survivors, whose names do not appear in any other contemporary list. *e.g.*, 2 Stopfords, Carce not Carse), Burgraft, Arnd, Cosall, Clelling, etc. In these cases he was merely drawing on his imagination. So long as he followed Grey he was all right, but the moment he attempted flights of imagination on his own, he went hopelessly wrong.

If it is proved that Captain Mills copied almost *verbatim* out of Grey's account, doubts will at once be entertained of his being into the Black Hole at all. Indeed Mills' name is not found in the list of survivors mentioned by Grey,* while the *London Chronicle* of 7-9 June, 1757 mentions him as one of those *who escaped being put into the Black Hole.*† Only Holwell mentions him in his letter of 17th July, probably because he was commissioned to tell a similar story as himself. Captain Mills supplies the names of 12 survivors, who remain completely unknown to history. In later times, many people were anxious to be known as survivors of the Black Hole so that they might wear the crown of martyrdom over their heads, but not so these real survivors of Mills: they are content to remain shrouded in complete obscurity. And if they were real survivors, how is it that not one of them is mentioned by Holwell in his list of 3rd August and of the "Genuine Narrative"? Are we then to infer that Captain Mills drew on his imagination in a desperate attempt to supply the names of more survivors than the usual 6 or 8? Such then is the testimony of Captain Mills and very little reliance can be placed upon it.

It will not be out of place here to trace the later history of Holwell's story. Holwell left Bengal by the "Syren" sloop§ on the 2nd February, 1757,** and reached England on 23rd July of the same year.* While on board the vessel, he composed the "Genuine Narrative" of the Black Hole and published it in July, 1764. In this publication he restricts himself to the Black Hole incident and gives harrowing details for the first time. It is impossible for me in this article to examine the document thoroughly, but I must point out that the attempts to commit suicide by means of a pocket-knife seem to be a common failing among prisoners confined in a close place. (For a parallel, see Hill. III. 93) Holwell seems to have profited by reading Mills' diary, for he added the name of Leach to the list of victims and Pat Moran, Meadows and Mrs. Carey to the list of survivors. Needless to say their names were not in his list of 3rd August.

Cooke's evidence.

It now remains for me to consider Cooke's evidence in the first report of the Committee on East Indian Affairs in 1772.† Cooke was another of the alleged survivors and if he had supplied a contemporaneous account, that must have been decisive of this controversy. In settling this question, only such evidence as appears before the middle of August can be taken into account. By the middle of August all the alleged survivors were at Fulta and they must have frequently met and talked about it. Any evidence coming after that date must be regarded with considerable suspicion as being the product of joint consultations. Cooke gave his evidence 16 years after the event before a committee which was not enquiring into the Black Hole. That he retained such a vivid memory of events that had happened so many years ago is surprising enough, but more surprising is the resemblance of his story to the "Genuine Narrative." In the Narrative the Nawab assured the prisoner "on the word of a soldier" that no harm would be done to them;§ according to Cooke he assured him "on the faith of a soldier."** Holwell mentions that they urged on the guards to put them into separate prisons and offered them money for it,†† and the same statement is made by Cooke also.§§ Holwell states that many were in

* Hill, I. 109
† Hill III. 72
§ Hill II. 248
** Hill III. 24

* Hill III. 83
† Hill III. 290-303
§ Hill. III. 134
** Hill. III. 301.
†† Hill, III. 137.
§§ Hill. III. 302.

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outrageous delirium;* Cooke mentions that many died in high delirium.† According to Cooke 150 persons were put into the dungeon among whom was a woman; of this number 22 survived. It is to be noted that Holwell included Mrs. Carey in the 'Genuine Narrative" and that there is no mention of a woman in any of his earlier versions. Then again details were only supplied in the Narrative, and curiously enough Cooke's evidence also furnished details. There is thus strong ground for suspecting that Cooke was merely repeating what he had read in the "Genuine Narrative." His testimony on this incident was allowed to pass without any question and no attempt was made to arrive at the truth by a critical examination of his story. Under such circumstances no reliance can be placed on his evidence.

An anonymous writer published an account of the Black Hole in the *London Chronicle* of 7-9 June 1757.§ We have no clue to the identity of the author except that he mentions that "4 of us" were taken prisoners to Murshidabad. The figures mentioned in this letter belong to Holwell's Pre-Hugli period, namely 170 and 16; in fact they are exactly the same as those mentioned in Holwell's letter of 17th July. The writer attaches a list which varies a great deal from the list supplied by Holwell on 3rd August. Many people, who according to Holwell died in the Black Hole, are shown as having died in the fight preceding the surrender of the fort. And whoever may have been the writer of this letter, it is clear that he was engaged in carrying on a propaganda in Britain about the Black Hole. Not content with writing in the *London Chronicle*, he contributed the identical account in the *Scots Magazine*,* *Universal Magazine*, June,† and the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of June 14.§ He signs himself as K.K. in the *Universal Magazine*, but I have not been able to identify him. He was familiar with Holwell's second version, but did not know of its later variations.

The story of the Black Hole rests *primarily* on the statements of Holwell, and to a lesser extent on those of Captain Mills and Cooke, three of the alleged survivors of the tragedy. Of these, Holwell's version is found to be based on Grey's account, while Capt. Mills' diary is nothing but an impudent forgery of Grey's story. Cooke gave his evidence long after the event and merely recited what was contained in the "Genuine Narrative." So the statements, which have been relied on as strong evidence of the truth of the story, are found to be absolutely worthless. I take no account of the secondary evidence furnished by various writers, foreigners and others, because none of the writers had been into the Black Hole; they merely reproduced current rumour with all sorts of absurd details, *e. g*, that the ladies in the fort were all stripped naked and were turned out into the street "where it is easy to guess what reception they met with, their houses plundered, themselves naked, and at the mercy of a savage enemy."** Much more reliable evidence must be produced before the world can be convinced that such a thing as the Black Hole massacre did really happen. A story built on the testimonies of Holwell, Mills and Cooke stands on the flimsiest of foundations.

* Hill. III. 141.
† Hill. III. 302.
§ Hill. III. 70-72.

* Hill. III. 102-107.
† Hill. III. 99-101.
§ Hill, III. 108-114
** Hill, III, 87.

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Hindu Dharmasastras*

By JOGES CHANDRA RAY

Prof. Kane is well known to students of Sanskrit literature by his *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, and to a wider circle by his excellent editions of *Kādamvarī*, *Uttararāmacarita*, and *Harṣacarita*. His notes are clear and concise and comments always to the point. The same qualities mark the present volume with the stamp of ripe scholarship.

The author begins his enquiry by asking a definition of Dharma, a term often loosely interpreted as religion, and limits the scope of his history to works on *ācāra* and *vyavahāra*. These two may be rendered as duties towards oneself, and duties towards others, and have been often spoken of as *sadācāra*, right conduct according to a certain standard. And since this standard cannot remain fixed for all time and under all circumstances without frustrating the object of sāstra or regulations, and since the country is vast, environment varied and age long, there is no wonder that the number of works on Dharma is legion. The author has appended a list which runs to 170 pages. The list of writers alone contains more than 2,000 names. This vast literature falls roughly into three periods, the first, according to our author, from 600 B. C. to 100 A.D. being the period of Dharmasūtras and of the manu-smṛti, the second from 100 A.D. to 800 A.D. of Yājnavalkya and other smṛtis, and the third from 700 to 1800 A.D. of commentators and authors of digests. Out of these our author has selected 108 writers or works considered authoritative. The Puranas, the two Epics and Kautilya have not escaped his survey. As he takes up a work, he begins by telling us the edition or editions available and then proceeds to give us its salient features and in the case of ancient works, its contents, and compares them with the views of other works. Lastly, he seeks the date, and, if possible, the home and personal history, finishing the account with the names of commentaries, if any.

It is impossible in a short review to cast even a cursory glance at the vast mass of materials judiciously collected in the volume. It unfolds a panorama of social history of the Aryan race for the last three thousand years. The history is not told in its entirety, but the glimpses the volume affords to the on-looker are bewildering in the extreme. The determination of dates of ancient authors will always remain a matter of guess, with personal equation preponderating. Had their homes been the same, confined to a limited tract of the country, it would have been possible to arrange them in strata and arrive at comparative ages. We know that evolution of ideas does not take place at the same rate and along the same lines in widely separated countries even if the first germs were the same. Hence the method of comparison of development of social ideas may lead us to wrong result as to their age. Then again the very nature of a śāstra being a compendium of rules for guidance opens the door for subsequent amendments, and it will not be correct to hit upon a name, a stray couplet or phrase for settling the date of the entire work thereby. Prof. Kane has shown many instances of slippery ground for surmises based on insufficient data. We are, however, not convinced of his success in many other cases of controversy,

Let us illustrate our meaning by taking the Manu-smṛti Our author sums up his conclusions regarding the date by agreeing with Bühler that the extant Manu-smṛti was composed between the second century B. C. and second century A. D. "But the question of the date when the original Manusmṛti to which additions were made between the second century B.C. and 2nd century A. D. was composed presents very great difficulties." Then our author goes on discussing the opinions of eminent scholars and conjectures that "long before the 4th century B. C. there was a work on Dharmasāstra composed by or attributed to Svāyambhuva Manu." So far we agree. But we are not sure when he writes that "what motives could have induced the unknown author [of the extant smṛti] to palm it off in the name of the mythical Manu and to suppress his identity it is difficult to say." But the learned author surely knows that in the judgment of our ancient writers authorship remains with the first writer of a sāstra in spite of emendations and interpolations by any of his devoted disciples. We need not quote instances of this universal practice. The credit of a well-built edifice goes to the engineer, the śilpī, and not to the masons who lay stones or repair some defects. The view of Indian writers differs from that of Western scholars. The latter seek to discover the date of the last repair and pronounce judgment by noticing the date of the latest piece of stone laid upon an ancient temple, while the former ignore the additions and declare it as old as the foundation. Why should we disbelieve the statement that there were four versions of Manu, one of which, that by Bhṛgu, is preserved in the extant Manu ? As a rule editors did not rub out old texts before putting in new views. This habit of truthfulness is easily detected when conflicting statements are found as in the Manu-smṛti. Sometimes it becomes obvious when we meet with two or more dates in a work. A good instance of this is found in Suśrutā, and some of the Puranas. It was also a common practice to ascribe

* History of Dharmaśāstra (ancient and mediaeval religions and civil law)—By P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M., Vol I. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Pp. 760 and Lviii. Price Rs. 15.0.

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to Brahmā, the creator, the origin of every fundamental śāstra. The ancients meant thereby that the śāstra is so old that nobody could tell when and by whom it was first conceived. And there is no denying the truth. Who can say when the first Dharmaśāstra was composed? Whether the Aryans lived in India or outside it they must have been guided by some rules. We are told that Prajāpati (Brahmā) composed a work in 100,000 slokas which were abridged by Manu and others. This means a very large number and as they were not systematized the exact number could not be given. The first Manu was necessarily Svāyambhuva, his parentage being unknown. But it was he who arranged the rules, and became the author of Mānava dharmaśāstra. Manu was the name given to patriarchs who presided over councils and administered laws. Considering the hoary antiquity there is no wonder that many Manus had a hand in modifying or enlarging the original sāstra We can get an idea of the antiquity from Paurāṇika chronology. Svāyambhuva Manu was supposed to rule about 5,700 B. C. Prācetasa Manu must have come long after him. The names of some of the celebrated Manus were subsequently associated with periods of 280 years. It is to be noted that our present Manusmṛti counts only seven periods and stops at Vaivasvata. This may afford a clue to the date when Bhṛgu recast the more ancient Institutes. It looks as if it was about the date of the Bhāratā war, *viz.*, thirteenth century B. C. But as Bhṛgu is spoken of as one of the ten sons of Svāyambhuva, though spiritual sons, he may have been much more ancient. This compiler Bhṛgu could not have been the more ancient Bhṛgu who taught the art of producing fire by friction of wood.

The above account explains why Manu has been held in the highest esteem since time immemorial. Prof. Kane refers us to passages in the Vedas where a poet prays that he may not be led away from the ancestral path of Manu, and another says that whatever Manu said was medicine. It is idle to speculate on the form in which the Svāyambhuva Manu found the rules which guided the Aryan community before him. These may have been in a floating condition as among primitive tribes. But the stage had been long passed when Bhṛgu and some others recast the Bṛddha Manu. For long all these were in operation possibly among the different schools or sects into which the Aryans had been divided. The extant Manu presumably contains the greater part of the doctrines of Bṛddha Manu.

If high antiquity of Manu as the first law-giver be acceded to, his original home in India must have been the sacred land of the seven rivers. Gradually as the Aryans moved on towards the east, Prayaga became the eastern limit of sadācāra. In the meantime ideas of social economy had developed and old Manu was found wanting in many respects. Especially was the need of revision felt by those Brahmanas who migrated to distant parts of the country and became practically cut off from the home land. They found themselves surrounded by a people widely differing from them in customs and laws. Though they did not migrate until after occupation of the country by Kshatriya arms the inevitable law of action and re-action came into play, and the new settlers imperceptibly imbibed some of the customs of their neighbours. Political history may thus throw light on the history of Dharmasastra, and *vice versa*. It is no doubt very difficult to trace the home of the ancient Dharmasastras, superseded and modified as they were by later authorities, but relics of ancient customs may still be discernible, and joint efforts of scholars residing in various parts of the country may yet yield results invaluable to history.

For instance, from the statement that Yājnavalkya imparted Dharma in Mithila, it follows that he was later than Manu. From intimate relation to the white Yajurveda and complete treatment of Vyavahara we are reminded of the time when Mithila was a celebrated centre of Kshatriya culture. Prof. Kane sees no reason to place Yajnavalkya smṛti in the fourth century A. D. as proposed by some Western scholars and takes it back by at least four centuries. But as we have said above the latest brick laid on a temple does not accurately represent its age. There were Bṛddha Yājnavalkya as well as Bṛddha manu, and there is nothing to show that Kauṭilya was not the borrower from Bṛddha Yājnavalkya. Prof. Kane has pointed to the fact that Yājnavalkya wrote his smṛti at the time when the vernal equinox used to happen in the Krittikā nakṣatra. Was the equinox in the first half or the second half of Asvinī when Kauṭilya flourished? We think the point can be settled from his reference to Puṣyā in Bk. XIV, ch. iii. The summer solstice appears to be taking place in this nakṣatra, and three nights were allowed for the passage as now. Unfortunately Kauṭilya does not mention the quarter of the nakṣatra. But even assuming that the solstice was just at the beginning of the nakṣatra and taking the present positions at the beginning of Ārdrā, exactly two nakṣatras behind we arrive at the beginning of the Christian era. From the nature of the prescription it is obvious that its efficacy would be impaired had Kauṭilya been repeating an old formula. He must have therefore lived not after, but before Christ.

Let us as a change take a long flight from Mithila to Bengal. We meet with many familiar persons including Jagannath Tarkapanchānan of the eighteenth century, and completing the list of authors chosen by Prof. Kane. We were under the impression that Halāyudha, the Judge in the court of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal, was the same person as Halāyudha, the lexicographer. But Prof. Kane has convincing arguments to show that they were different and that there were other persons who bore the same name. Bhavadeva prides himself in his title, bālabalabhi bhujanga. We understand by it that he was a deadly enemy or destroyer of the kingdom, named Balabala. It appears to have been somewhere in Rāḍha. Bhavadeva has been the guiding star of the Brahmans of Rāḍha who belong to the same śākhā of the Sāmaveda as he did. About the date of Jimutavāhana Prof. Kane has rightly contended that Kālaviveka was composed soon after 1090 A.D. The date of Raghunandana

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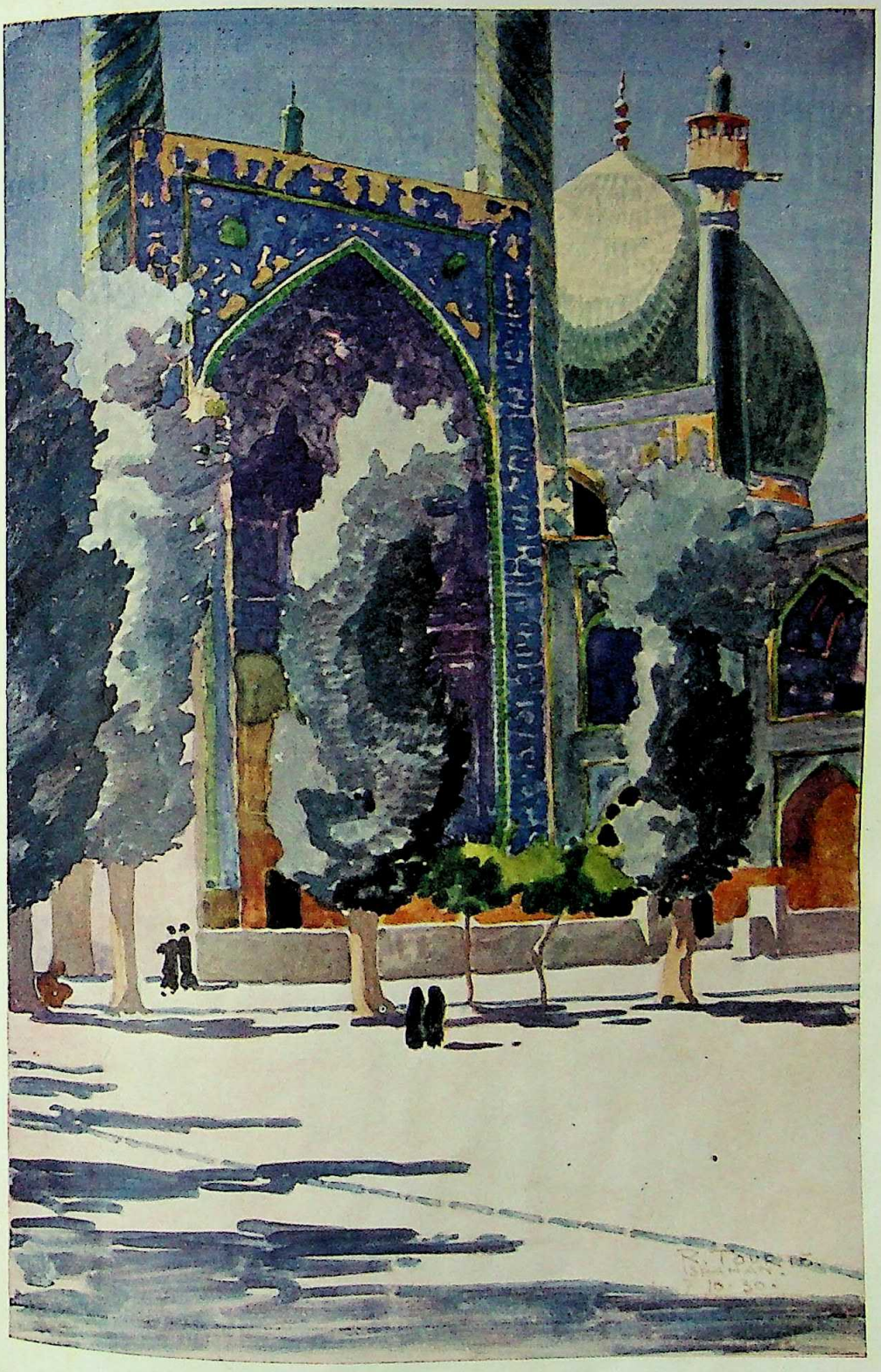

ISPAHAN
By R. Tourte

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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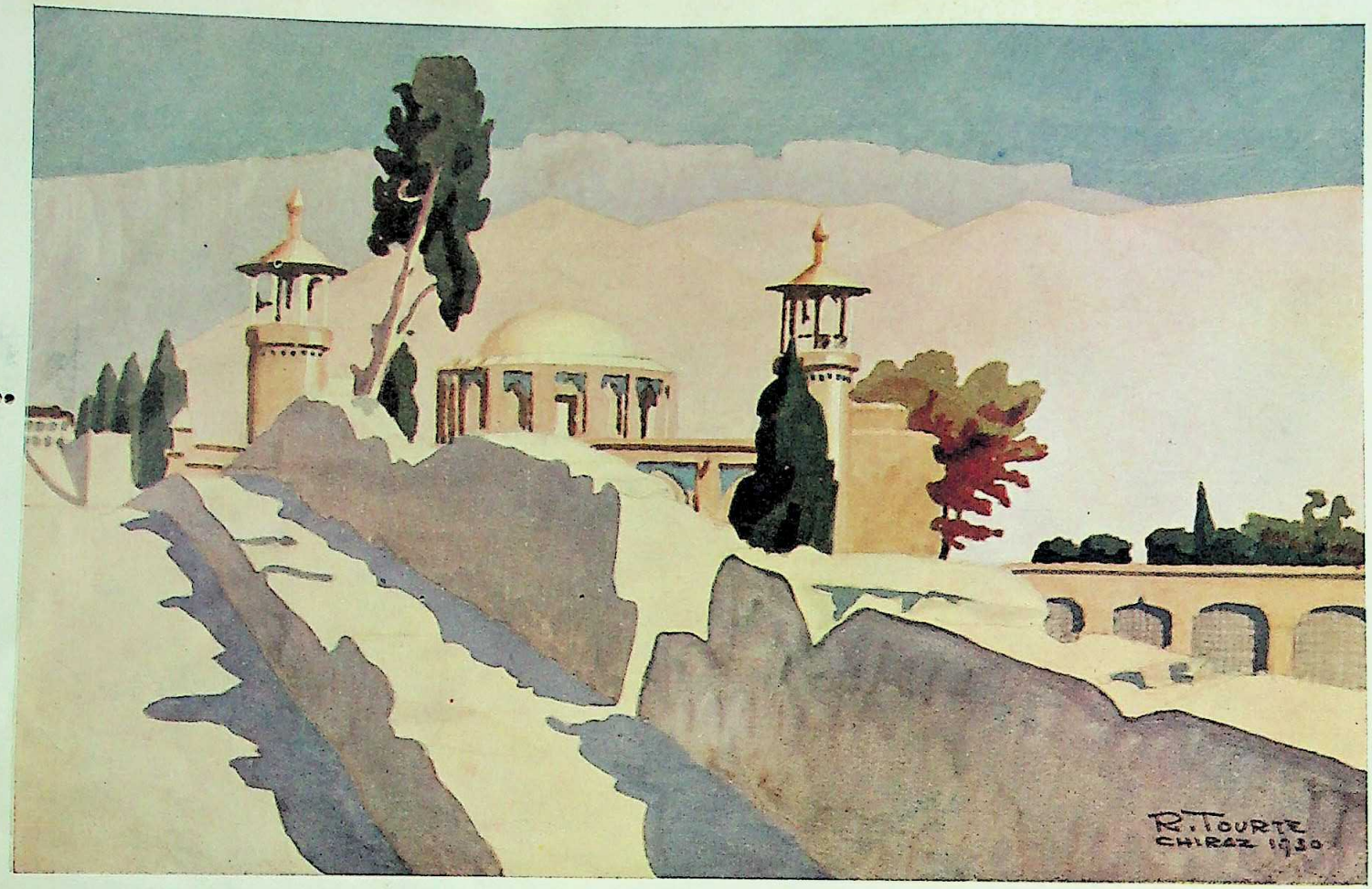

SHIRAZ
By R Tcurte

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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easily and accurately fixed from the Ravi-Saṁkrānti of śaka 1489 (1557 A.D.)

We regret limited space at our disposal does not permit us to express adequately our appreciation of the volume. Every page reveals mastery of details, vast range of critical study and painstaking labour. We look forward to the day when Prof. Kane will publish his contemplated second volume dealing with the development of the various subjects comprised in Dharmaśāstra. We doubt not the two volumes will form a unique contribution to our knowledge of Dharma bequeathed to us by our ancestors, who by their age are apt to be regarded as mythical.

Through Persia

By R. TOURTE

[Monsieur R. Tourte is a young French architect who is making a tour of the world accompanied by his wife. They came on foot from Paris to Athens and thence to India partly by motor-car and partly by steamer. M. Tourte's vivid description of his journey through Persia gains much from his drawings which were done on the spot, and of which only a selection illustrates the present article.—Ed. *M. R.*]

IT was at Baghdad that we made our last enquires, exchanged our rupees for silver 'temans' and 'crans,' and took train to Khanikin, an oil-bearing region, exploited we were told by the English.

From there, we left the soil of Iraq in a motor van, the only modern means of locomotion in Persia, a vast country where railways are unknown. This took us to the frontier post of Kasr-el-Shirin. We were leaving the plains and just entering the valleys of this mountainous region, and it was very hot and dry. We were very much surprised to be asked by the quarantine authorities there to make a compulsory stay of five days and remain under observation with the other travellers, who were mostly Musalmans returning from their pilgrimage to Kerbala. This was done as a matter of sanitary precaution, though by the advice of the Persian Consul at Baghdad, we had had ourselves vaccinated against plague and small-pox. And here we were lodged in the open air and made to pay for it more dearly than in a hotel. We had also to buy our own food.

Kasr-el-Shirin is a little oasis town with fruit trees and kitchen gardens on the banks of a clearly flowing stream, and with lamentably tumble-down mud houses. It was a foretaste of what Persia was to be—a desert with rare little towns of low, squalid, crumbling, mud-built houses in the midst of a sparse little green, a diminutive stream close by, which loses itself a little further on, being swallowed up by the desert.

All the men we found had the 'Pehlevi Kola' on their heads, which is a sort of regulation cap, compulsory for every Persian. Their footwear was 'geives.' The women were wholly in black and hermetically veiled.

We begin to discover Persia with its philosophic charm. It seems as if the goals of life, the desires and the purposes of everybody have been happily attained. Every man has his kingdom : a teapot, a hookah and a carpet, in the middle of which he squats and watches the water flow, all the time smelling the flower in his hand.

Five days pass. Time no longer exists. One only dreams.

* * *

After leaving Kasr-el-Shirin we begin the difficult attack on the Iranian plateau : scattered groves of rather stunted oaks, forests without shade, clear and fresh springs, abrupt rocks, superbly planted and coloured and luminous, but the roads were dirty and tedious and without the least vestige of shade.

Kerind is a pretty town. It has vegetation, apricot trees, springs, and cool, fresh evenings. Harunabad is a little village which belongs to the Shah. At a distance we can see oil wells, exploited by the English we are again told.

At last, we arrive at Kermanshah, the boasted Kermanshah. Here there are fruits and clear water in abundance. The town is soon to have a very fine avenue, the finest in the world, its inhabitants tell us. Insha Allah ! if it's only finished. At present, it is nothing more than a heap

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of debris from the houses which are being demolished. It is such sport to go about it. There are many Jews here. All of them speak French, thanks to the schools of the "Alliance Israélite." We found them all over Persia where our language is very much diffused. There are bazaars, sombre looking but well-served by customers, garages and some hotels.

At Tak-i-Bostan near Kermanshah, by the side of bubbling springs, are to be seen very fine bas-reliefs carved on the rock. The place is very poetic. They smoke opium here, and it is a delightful place for walks. On Fridays Musalmans and Jews go for their picnics there, as well as to the banks of the Kara-Sou, which means the 'black river.'

After Kermanshah the road ascends still higher. We have to climb up a high mountain. It is a very picturesque place and we can descry the Mount Elvend (3,750 feet.).

In the countryside, Kurds with fierce and untamed looks are very hospitable. Hamadan, according to the Persians, is still a pearl; to others, she seems to live on the reputation of the antique Egbatana, of which nothing remains but the memory. The town is as pitiful to look at as anything we have seen till now. They do not even widen the streets, and the vans have the greatest difficulty in passing through thoroughfares which were meant only for asses and camels. The only new buildings are the garages, which do not differ materially from the old caravanserais. They consist, generally speaking, of a big court-yard, with stalls all round for motor-cars. The street front has a floor with a few rooms for travellers to sleep in, below them being the office and the eternal Chai khana. We saw the tombs of Esther and Mordecai, some mosques and the bazaar. There are some fine orchards round the city, and also vineyards which produce a wine with some reputation. The mountains all round have peaks of snow, and the nights are fairly cold owing to the great altitude.

After this the road stretches away into a region everywhere desert-like in appearance. There are small villages few and far between, always wearing a deserted and ruined look; and Chai-khanas to which the motor-cars never fail to go up. Here you can refresh yourself with cucumber 'nuns' and 'mas,' in addition to the traditional strong tea in very small cups, and you can also have,—this finishes the list,—some not very clean water. The peasants count the distance by *Farsaks* (about 6 kilometres). But along the road there are posts indicating kilometres.

Kasvin has an air of grandeur which is quite astonishing. There are large caravanserais standing on wide avenues lined with big trees and leading to mosques with blue enamelled domes. There is a spinning factory here, and with the garages it is the only thing modern to be found in this town, which is greater in extent than in importance. There are besides, pistachio gardens. The road which goes to Teheran is rather flat, though there are some hills to its left. It is a wide and good road but crushingly monotonous, stretching away in the midst of an arid landscape. Long before arriving at Teheran, we could see the peak of Demavend (5,465 feet) with its snow-crowned summit. It is the only landmark by which you can locate the capital from a distance. Teheran presents no silhouettes. A dense cloud of dust above the even line of green hides the city from view.

Teheran is the nominal capital of the country. But it has not got the appearance of one. It is a very ugly city, absolutely without any charm. It appears that formerly there were avenues lined with very fine trees in it and gardens full of plants. But the Shah said, "I wish to have straight avenues, as in America, and avenues 80 metres wide, wider than the Champs Elysées." And accordingly, to the despair of a few Europeans who loved the city, the trees were cut down and houses demolished. Now, there are streets 80 metres wide lined on both sides with walls of the mud-built cloisters, which melt away under the rains and bake themselves in the sun. There are very few stone or brick houses. The highest have one floor and no shade at all. The streets as well as the footpaths are of mud. Water runs through the gutters on the sides, and the municipal water sprinklers water the streets with buckets and hands, so that they are always alternatively full of mud and dust. The Persians compare the Alezard, the principal street, with the streets of Paris, and their shops with our big stores. But I must not give an opinion on that. Let us avoid that subject. There is a good deal of imagination under the Kola Pehlevi and no great desires nor great wants. A small tramcar, drawn by one horse, slowly goes along the streets which seem like deserts, where

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the passer-by is baked by the sun and almost sucked up by the waterless ground. There are no industries. The only trade is with the legations and the Government officials, the sole *raison d'être* of the city. Women in "chadur" resemble dreary black crows and go through the streets without making them any the more gay, and they are few who dare to come out into the streets dressed like European women. The Persians are fanatical Shi-ite Musalmans. It is forbidden to the Feringhis to enter the mosques, unless they can do so by means of tricks or 'Bakhshish.'

In the summer the legations migrate to Chimrand in the hills, where it is cooler. This takes away even that little which gives some animation to the city, and the whole thing resembles a big stone-yard which will perhaps some day grow into a real capital.

Not very far at Rey are to be found the ruins of Rhagus where Alexander made his stay. At present all that sleeps under the sands of an eternal desert. Only its mirage is left behind in the memories of imaginative and curious souls.

More one goes towards the south, more deserts does he find—great salt deserts where the soil is covered with a layer of salt, which under the mid-day sun takes on the appearance of desolate snowfields. One morning we arrived at Kum after crossing a wide river at whose bottom there flows only a little water. Kum is a sanctuary and has a famous mosque which attracts many Shia pilgrims. It blazes golden in the rays of the rising sun like a marvellous torch of faith. A peculiar charm emanates from this little desert town. It has remained old. Motor-cars do not yet run about its bazaars. Asses, camels, and fine nervous horses pass slowly through them. The people of Kum are given to industry. They make felt hats, weave cotton and silk, and the potters make vases. A calm animation, extremely pleasing to the traveller, reigns in it.

We leave Kum, its golden domes and its mystery behind. And then, more, still more desert and desolation, broken here and their alone by those poor little villages which you can descry from afar by the gaunt outline of their poplars, eaten up by locusts, and of their mud houses, earth-gray in colour and wearing the same deserted look. Their inhabitants do nothing. The Persians live upon little and do not seem to desire much more.

But we have not yet done with all that Persia has to show us. Ispahan is a revelation. When the traveller aching in all his distracted senses looks for himself in vain, he arrives at this corner of Nature and recovers all of a sudden. The happy massing of the elements of the scenery with something of what man has done for it, gives to this city an air which pleases, and makes of it a place where one would love to stay. Ispahan has the look of a capital—an old capital it may be, but with a magnificence which its abandonment by the present dynasty has not wholly deprived it of. We enter the city after crossing the Zender Rud over superb monumental bridges. The Sherbagh avenue, if it cannot actually rival the Champs Elysées, has no less the appearance of nobility, which sits very well upon it. It is lined with many rows of plane trees and tall poplars. With two ways for carriages on either side and a wide walk in the middle for pedestrians—it is a fine vestige of what the avenue with its basins and fountains must have been at the time of Shah Abbas. The whole is planned in a remarkable manner by a town-planner who must be called the predecessor of one of our modern city architects. A large square bordered on all sides with trees, with the superb Jumma Masjid on one side, the Baladiyeh or the ancient palace of Shah Abbas on the other, the Allah Masjid in front, and the monumental entrance to the bazaar at the end. In the middle of finely laid out gardens there is still a fairy palace—the Shetel Sutun or the "Forty Columns" palace. The palace has actually only twenty pillars, but as it is situated in front of a large basin of water, the reflection gives it forty. In the old town there are many magnificent mosques whose blue-green enamelled domes look like huge blocks of emerald glistening in the sun. There are also little kiosks with fountains in all the streets and so much vegetation. The town is situated in the midst of fine orchards and beautiful gardens whose numerous basins make it so agreeably cool. And the whole is surrounded by hills of delicate colouring and sharp outlines. But the town has nothing from the modern point of view The houses are low. The highest have one floor and are constructed of sun-dried bricks. There are a few caravanserais which are run as garages. But the centre of commerce is still the bazaar. These bazaars are very curious, vaulted like caves. In their minute shops merchandise from Asia

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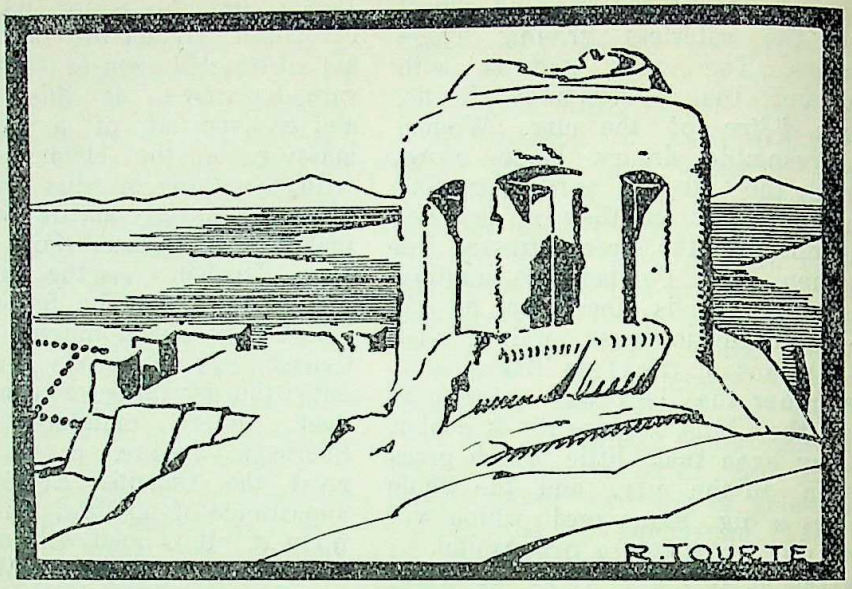
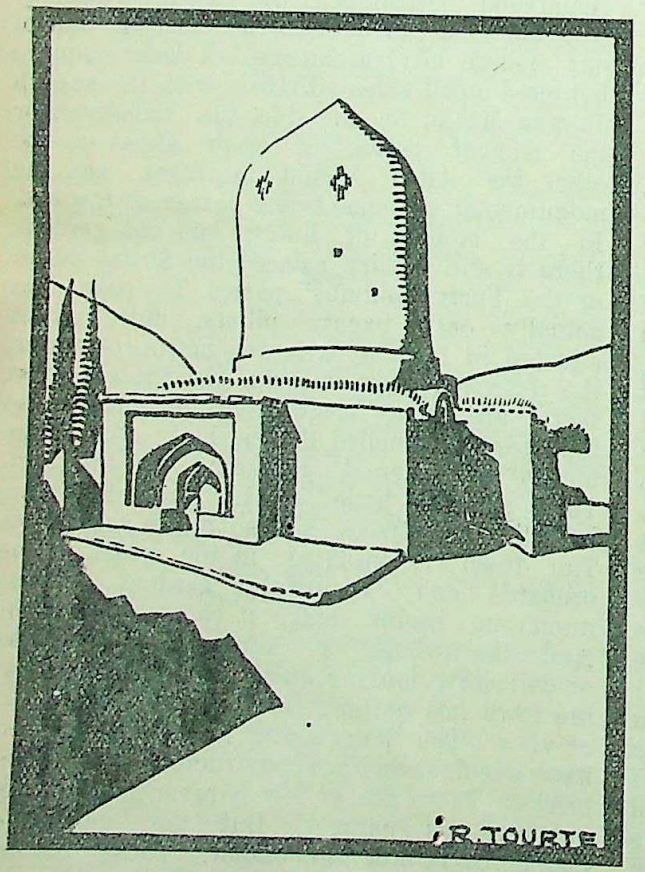
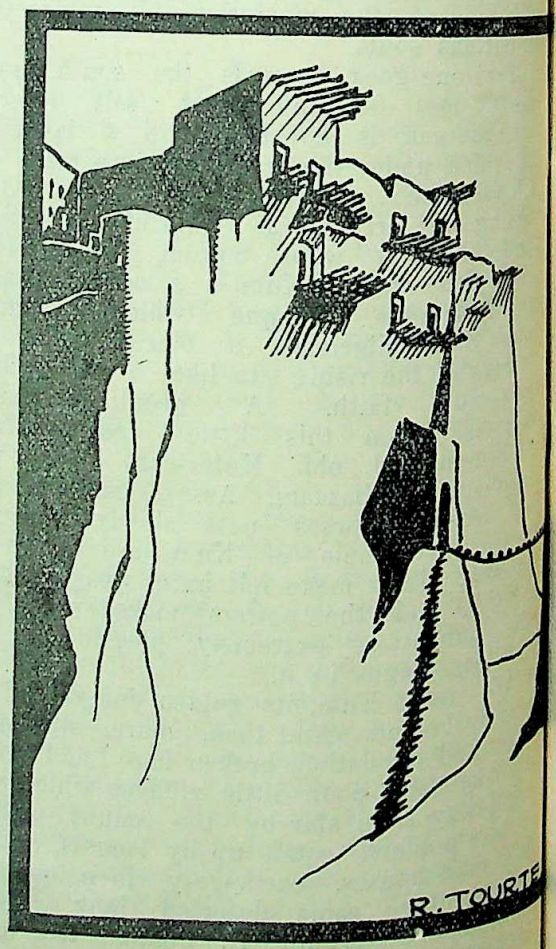


A Fire-worshippers' Temple near Ispahan



The Tomb of Esther at Hamadan



Yazdikhast

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and Europe rub each other's shoulders—printed stuffs by the side of *kalemkars*, delicious fruits by the side of trumpery wares. Beautiful and costly rugs are manufactured here.

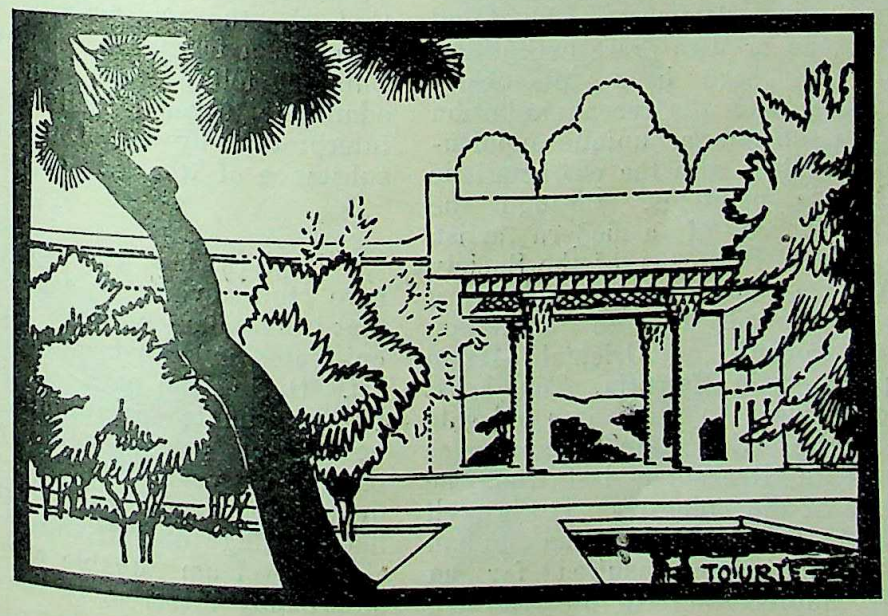
On the other side of the Julfa bridge is the Armenian suburb. It is a little town still Persian looking. But its Chirstian inhabitants are all dressed in the European fashion. In the evening, as soon as the sun becomes milder, you can see grown up and young women of Julfa going about dressed in silk in the manner of Paris.

We left this city of ancient splendours and famous memories and retook the desert road. High mountains again, and picturesque corners like the town of Yazdikhast, perched on a high rocky spur which overhangs a fall. We arrive at last in the valley of the Arax and at Persepolis, the capital of the Achaemenids. Nothing remains of the famous palace of Darius except a wide terrace with pillars and beautiful bas-reliefs, defying twenty-two centuries in the same condition in which they were left by a caprice of Alexander the Great.

The great plain of Merdasht is no more. It is also a desert. There are only a few small fields of cotton and a little corn. Valleys begin again after this. The road is tortuous, and suddenly from the shoulder of a hill we plunge into another plain, in whose clear air Shiraz reposes with the regret of its poets. Shiraz has a happy look. Its cypresses are in violent contrast with the hills of rose and gold, and their mauve shadows. A little apart, under the magnificent shadows are the tombs of the poets Saadi and Hafiz, surrounded by the vineyards which produce the famous wines of Shiraz. The town seems to be trying to modernize itself under the influence of an active municipality. There is a geometrically aligned brand-new quarter, consisting of garages and hotels, built of stones and bricks.

After Shiraz we begin the ascent of mountains which have the look of hell. We are in a motor-car for two days making this journey of 250 kilometres which separate us from Bushire on the Persian Gulf. Then we leave the heights by vertiginous descents, in which the car cannot make a turning without trying over and over again for many times. And the turnings number hundreds. Beneath this wall the temperature rises. For vegetation there are only the date-palms. The plain is intersected by streams emanating sulphurous fumes. Bushire is the only Persian port, if one can call port a place which big boats cannot approach for many miles. The town, berefet of vegetation and unhealthy, is without any interest except that which has brought the British flag there. This floats high in the air and seems to dominate the town.

July-November, 1930.



Near Hafiz's Tomb—Shiraz

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Exhibition of Chinese Paintings

At the rooms of the Oriental Art Society in Calcutta

By O. C. GANGOLY

WHAT must be regarded as a unique event in the world of art is the exhibition recently held of a remarkable collection of Chinese paintings under the auspices of the Indian Society of Oriental Art. The first of its kind in India, the exhibition offered to lovers of art a new revelation, the taste of a new form of aesthetic experience which the Chinese genius has contributed to the art of the world. Fifty years ago, Chinese art was practically unknown to connoisseurs of art in Europe or America. But during the last few years the claims of Chinese pictorialism have slowly converted a group of connoisseurs in the West—whose admiration for Chinese art now almost amounts to reverent worship. Practically all the countries of Europe have formed representative collections of distinguished examples of Chinese paintings,— the earliest and perhaps the best belonging to the British Museum. But recently the American collectors have assiduously taken to acquiring fine examples of the Art, and practically the best available examples of recent years have found their way to American collections, public and private. With one or two rare exceptions, Chinese paintings have been practically unknown in India, and the recent exhibition held in Calcutta offered a unique opportunity to come in contact with the characteristic beauty of Chinese paintings, through the fascinating *kakemonos* of a modern artist, Mr. Jan Foo Kau, President of the Society of Fine Arts of Canton, who very courteously responded to an invitation by the Indian Society of Oriental Art to exhibit his pictures in Calcutta. The artist has come on a visit to India as a delegate to the All-Asiatic Educational Conference held at Benares in December last, where he exhibited some of the pictures. It is well known that the atmosphere of an Indian university is peculiarly unsuited for an exhibition, or appreciation of pictorial art, and it was nothing surprising in the fact that these fine paintings failed to evoke a sympathetic echo in the pedantic bosoms eminent educationists who assembled Benares. Art as a part of cultural educati is recognized in all parts of the world exc in India, and the cold response to t exhibition of some of these paintings Benares was naturally a matter of surpri to the eminent Chinese guest who com from a country boasting of a civilizati older than India, and where art is still integral part of culture and education. Som amount of compensation for this lack response in Benares was provided by t enthusiastic reception that his paintings m with from a large body of lovers of associated with the Indian Society of Orien Art and also from a large number of appr ciative visitors in Calcutta - which is t only city in India which can boast of a li interest in art and a readiness to exte warm admiration to real works of art.

The opening of the exhibition, in t presence of a group of enthusiastic admire was the occasion of a very pictures ceremony led by Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagor C. I. E., the master-artist of modern Ind who, in a felicitous speech, welcomed t Chinese fellow-artist who responded in admirable speech, delivered in Chinese interpreted by the Chinese Vice-Consul, substance of which is quoted below :

* * *

"It gives me the greatest pleasure to here this evening, especially when I lea that the aim of your learned Society is cultivate and foster the spirit of Orien art. During the past, India and China ha been intimate neighbours and it is o because of various changes and with t passing of years that we have gradua drifted apart and to be here this evening like meeting old friends again after a lo absence. I am unable to express in wor how happy I feel to be here to-night.

"Owing to our geographical positi

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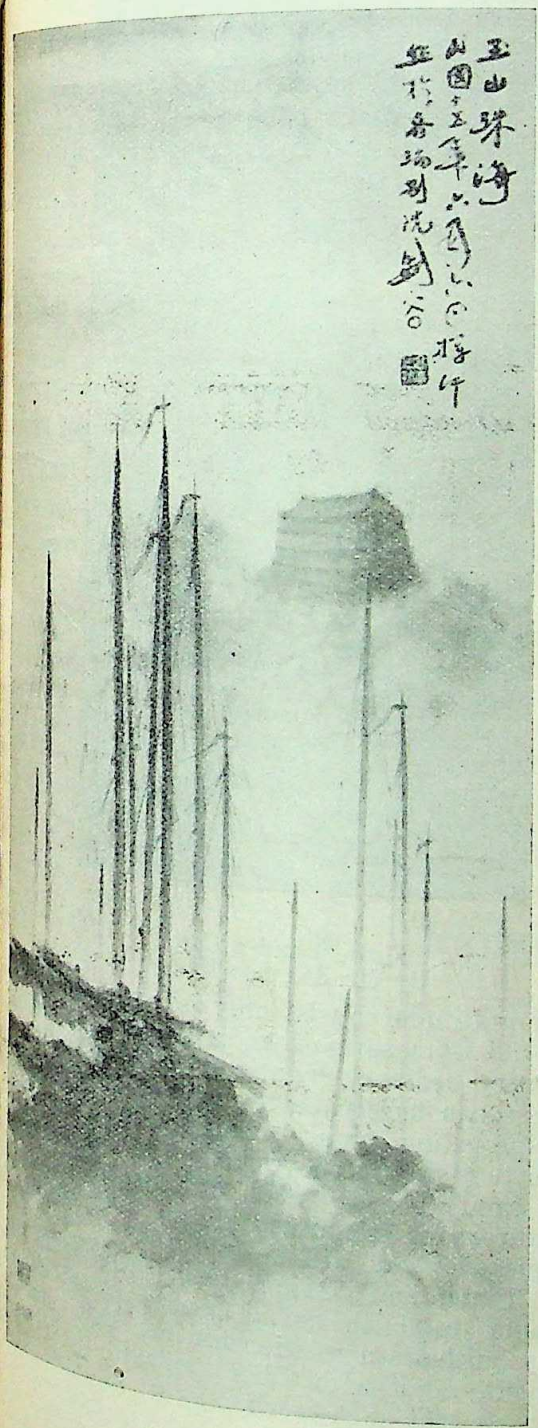
relations between India and China are somewhat different from that of other countries. Our civilizations are already related and we have many things in common. As regards our art and architecture there are many similarities in both countries, and to this day, traces of Indian art still remain among our ancient structures and literature. When I saw these things and read about the wonders of your country, I came to the conclusion that India must be a great country and for the last twenty years, I have cherished the hope that I may have an opportunity to visit your land. But owing to many reasons my dreams had not been realized sooner, and it is only now that my hopes have materialized and when I am present at this Society this evening to join our friendship again, I do not feel like a stranger, as



Masts and Mist
By Mr. Jan Foo Kau

Crows
A Drawing by Mr. Jan Foo Kau

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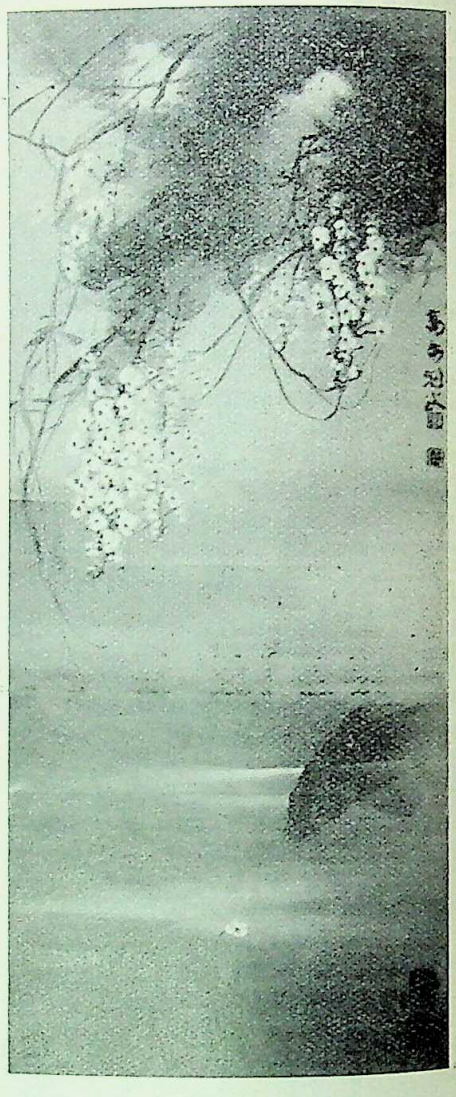
Tiger
By Mr. Jan Foo Kau



Flowers and a Carp
By Mr. Jan Foo Kau

it seems that I have already met you in my dreams before.

"During the latter part of the Han Dynasty, Chinese philosophy and art were revolutionized with beneficial effect when Buddhism and art spread across the Himalayas into China. We Chinese are most grateful for what India had bestowed upon us. It is however to my regret that almost two thousand years have elapsed since the introduction of these great benefits and I feel ashamed to think that my mother country had neglected to express its gratitude. I am glad to be here in order that I may avail myself of this chance to return to you our deepest appreciation. What I have brought to India on this occasion to show our gratitude consist only of a few paintings by old Chinese masters as well as a number of very ordinary paintings of my own work. These can hardly be termed to be worthy of reciprocating your kindness, but nevertheless they will give you an idea of Chinese art and I hope that with the aid of these pictures our friendship after a period of two thousand years will be renewed.

"India and China being neighbours, we should establish some means by which we may cultivate a relationship for our mutual benefit, and with this purpose in view, I suggest that such work may be initiated with the assistance of the Indian Society of Oriental Art. Indian and Chinese works of art may be exchanged between the two

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countries for exhibition purposes or the two countries may combine to have an exhibition once or twice a year in order that our views may be exchanged for the benefit of Oriental art. I sincerely trust you will put your heart and soul into this matter so that the beauties of Oriental art and culture may be broadcasted and its light will shine brightly throughout the world.

"In conclusion I wish to thank your great artist, Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore and also those present here this evening for the kind reception accorded to me."

* * *

After the exchange of speeches Dr. Tagore presented the artist with two pictures from his own brush which brought in a courteous return in the shape of an old Chinese painting. Dr. Tagore accompanied his gifts (one of which included a study of a peacock) with the following verses in Bengali :—

"कि दिन कि रात्रि आकाश आर एइ पृथिवी
आलो अन्धकारेर स्वप्न देखे
स्वप्न-सूत्रे एरा दुये बाँधा पड़ल
आमार मनेर वासर घरे।
वनेर मयूर ह'ल मेघेर प्रिय
इन्द्रधनुर सकल रंग तार पाखाय-पाखाय
व्याध ताके धरले, शिकारि ताके मारले,
केउ ताके बाँधले, आर केउ वा
ताके पुषे राखले उपवने।
आमार मन चाइले ताके छेड़े दिते
गहन वनेर किनाराते॥"

TRANSLATION

'Night and day, the earth and the sky dream of light and darkness. In the nuptial chamber of my heart they are garlanded for ever. He, the beloved of the clouds, is the forest peacock with colours of rainbow in his plumes. The fowler kills him in his snares, some taming him in their bower, but I long to give him freedom on the border of the darkest forest.'

It is believed by many European connoisseurs that Chinese paintings occupy a position which is unique in the whole history of pictorial art in the East and in the West. Mr. Jan Foo Kau is a faithful and an able exponent of the characteristic values of Chinese painting in its finest features, and through his fascinating paintings on silk and on paper, he brings to India a warm message from the depth of Chinese culture,—at one time very closely united with Indian culture,—in the fellowship of a common spirituality. It is hoped that modern contacts between two ancient cousins will lead to richer fulfilment in the future than have been achieved in the past,—fruitful in spiritual products as that intercourse has been in the glorious past,—shining in the rich deposits of the golden hue of Buddhist culture.

Indian Railways*

BY DR. H. SINHA

THE many and varied problems of railway transport in India have not received adequate attention from Indian economists, because they lack an intimate contact with the details of railway administration. Dr. Sanyal has thus supplied a real want by throwing much needed light on an obscure field of Indian economics. He was not satisfied merely with dry researches in the London School of Economics but added practical training in railway operation and commercial work in railways in Great Britain, Germany, France and other European countries. It is for this reason that he effectively combines theory with practice, and looks at every problem from the theoretical as well as the administrative standpoint.

He begins with a rapid survey of the pre-railway transport system of India and then passes on to a systematic and critical description of railway administration according to the following five periods :

I.	(1850 to 1868)	"Old" Guarantee Terms.
II.	(1869 to 1882)	State Construction and Administration.
III.	(1882 to 1902)	Revival of Companies.
IV.	(1903 to 1924-25)	Before Separation of Railway Finance.
V.	(1924-25 to 1928-29)	After the Separation.

The "Old" guarantee terms have been condemned by the author in the following words :

"The principal defects in the contracts lay in making no provision for the State's participation in the profits, in permitting a fixed rate of exchange to govern the transactions, in allowing the guarantee to run from the day of deposit

* DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN RAILWAYS *by Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. Econ. (London), Lecturer, Calcutta University.*

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of money and not from the date of opening of the lines, in providing little check on the capital expenditure of the companies and in granting the private enterpriser's opportunities for enjoying the full benefit of unearned increment in the value of the property when the time for the state purchase of the railways came."

Such serious evils loudly called for redress, but it was not these but the exigencies of public finance in the dark days of the Mutiny and after that forced an early revision of the terms of the contracts. Lord Mayo's Government took up the question as left by Lord Lawrence and pressed the matter to the attention of the Secretary of State, Duke of Argyll, who wisely agreed to the reform and stated :

"...Whatever may have been the strength of the considerations which twenty years ago induced the Government to entrust to guaranteed companies the construction of railways in India, I concur with your Excellency and the late Viceroy, in the opinion, that the time has now arrived, when both in raising and in expending such additional capital as may be required for new lines in India, the Government should secure for itself the full benefit of the credit which it lends, and of the cheaper agencies which ought to be at its command."

Wise words these, but how far still we are from reaping the fruits of Socialism, which was then planted in India !

Unfortunately, however, the pendulum definitely swung back in favour of companies about the year 1882, partly because the State had so far concentrated on strategic railways regardless of cost and of commercial prospects, and partly because of the embarrassment in public finance brought on by severe and repeated famines during the quinquennium 1874-79. The State was anxious to be relieved of the management of non-strategic railways as far as possible, without however losing ownership of any. The arrangements finally concluded with the different railways were bewildering in their diversity. But Dr. Sanyal has correctly analysed the following three guiding principles :

(1) Strategic and political importance of a railway ;

(2) Restriction of sterling payments, rendered difficult by fall in the value of silver ;

(3) Taking advantage of the competition and the rate war among different administrations.

During the next period the issue was no longer State Ownership *vs.* Company Ownership, but State Management *vs.* Company Management. The author has traced the long and bitter struggle between Government officials and Indian nationalists on this question. "Companies here have been far different from what they have been in European countries." In fact, conditions in India are such that an eminent authority like Sir William Acworth whose prepossession in favour of private management was well known, was converted to Indian nationalist views. In spite of this, however, Government maintains an attitude of opposition and the Legislature is still suspicious about the intentions of Government and has made the continuance of State management (passed by it in February, 1923) a condition precedent to the separation of railway finance, to which it gave a grudging assent in September, 1924.

The concluding portion which is devoted to an examination of the railway administration as carried on at present contains many valuable suggestions for reform. Says he,

"The present view of Government is to regard the railways as mainly a big commercial undertaking. The Legislature, on the other hand, demands the adoption of a policy of utilizing the entire transport system for the economic and political regeneration of the country. The time has perhaps come to discuss and devise a new machinery for the control and administration of the railways, which, while ensuring proper regard for the interests of the country, will secure expert and independent management of the lines, free from the dangers of too much political interference."

He cites the examples of Belgium, Germany and Czecho-Slovakia but does not point out in what exact particulars their example will prove helpful to India. In fact, he has gone so far as to express his doubts about the value of such independence, so long as the present mutual distrust and suspicion between the people and the State in India continue.

Apart from such questions of policy Dr. Sanyal also discusses particular problems. His trenchant remark about the rate policy bears repetition :

"The history of rates and fares in India is a chequered story of confusions of principle and anomalies of practice and the country needs today a scientific system fashioned in the best interests of traffic, industry and commerce."

In place of the present Advisory Committee, he rightly pleads for a regular Rates Tribunal vested with full authority.

The romance of the Indian railway development is as fascinating as it is instructive, and Dr. Sanyal has fully earned the Doctorate of the London University by doing adequate justice to the theme. Within the small compass of less than 400 pages, he has touched all questions of importance. His description is clear and his criticism carries conviction. The Calcutta University is to be congratulated upon publishing such a valuable book and so well got-up. The many maps and diagrams and the carefully compiled index enhance the value of the book.

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Gauri Shankar Ojha

A Life-Sketch

By HARISH CHANDRA SHUKLA

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA Rai Bahadur Pandit Gauri Shankar Hira Chand Ojha is a great Sanskrit scholar and an eminent historian, the record of whose achievement has shed bright and undying lustre on our motherland. He has read deep in Indian historical literature and has rendered invaluable service to it. He it is to whom credit is due of being the first to give to the world a standard text-book on the Palaeography of India and an authentic, critical as well as comprehensive history of Rajputana. He is a master of Indian palaeography and a living epitome of Rajput history.

Ojhaji is an Audichya Brahman. He was born on the 15th of September, 1863, at Rohera, a village in the Sirohi State. At the age of seven, he was admitted to a neighbouring vernacular school where he gained a character for diligence and gave promise of a bright future. While he was in his eighth year, he devoted himself to the study of the Vedas and within an incredibly brief space of time mastered the whole of Sukla Yajurveda. A few years later, he felt a strong desire to obtain a higher education in a well-equipped school and made up his mind to proceed to Bombay. To travel was not an easy and simple thing then. There were few facilities for locomotion. Between Rohera and Ahmedabad there was no railway service and the distance was simply too great. Moreover, Gauri Shankar was delicate in health and a mere lad of fourteen. But his spirit did not fail him and nothing could make him change his mind. Away he started, kept bravely on until he walked the whole distance. It was the first time he crossed the limits of his home and saw a big town. From Ahmedabad he travelled to Bombay by rail. There he joined the Wilson College after having had a good grounding in the Gujarati literature and having passed the Matriculation examination of the Bombay University from the Elphinstone High School in 1885. In 1887, he went up for the next examination of the same university but was unhappily taken seriously ill and had to go back to his native village. So ends abruptly his academic career. By the by, he had, under the able guidance and encouraging influence of Bharata Martanda Pandit Gattu Lal, the well-known Sanskrit scholar, made considerable advance in his studies of Sanskrit and Prakrit before he joined the college. While he was a college student, he

Pandit Gauri Shankar Hira Chand Ojha

specialized in history and sedulously pursued its study. A glimpse into the glorious past of Greece and Rome afforded an impetus for his progress in historical studies and moulded his future. Besides, it stirred up his patriotic feelings and suggested the idea that he might engage himself to better advantage with the study of the history of his own

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beloved country. So struck was he with the notion that immediately after his return to Bombay he set about learning the various technical subjects with which no student of history can dispense and ere long made himself an adept in Philology, Archæology, Epigraphy, etc. Next, he went through the practical training for a time. This special drilling stood him in good stead and had a happy tendency to enhance his enthusiasm. About this time, he, most fortunately, chanced upon and read Colonel Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.* Deeds of heroism, chivalry and self sacrifice performed by the Rajput heroes of old inspired him with veneration and stirred his heart to its depths. So deeply impressed was he with them that he grew eager to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the localities of heroic achievements. To gratify his eagerness, he visited Udaipur in 1888. There he was appointed Secretary in the History Department. This position provided sufficient nourishment for his enterprising spirit and special facilities for his steady advance in historical lore. Later, he rose to be the Officer-in-charge of the State Library and Museum. In that capacity, he would plan tours to make epigraphical researches and living acquaintance with the historical sites of Rajputana. Steadily and cheerfully he held on to this course until 1894 when he leaped into fame by the publication of a very useful and important book on Indian Palaeography. After the lapse of a few years, the first edition was completely exhausted and, to meet the demand that increased rapidly from year to year, he had to bring out a new edition that includes many of the results of modern research. This book has been written on an original line and with great pains. It treats of many learned subjects and contains quotations from various publications as well as journals.

It is the first of its kind and forms an excellent contribution to the historical study of Indian writing. It has astonished the epigraphical world and has opened the eyes of those who fail to see in our country anything more than a base imitation of the West.

In the introduction, the author gives a connected and systematic account of the progress of Palaeographical research along with that of the different eras found in inscriptions. Further, he deals with the Indian scripts used during the period extending from the third century B. C. to the sixteenth century A. D., traces out the various forms through which each script had passed and interprets the subject-matter of the plates that follow. The volume comprises eighty-four plates which have been prepared from a variety of sources with great skill and with special reference to the needs of students. The first seventy-five plates contain Indian characters and in some of the remaining plates numerical symbols of the ancient times are given, while in others the gradual development of modern characters used in various parts of India are shown. The last chart of the last plate shows the evolution of the present *Nagari* numerals. In short the book embraces everything calculated to be helpful to a student of Palaeography and is of practical utility to him. It ought to be employed in every school and college in India as a text-book on Palaeography and as an introduction to the study of Archaeology. How far Mr. Ojha has been actually successful in this great work from the technical point of view, it is not for us to tell definitely. Only the expert can do that. This much, however, we may, without any fear of contradiction, say that even most competent judges, who have already familiarized themselves with it, have found little room for any doubt as to its usefulness and for any sentiment but that of admiration. Sir John Marshall, Sir G. A. Grierson, Dr. D. R. Spooner, Dr. F. W. Thomas, Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, the late Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Professor J. Ph. Vogel, the late Mr. V. A. Smith and many other authorities, European as well as Indian, have acknowledged its importance and testified to its value. There is nothing like it even in English.

Another equally important and widely appreciated book brought out by the great historian is an *Early History of the Solanki Rajputs.* This work is the first attempt to compile a real history of a part of our country. It has been executed on a scientific plan and is based chiefly on the literary as well as epigraphical finds of the erudite author whom Dr. Grierson considers a most successful pioneer in showing his fellow countrymen how early Indian history should be written. The book deals with the Solankis of Badami, Kalyani, Vengi, Pitthapuram, Srikurmam and with those of Visakhapattana and teems with quotations from original authorities. Mr. Ojha has entitled his work

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who are interested in the ancient history of India and has won him a pemanent reputation. It was soon followed by a *History of the Sirohi State* which is a laborious work and a mine of valuable information.

Mr. Ojha's latest publication, to which unstinted and exceptional praise has been given, is his *History of Rajputana*. It is a unique and splendid work that has thrown all other works on the Rajputs into the shade and has placed the author in the front rank of honest as well as painstaking historians. Though it is serious history—not a romance—as history is understood in our time, and though not bedizened with rhetorical flourishes, it affords quite interesting reading. It is of great use to students of Rajput history and has filled their long-felt need. It bears all the features of its predecessors. All available information has been utilized in it and in the foot-notes of almost every page of the book the original authorities have been cited. No facts—unascertained or unauthenticated by ample evidence and no conclusions that cannot be proved have been inserted in it. By a thorough investigation of large fields of study and by a close inspection of a medley of heterogeneous material bearing on the history of Rajputana, the author has been able to discover numerous spurious documents and point out many an error not only in Tod's work which he has reshaped on a more scientific model in the light of epigraphical researches partially made by himself, but also in later compositions. Besides, a critical examination of bardic accounts has made it possible for him to expose in them innumerable legends, fictions and romances apt to mislead those who are not endowed with critical faculty.

The whole work will probably extend to ten volumes. Only three volumes have hitherto appeared. They deal entirely with the history of Mewar.

The preface to the book, covering the first four chapters of the first volume, gives a geographical and an historical account of Rajputana in general. It is at once interesting and informing. The learned historian discusses in it the origin of the Rajput race, sets out and ably controverts the arguments adduced by scholars like Vincent Smith and Bhandarkar on this point and arrives at the conclusion that the Rajputs have sprung from the primitive, unsophisticated Kshattriyas from whom they have inherited the Vedic civilization and that no element, peculiarly foreign, is discernible in them. In order to form an accurate notion of what Mr. Ojha has done to regenerate Rajput glory, one must read this monumental and epoch-making work which deserves a wider circle of readers than it possesses at present. "It will," to quote Dr. Barnett, "indeed be a goodly monument to the glories of Rajputana, a true *Kirtistambha*" and when "completed, it will," observes the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of Great Britain and Ireland, "form a contribution of permanent value to the history of Northern India, being based upon a foundation of learning, industry, and sobriety of judgment." No scholar is, to Dr. Vogel's mind, more competent to accomplish it than Mr. Ojha who has devoted his whole life to the investigation of the historical records of his native country. Mr. Ojha is, writes the editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, "an exceptional scholar of antiquity, the highest authority on Palaeography." "His reputation as a scholar is," adds the same editor, "not limited to India, but extends to Germany, England, America, etc. Eminent Western scholars, like Professors Kielhorn, Hoernle, etc., have been impressed by his powers of research and have not only deeply appreciated its results but are also keen admirers of his erudition." The editor concludes by recommending the book not only to the students of history but also to every Hindi-knowing person in general and every Rajasthani in particular as 'a gem to be treasured.' The *United India and Indian States* rightly regards the Rai Bahadur as "one of the greatest antiquarians of India" and "the greatest authority on the history of Rajputana." "From Tod to Ojha is," in the opinion of the latter, "a transition from the bard to the historian." In its December (1928) number, the *Indian Historical Quarterly* records :

> 'It is only necessary to acknowledge that all students of Rajput history must ever remain grateful to the author for the most brilliant work that he has produced at the cost of stupendous study and labour. As had been anticipated in the review of the first fasciculus, the name of the author is a guarantee that all that is worth knowing would find place in his work. There is hardly any evidence which he has left untouched and unexamined, and probably no other book of Indian scholarship published in recent years shows such a mastery of the subject, painstaking scholarship and accuracy of judgment.'

The following passages are taken from the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeo-

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logy for the year 1926, published by the Kern Institute, Leiden (Holland) :

'In the century which has passed an enormous advance has been made in Archæological research all over India. As far as Rajputana is concerned, this progress is in no small measure due to the exertions of Pandit Gauri Shankar Ojha. In composing his present work (History of Rajputana), he has throughout utilized the rich inscriptional materials which have been partially collected and made available by himself. . . . . We understand that the whole work will come to some 3,000 pages. It is not, however, on account of the vastness of its scope alone that Pandit Gauri Shankar Ojha's *Magnum Opus* lays claim to our gratitude and admiration. It is owing to the high qualities of scholarship which it exhibits.'

For ten years or more, Mr. Ojha has been the editor of the *Nagari Pracharani Patrika*, the well-known Hindi research journal of Benares, and he has, in addition to the books referred to above, written many original essays of great historical value and importance. Almost all his writings bear the stamp of his genius and are distinguished for fulness of observation, soundness of reasoning and impartiality of judgment. They are also remarkable for method and accuracy. Moreover, they are strongly marked with an utter absence of bombast, pomposity and extravagance and are absolutely free from exaggeration, imagination, fabrication, ostentation and ornamentation. The worthy and self-respecting Pandit never attempts to please those who wield influence or roll in riches by literary artifices nor does he ever indulge in the licence of invention to attract the attention of the idle classes. He has a passion for the historical science which is stronger than vulgar ambition and commercial spirit. For nearly forty years he has been standing in the limelight and enjoying celebrity but during this long period he has never become a spoiled child of the public.

Prompted by the desire to make his works accessible to his fellow-countrymen in general and to Rajputs in particular, the patriotic historian has, instead of expressing himself in his own mother-tongue, Gujarati, adopted Hindi as a medium for his thoughts. That he has made vigorous efforts to enrich the Hindi literature and has materially contributed to its study cannot be questioned. His attitude in this matter is sure to be a great factor in the making of the greater India of the future. May we hope that the noble example set by him will be followed by at least some other Indian scholars. The high qualities of scholarship displayed by Mr. Ojha in his works were acknowledged and appreciated not only by scholars but also by the Government of India. Consequently, in 1908, he was placed in charge of the Ajmer Museum where he is, despite the weight of years, still continuing his labours with a light heart. In 1914 the title of Rai Bahadur was bestowed on him and in 1928 he was invested with the additional title of Mahamahopadhyaya.

Mr. Ojha takes a peculiar interest in the Rajputs and has many personal friends among them. For over four decades he has lived in Rajputana and has all along been actively engaged in historical researches that have enabled him to discover numerous important documents, unravel various knotty points, explode many absurd theories, put Tod's famous book through the mill again from beginning to end and reconstruct the history of Mewar. While he was at Udaipur, his position gave for him many opportunities to equip himself with the necessary outfit of an historian. In order to look at the remains of antiquity with his own eyes, explore the depositories of historical records and collect the raw material for his work he travelled much. There is not a place of historical importance in India which was not visited by him during his extensive travels. He has made every sacrifice and has devoted everything—time, money, energy, activity,—to this labour of love. He cares more for the thing he undertakes to do than for himself. He is a self-denying worker, capable of working unweariedly hour after hour. The vast strength of his frame is proof against weariness. Even for a moment he is never idle, never dull. The virtue of diligence has struck deep root in his character. This virtue it is which has made him what he is to-day. From his very childhood he has inculcated the habit of industry which has become organic by dint of continued practice. It cannot be denied that among Indian historians there are very few who have toiled harder and made so lasting a mark on their profession as this veteran zealot. Though much over sixty, he has the energy of a young man. On his head he has, so to speak, the snows of years and in his heart the fire of youth. He is of middle stature and massive build, possessed of great conversational power. In appearance he is the personification of dignity. One is much impressed by the grand figure

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clad in *achkan* and red turban. He lives in old Rajput style and has no fondness for show in dress.

Mr. Ojha is a *Sanatanist* of liberal views and a shrewd reasoner. He does not care much for dogmas and is ever ready to discard what is not warranted by reasoning. He is his own master. In some cases he takes quite an independent stand and abides by his own principles.

Who the Bengali Muhammadans Are?

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

IN all political and civic matters the Muhammadans of India claim preferential and special treatment, because they are "politically important" as a community. They say they are "politically important" as they were once the rulers of India; the whilom conquerers from whom the Britishers wrested the sceptre. The Britishers readily acknowledge their "political importance"; because the Muhammadans readily lend themselves to their Imperial game of "Divide and Rule" and are deluded catspaws in checking the nascent nationalism of the Hindus; because the Muhammadans for a few loaves and fishes of office and official patronage make themselves the tools in counterbalancing the Hindu effort for the greater freedom of India; and they are thus "politically important" to them in keeping India divided and subjugated.

Whatever justification there may be for this claim by the Muhammadans of other parts of India, the same cannot apply to the Bengali Muhammadans. Let us examine scrutinizingly the Bengali Muhammadans' claim.

Bengal, where every second person is a Muslim, has a larger population of Muslims than all Arabia, Turkey and Persia combined. The Panjab has almost as many Muslims as the land of Egypt. But though India may have more Muslims than any other country, India is not a Muslim country.

Who these Bengali Muhammadans are and to what extent they have Islamized themselves require careful consideration. Broadly speaking, an overwhelmingly large number of them are descendants of Hindu converts, and even now in social and religious observances follow the Hindu social usages and religious customs. The foreign element in them is exceedingly small, and whatever foreign element there may be, it is diluted by repeated intermarriages with the native element in course of centuries. History does not speak of Bakhtiar Khilji or of any other invader having brought their womenfolk with them. So in the very first or second generation there has been dilution of blood.

Elliot in his *History of India* says with reference to the conquest of Sind by the early Arab invaders that they came "in several military colonies, seeking solace for their lost homes in the arms of native women of the country, and leaving their lands and plunder to be inherited by their Sindo-Arab descendants." The point is that these alliances, forced as they were, resulted in conversion to Islam. It is not meant or argued that no one in Bengal is of foreign origin, or kept his blood pure. There are a few families, such as the Nizamat family of Murshidabad, who belong to this category; but their number can be counted on fingers' ends.

The Census Commissioner for India observes

"that while the Muhammadans of the eastern tract (*i.e.*, Bengal) and of Madras were *almost entirely descendants of converts from Hinduism*, by no means a large proportion, even of the Muhammadans of the Punjab, are really of foreign blood, the estimate of the Punjab Superintendent being about 15 per cent." (The italics are mine).

The racial origin of the Mussalmans of India has been thus estimated in *Revue du Monde Mussalman,—Annuaire* 1925:

"Arabs—About 200,000 Arab immigrants chiefly in Sind and occasionally elsewhere. They are Qurayshi Sayyids; Hadraumatis in Hyderabad, etc. There are a few Somalis, or Habshis in the Bombay Presidency.

Persians.—About 300,000.

Turks.—About 300,000 known as Mughals.

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Afghans or Pathans.—3,500,000 in all the provinces except the Deccan.

Hindu origin.—The great majority of the Muslims of India are converts, or descendants of converts, and are chiefly found in the social classes Sheikes and Julaha. The number of the latter is increasing. They come from the Aryo-Dravidian races in the north, and from the Dravidian in the South."

The total number of Muhammadans in India including the Indian States is sixty-nine millions. According to the above estimate the percentage of foreign element is slightly above six.

Sir Edward Gait estimates the proportion of foreign blood among the Muhammadans of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa at one-sixth or sixteen per cent. He gives certain figures, from which if we exclude the Bihar and Orissa figures, the proportion for the Bengal Muhammadans alone becomes about ten or twelve per cent.

Townsend in his *Asia and Europe* estimates that at least ninety per cent of the present Mussalman inhabitants of India are Indians by blood, as much children of the soil as the Hindus, and that only ten per cent or less, are descended from immigrants.

The similarity of physical features between the Koches and the Muhammadans of North Bengal is striking. Bryan Hodgson in *J. A. S. B.* 1 (849), observes that when Biswa Singh, the founder of the Cooch Behar dynasty, apostatized to orthodox Hinduism with the upper classes in the earlier part of the sixteenth century, they began to oppress and ill-treat the uncoverted tribesmen; and the unconverted Koches instead of submitting to helotry as Hindus joined wholesale in the ranks of the more democratic religion of Islam.

There is a close resemblance between the Muhammadans of East Bengal on the one hand and the Pods, and the Chandals on the other. Sir Herbert Risley in his *Peoples of India* has given certain anthropometric data about the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal, which place them between the Pods and the Chandals in his anthropometric series.

Mr. Beveridge, who conducted the first census of 1872, was of opinion that an overwhelmingly large number of the Muhammadans are descendants of local converts. Comparing the similarity of the proportion of minors among the Muhammadans of certain areas with proportion of minors among the aboriginal tribes of those areas, he was of opinion that there must have been wholesale conversions of the aboriginal tribes or autochthonous races to Islamism.

About their religious observances the Census Commissioner for India in 1921 observes:

"There are among the Muhammadan population, chiefly among converts from Hinduism, whose religious ritual and exercises have a very strong tinge of Hinduism and *who retain caste* and *observe Hindu festivals and ceremonies* along with those of their own religion. Thus the Dudekula of the Madras Presidency derives its religious exercises from both Hindu and Muhammadan exemplars, and the famous shrine at Nagore attracts Hindus as well as Muhammadans to its annual festival. This phenomenon, which is found practically wherever the two communities live side by side, merely illustrates the *essentially primitive character of the religion of the illiterate and uncultured masses which can find expression in the ritual of any religious system that absorbs them.* Thus the rigidity and intolerance of view, which is a marked feature of the religion of Islam in its purer forms does not extend to the masses, who are quite willing to recognize and assist the efforts of their neighbours to keep on peaceful terms with the unknown powers."

Even in the matter of inheritance, which vitally affects an individual, it is expected that a Muhammadan would follow the *Shariat* and a Hindu the *Shastras.* As under the Muhammadan law, both sons and daughters inherit the properties of the deceased parents, a wife inherits her husband and by re-marrying carries away her share in the properties of her first husband, it is to be expected that in a locality where the Muhammadans are preponderant, the sub-division of land would be more minute and the areas of individual tenancies and holdings smaller than in the localities where the Hindus form the bulk of the population. No such result is apparent from a careful perusal of the various District Settlement Reports; whatever differences there may be are easily accounted for on account of the local conditions and peculiarities which are entirely independent of the composition of the population.

Let us make the following quotation from the *Provincial Gazetteer* of Bengal:

"The Muhammadans of Bengal are mostly, in name at least, Sunnis. But the great majority are of Hindu origin and their knowledge of faith they now profess seldom extends beyond the three cardinal doctrines of the Unity of God, the Mission of Muhammad, and the Truth of the Koran. It was until recently the regular practice of low-class Muhammadans to join in the Durga Puja and other Hindu festivals, and although they have been purged of many superstitions, many still remain. In particular they are very careful about omens and auspicious days. Dates for weddings are often

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fixed after consulting a Hindu astrologer; bamboos are not cut, and the building of new houses not commenced, on certain days of the week, and journeys are often undertaken only after referring to the Hindu almanac to see if the proposed day is auspicious. When disease is prevalant, Sitala and Raksha Kali are worshipped. Dharmaraj and Manasa or Bisahari are also venerated by many ignorant Muhammadans. Sasthi is worshipped when a child is born. Even now in some parts of Bengal they observe the Durga Puja and buy new clothes for the festival like the Hindus. . . . At marriages the bridegroom frequently follows the Hindu practice of smearing the bride's forehead with vermilion. Offerings are made to the Gramya Devata (village god) before sowing or transplanting rice seedlings, and exorcism is restored to in case of sickness.

"Apart from Hindu superstitions, there are certain forms of worship common amongst the Muhammadans which are not based on the Koran. The most common of these is the adoration of certain Pirs; and closely allied to the adoration of Pirs is the homage paid to certain mythical persons such as Khwaja Khizr.

Sir Herbert Risely in his *Peoples of India* while dealing with social precedence among Muhammadans makes the following observations:

"On its social side the religion of Muhammad is equally opposed to the Hindu scheme of a hierarchy of castes, an elaborate stratification of society based upon subtle distinctions of food, drink, dress, marriage, and ceremonial usage. In the sight of God, and of His Prophet all followers of Islam are equal. In India, however, *caste is in the air*: its contagion has spread even to the Muhammadans; and we find its evolution proceeding on characteristically Hindu lines.

In another place he finds that

Even Christianity has not altogether escaped the subtle contagion of caste....

In both communities foreign descent forms the highest claim to social distinction; in both promotion cometh from the West. As the twice-born Aryan is to the mass of Hindus, so is the Muhammadans of *alleged* Arab, Persian, Afghan or Moghal origin to the rank and file of his co-religionists. And just as in the traditional Hindu system men of the higher groups could marry women of the lower while the converse process was vigorously condemed, so within the higher ranks of the Muhammadans a Saiyad will marry a Sheikh's daughter but will not give his daughter in return; and inter-marriage between the upper circle of *soi-disant* foreigners and the main body of Indian Muhammadans is generally reprobated, except in parts of the country where the aristocratic element is small and must arrange its marriages as best as it can. Even there, however, it is only under the stress of great poverty that a member of the *Ashraf* or "noble" class will give his daughter to one of the *Ajlaf* or "low people," as converts of indigenous origin are called in Bengal. Of course, the limits of the various groups are not defined as sharply as they are with the Hindus. The well-known proverb, which occurs in various forms in different parts of Northern India:

"*Last year I was a Jolaha; now I am a Sheikh; and next year if prices rise, I shall become a Saiyad.*"

.....marks the difference, though analogous changes of status are not unknown among Hindus, and, as Mr. Gait observes, "promotion is not so rapid in reality as it is in the proverb." But speaking generally it may be said that the social cadre of the higher ranks of Muhammadans is based on hypergamy with a tendency in the direction of endogamy, while the lower functional groups are strictly endogamous, and are organized on the model of *regular castes* with councils and officers who enforce the observance of caste rules by the time-honoured sanction of boycotting.

According to Mr. Gait, the Bengal Muhammadans recognize two main social divisions: (1) Ashraf or Sharif and (2) Ajlaf, which in Bengali has been corrupted to Atrap. The first, which means "noble" or "persons of high extraction," includes all undoubted descendants of foreigners and *converts from the higher castes of Hindus*. All other Muhammadans, including the functional groups to be presently mentioned, and all converts of lower rank are collectively known by the contemptuous term Ajlaf, "wretches" or "mean people"; they are also called Kamina or Itar, "base" or "Razib" a corruption of Rizab, "worthless." This category includes the various classes of converts who are known as Nao Muslim in Bihar and *Nasya* in North Bengal, but who in East Bengal where their numbers are greatest, have usually succeeded in establishing their claim to be called Sheikh. It also includes various functional groups such as that of the Jolaha or weaver, dhunia or cotton-carder, Kulu or oil-presser, kunjra or vegetable-seller, hajjam or barbar, darzi or tailor, and the like. Of these divisions, the Ashraf takes no count. To him all alike are Ajlaf. This distinction, which is primarily one between the Muhammadans of foreign birth and those of local origin, corresponds very closely to the Hindu division of the community into dwijas or castes of twice-born rank, comprising the various classes of the Aryan invaders, and the Sudras or aborigines whom they subdued. Like the higher Hindu castes, the Ashraf consider it degrading to accept menial service or to handle the plough. The traditional occupation of the Saiyads is the priesthood, while the Mughals and Pathans correspond to the Kshatriyas of the Hindu regime.

In some places a third class, called Arzal or "lowest of all" is added. It consists of the very lowest castes, such as the Halalkhor, Lalbegi, Abdal, and Bediya, with whom no other Muhammadan would associate, and WHO ARE FORBIDDEN TO ENTER THE MOSQUE OR TO USE THE PUBLIC BURIAL GROUND."

In another place, Risley observes that there is a

"vital distinction between the Muhammadans who claim distinguished foreign descent and the native Indian converts who, in Bengal at any rate, were recruited from the dregs of the Hindu community, and embraced Islam as a short-cut to social promotion."

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Hindu influence is patent even in their marriage practices. Risley observes that

"the descendants of Hindu converts, and especially the Jolaha weavers and Dhunia wool-carders, are not free from the Hindu prejudice against the re-marriage of widows. But this feeling finds no support from the religion and traditions of Islam and is rebuked by the example of the Prophet himself. It is therefore weaker and less general than among Hindus, and unions between widowers and widows are recognized as legitimate and even appropriate. These influences are reflected in the statistics, which show only ten per cent of widows among women between fifteen and forty, while in the case of Hindus the proportion is as high as fourteen."

Sir Edward Gait in the Census Report, Bengal 1901, says :

"The conventional division of the Muhammadans into four tribes—Shekh Saiyad, Mughal and Pathan has very little application to this province. In the proper sense of the words the Shekhs would be Arabs, and the Saiads the descendants of Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, by his wife Fatima, but in Bengal both groups include a great number of persons of purely local origin. This is especially the case with Shekh, which in many parts, *instead of connoting a foreigner, does exactly the reverse*, and raises the presumption that the persons who so describe themselves are converts of Indian extraction."

"A striking resemblance between the Muhammadan functional groups and Hindu castes is that they have the same system of caste management. The Jolahas, Kunjras, Kulus, Dais, Darzies, Dhunias, etc. all have their governing committees (*i. e.*, panchayets)."

"The panchayet takes cognizance of all breaches of caste custom in respect of trade, religion or morality. . . . Among the social offences of which the panchayet takes cognizance may be mentioned *the eating of forbidden food*, adultery, divorce without due cause, elopement of wife or daughter, . . . *marrying women of other castes* (whether of higher or lower rank is immaterial), eating with or smoking from the *hukka* of out-castes, etc."

"These panchayets are found usually among the functional groups, . . . The authority of the panchayet extends to social as well as trade matters, and we have seen that marriage with people of other communities is one of the offences of which the governing body takes cognizance. The result is that these groups are often *as strictly endogamous as Hindu castes*. The prohibition on inter-marriages extends to higher as well as to lower castes and a Dhunia, for example, may marry no one but a Dhunia. . . . A member of one such group cannot ordinarily gain admission to another, and he retains the designation of the community in which he was born even if he abandons its distinctive ocupation and takes to other means of livelihood. Thus, Mr. Abu A. Ghaznavi, a Zemindar of Mymensingh to whom I am indebted for an excellent report on the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, says :

'There are thousands of Jolahas who are butchers yet they are still known as Jolahas. Similarly there are Kulus, who are traders, glaziers, gunsmiths, money-lenders, etc., but they remain Kulus all the same."

"The Muhammadans of lower rank, who belong to certain functional groups, are just as strictly endogamous as the members of Hindu castes. Amongst the low-class Shekhs most of whom are the descendants of Hindu converts, the rule is less strict, but endogamy exists in practice. . . ."

About the rules and practice of commensality among the Muhammadans, Sir Edward Gait says :

An Ashraf—"a man of high position will not sit down to eat from the same dish, or in the same place with a man who is distinctly his inferior." "In the case of Ajlaf castes, the usual rule appears to be that each caste should eat alone."

Mr. Muddiman (afterwards Sir Alexander Muddiman, Governor of the United Provinces) with reference to the Bengali Muhammadans, remarks :

"With regard to the question of eating with outsiders, I have, after conversation with many Muhammadans of all classes, come to this conclusion. All Muhammadans are in actual practice more or less infected with the Hindu prejudice as to eating with outsiders. Curiously enough, educated Muhammadans, while denying that they have any prejudices on this point, probably infringe their own pronouncement more frequently than others. On the other hand, uneducated men freely protest that they will not eat with certain classes (*e. g.* Shekhs and Jolahas will not eat with the Muhammadan Teli or Dhobi), but in practice they often do so."

Sir Edward Gait gives a list of fifty-five Muhammadan castes. The Census Superintendent, Bengal, observes in 1921 :

"There are functional sections, such as the Jolahas and Kulus, and there are what purport to be separate races, the Pathans and the Moghuls, though the fashion now-a-days is to deny the existence of rigid partitions on the lines of the functional sections, and the distinctions of race have been almost obliterated. Yet the fact remains that a Sheikh will not marry a Kulu and in some parts one class of Muhammadan will not even feed with another. In Tippera there are Muhammadan Beharas who carry palkis, with whom the ordinary Muhammadan cultivator will not sit down to a meal."

The proportion of foreign blood among the Muhammadans of India in the different provinces can be estimated in another way.

The actual number in thousands of the Syeds, Pathans, Jolahas and Sheikhs according to the 1921 Census, as well as the total number of the Muhammadans in the different provinces and their respective percentages are shown in the following table :

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	Total Muhammadan Pop. in 000's	Syeds in 000's	Syeds p.c.	Pathans in 000's	Pathans p.c.	Jolahas in 000's	Jolahas p.c.	Sheikhs in 000's	Sheikhs p.c.
Baluchistan	367	21	5·70	192	52·3	0	0	0	0
N.-W. Frontier Prov.	2,063	90	4·36	889	43·1	35	1·7	18	·89
Panjab	11,444	261	2·28	284	2·48	656	5·7	337	3·0
U.P.	6,481	279	4·30	911	14·05	882	13·5	1,438	22·2
Bihar and Orissa	3,690	104	2·82	227	6·15	841	22·7	1,699	46·0
Bengal	25,211	140	0·55	306	1·21	255	1·01	24,415	96·8
Assam	2,202	0	0	0	0	0	0	2,066	93·8
Bombay (including Sind)	3,820	155	4·06	147	3·85	0	0	921	24·0

It will be apparent that as we go east the proportion of Syeds and Pathans generally decrease. The Jolaha figures seem to mark the areas in which the lower classes of the community were converted *en masse* to a faith which seemed to hold out to them the prospect of a social status unattainable under the rigid system of caste. The Pathan statistics denote a different order of phenomena and may be taken to indicate roughly, the degree of diffusion of the main body of the foreign Mussalman element and their descendants. The Syed distribution on the other hand seems to give some clue to the distribution of the upper classes of the immigrant Mussalmans.

In using the above figures, one word of caution is necessary especially with regard to the Bengal figures. The Census Superintendent observes :

"The weaving section among the Muhammadans, the Jolahas, was returned 446,973 in 1901, 252,425 in 1911 and 255,164 in 1921. The great reduction is due to the dislike these peoples have for the term Jolaha and all it implies, which has led them to give up returning themselves by it. That the number has not gone lower is due to the fact that some enumerators of the higher classes were jealous that those, who were really Jolahas, should not be returned as anything else, and it is known that a number was so returned in spite of their protest, especially in Faridpore and Jessore, where they were returned in greatest numbers. In Pabna, on the other hand, where there were nearly 84,000 Jolahas returned in 1901, the number returned in 1921 was no more than 11,426. Similarly in Mymensingh, where over 30,000 were returned in 1901, the present figure is but 4,802."

The numbers who returned themselves as Pathans increased from 215,982 in 1901, 250,898 in 1911, and to 306,165 in 1921, "the increase being greatest in the Dacca Division ... and the designation seems to be very popular, especially in Mymensingh and Backerganj."

Even now conversion to Islam is going on—slowly, silently and steadily. Its extent and method may be open to dispute, but it is going on all the same. Let us hear what an eminent Christian missionary, Dr. Titus, has got to say about Muhammadan "Missionary work since 1800" :

"The work of individuals has been going on as before; and, having come under critical review, results can be more accurately evaluated. In the early part of the 19th century there was a remarkable revival of the Muhammadan religion in Bengal, particularly under the inspiration of the Wahabi reformers, Haji Shariat Allah and his son Dudhu Miyan, who won many converts from among unbelievers. Nor can the conversions be said to have stopped at the present time.

Since the middle of the 19th century there has been a widespread revival of Islam all over India, and the annual conversions are estimated anywhere from 10,000 to 600,000. Some parts of the country report no missionary activity whatever, while in others it is very marked, notably in Bengal and on the Malabar Coast. But there are no means of judging the accuracy of any of the statements made." ... "It is said that between the years 1901 and 1911 conversions frequently took place at the Jami Masjids at Lahore and Delhi. At the former 2,000 are said to have accepted Islam and 646 at the latter, while no fewer than 40,000 must have embraced Islam during the decade in the Punjab alone. The converts there were mostly from the lower classes of the Chuhars and Chamars." (Punjab Census Report, 1911). The magnitude of the conversion will be realized that it was sufficient to alter the relative percentages of Hindus and Muhammadans by about half.

... So numerous have the conversions from Hinduism been that there is a decided tendency for the Muhammadans of both the west and the east coasts of Southern India, to retain the aboriginal type from which they are drawn ... The increase has been so rapid as to make it possible that, in a few years, the whole of the lower grades of Hindu society of the west coast may become Muhammadans."

This conversion has been going on for centuries. Persons accused of murder, adultery and other heinous offences were let go unpunished, if they became converts to Islamism. Properties, large landed estates were often confiscated ; and restored on the condition of conversion to Islamism. Economic oppression and political injustice were used as a means to swell the ranks of nominal converts.

That most of the Bengali Muhammadans are descendants of converts, that many of them still retain Hindu customs and social

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usages and that they are far from being true Mussalmans will also be apparent from the following quotations from different official publications.

"The Abdals or Doklas are found in North Bengal, Purnea and Mymensingh. They form a *true caste*, whose occupations are much the same as those of the Hindu Hari. . . . They are regarded as degraded, and other Muhammadans will not eat with them. They may enter the mosque, but are not permitted to worship in company with the better classes, nor are they allowed to be buried in the public cemetery."

"Bediya is a generic term for gipsy in Bengal. Some call themselves Hindus and some Muhammadans. They are, however, far from orthodox. They are not allowed the use of *mosque* or burial ground, and are regarded by the Muhammadans in much the same light as the Chamars by the Hindus."

"Bhagawanis are neither Hindus nor Muhammadans."

"The Muhammadan Bhats are converts from Hinduism. Their title is Rai, and they still have Hindu names. They form a true caste of very low rank. They compose verses and go round singing them, and will accept presents even from the lowest classes. At marriages, they sometimes run beside the bridegroom's *palki* reciting what they consider to be suitable verses. They also appear at the *Sradh* ceremonies of Hindus. Their songs are usually in praise of the Prophet and of Ali and Fatima."

"The Chik and Kasai are butchers, but the former deals only in the meat of sheep and goats, while the latter sells beef; he also sometimes trades in hides. Both communities are strictly endogamous. They rank very low, and the more respectable classes will not associate or eat with them."

"The Dafadar and Naliya or Nalua are mat-making castes of Eastern Bengal. The Dafadar is considered the more respectable of the two, and will not eat or inter-marry with the Naliya. . . . . Both from regular castes of the Hindu pattern."

"The Bansphors of Rajsahi" are a wandering tribe, who make and sell baskets, fans and bamboo articles. They generally leave their dead bodies on sandy places without either burying or burning them. Each man has two names, one Hindu and other Muhammadan. They can pledge their wives to other men; any children born while they are so pledged are divided equally between the pledger and the pledgee. Their disputes are decided by two men of their tribe, one called a Munshi and the other a Pandit; the Pandit wears a *tiki* or small pigtail, like Hindus."

The Rajshahi "abdals serve tobacco prepared in chillums to the people attending *hats* or markets. They do not go through a regular form of marriage and divorce. . . . . No mullah is called in and no formalities as prescribed by the Muhammadan law are gone through." "Other Muhammadans do not eat with them nor do they drink water touched by them."

About some Muhammadan marriage customs the Rajsahi District Gazetteer says:

The *nikah* marriage among the lower classes is often a secondary kind of marriage, which is not far removed from concubinage. If, for instance, a man ill-treats his *nikah* wife or refuses to maintain her, she not only leaves him, but marries another without going through any form of divorce. The second marriage is performed with all due religious formalities, and the former husband does not resent it at all. . . . . A woman again sometimes contracts a second marriage, simply because her husband has not been heard of for sometime, even for so short a period as a year or two."

"An unusual proclivity to marriage is manifested by the cultivators on the borders of Rajsahi and Dinajpore, who do not keep to the orthodox limit of four wives but will marry and re-marry till they have six."

"Certain customs observed by the lower classes of ignorant Musaslmans are tinged by Hindu superstitions. If a child is ill, the Padma Purana, a Hindu religious book, is recited, and if there is cattle disease, Gorakher Laru is sung." "During marriage ceremonies a sort of Puja called mangal chandijay is observed. Pictures are painted on the walls, milk, plantains and *sindur* (vermilion) are placed on the floor, incense is burnt and women sing throughout the night from evening to morning. The general belief is that such a ceremony brings *mangal* or good fortune to the bride and bridegroom."

Among the Muhammadans of Mymensing:

"The practice of observing the sixth day from the child's birth and the seventh month pregnancy by giving presents has been imitated from the Hindus even by the Muhammadans whose homes are in other provinces. If at one time it was at all common for the Muhammadans to wash their pots and mattresses on Lakshmi Puja day and to put on clean clothes after the Durga Puja, the practice has died out since the partition" of 1905.

"Circumcision is not practised generally by the Muhammadans of Netrokona and Iswarganj."

"The Muhammadans of Dinajpore are chiefly descendants of Rajbansis converted by force to Islam or who adopted that religion during the days of Muhammadan rule from motives of policy."

About a curious sect of fakirs, known as fakirs of Baliyadigi, Maulvi Abdul Ali, writing in *J. A. S. B.*, 1903, observes:

"The beliefs and practices of these Fakirs are in many ways anti-Islamic"—"their religious practices are a sort of compromise between Muhammadan and Hindu Jogism."

In Noakhali

"a vast majority of the Shekhs and lower sections of the community are decended from the aboriginal races of the district, some few also from Kayastha converts. Indeed Pir Ambar Shah and Pir Ahmad Khandkar are credited even by Hindu historians with an immense number of conversions, and Muhammadans with surnames of Chanda, Pal, and Dutt are to be found in the district to this day."

"It is true that a large proportion of the Mussalmans (of Khulna) also are descendants of converted Chandals and Pods."

"Among other castes found in Khulna may be

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mentioned the Piralis, the decendants of Hindus who became as Muhammadans because they were outcasted for having been forced to taste or smell forbidden food cooked by a Muhammadan. Some only of the Piralis are Muhammadans, and many of them still retain Hindu beliefs and customs. Others have succeeded to a certain extent in recovering their original caste and have remained Hindus."

"The Sheikhs (of Hooghly) account for more than eighty-eight per cent of the total number of Muhammadans. They are found in all thanas, and it is believed that many of them are descendants of Hindu converts, who assumed this title in order to establish a claim to respectability."

"The Jolahas or weavers, and the Kabaris (Kunjras) or vegetable-sellers, rank very low, and no Ashraf will ordinarily marry with them. They follow several Hindu customs. They marry within their own respective castes, excommunicate members for social offences, which may, however, be atoned for by a feast given to their fellow gentlemen, and use COW-DUNG to plaster the floor like Hindus."

In Jessore,

"The Chaklai Mussalmans . . . . are practically ostracised by other Mussalmans. . . . . Whatever may have been the cause, other Mussalmans will not eat or drink with them, nor smoke the same hookha or pipe." They "live in complete isolation. They marry among themselves, and attend only their own tribal ziyafats or feasts."

"The Chotabhagia Muchis are another small outcaste community. They remove night-soil and have been outcasted for so doing; they worship Kali and Satya Narayan."

"The unreformed Muhammadans of lower and uneducated classes (of Burdwan) are deeply infected with Hindu superstitions."

In Midnapore,

"There is not a village inhabited by Muhammadans which is not periodically visited by preachers and maulavis. The visitors do not levy any fee or subscription, but are voluntarily invited to preach from village to village, where they are not only fed very sumptuously, but also offered cash presents in addition. The Hindus generally attend such assemblies and listen to the preachers, ... and some Hindus renounce Hinduism and embrace Islam. The above cause has been at work for a long time. It never attracted public notice owing to the instances of conversion at any particular place being few and far between; but on the whole it has been the chief cause of the gradual increase of the Muhammadan population."

"The Tuntias or Tutias are a Muhammadan caste whose traditional occupation is the cultivation of the mulberry tree for feeding silk worms ... As a community they have a bad reputation, and many of them are professional thieves and dacoits. They are regarded as a degraded class, and other Muhammadans will not give their daughters in marriage, though they have no objection to receiving Tuntia girls as wives."

"The Muhammadans of the district (of Backerganj) must have been largely converts" ...

"They cleave to some extent to Hindu customs, observing the *navanna* and the *dussera* puja and talking of their castes."

"There is a wandering gipsy tribe—Bebajias—who profess Muhammadanism, but do not intermingle with other Muhammadans."

Enough has been said above to show that the Bengali Muhammadan is mostly of local origin, and that his conversion is but skin-deep. If foreign blood be a criterion in determining "political importance," then of those, who are really of foreign blood, those having Mughal blood in their veins can claim more importance than those who have Pathan blood, those having Pathan blood more importance than the Turki blood, and so on. Then again in estimating the relative political importance of a community, or a section of the community, the percentage of foreign blood in its veins should be estimated and calculated. And therefore a scale should be prepared to have the relative importance of the Mughals, the Pathans and other foreign conquerors determined.

Carrying the logic farther, it would seem that the Kabuli money-lender, who is cent per cent of foreign origin and foreign blood, and is uncontaminated by British subjugation of his homeland of Afghanisthan, would be the most 'politically important' personage among the Bengal Muhammadans.

The above account is given to show that the Bengali Muhammadan is not essentially different from the Bengali Hindus, either by race or by language. His claim to a separate recognition is untenable and absolutely unfounded; he has got no justification for it. His religion is but skin-deep; he has got no past and his past is not glorious. He tries to shine in the reflected glory of the Pathan or the Mughal conquerors, forgetting that it was his ancestors who were conquered; that it was his father who was oppressed and, perhaps, forcibly converted.

His attempt belongs to the same plane of absurdity if the Santal Christian convert were to claim that his ancestors came with Clive and conquered Bengal on the glorious field of Plassey in 1757.

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Sinclair Lewis, the American Nobel Prize man

By Dr. SUDHINDRA BOSE

I

FOR the first time in history the Nobel prize in literature, the biggest and best literary honour on earth, was awarded in 1930 to an American, Mr. Sinclair Lewis. Sinclair Lewis is the first citizen of the United States on the Nobel list graced by such names as Gerhart Hauptmann, Romain Rolland, Rabindranath Tagore, Knut Hamsun, Anatole France, William Butler Yeats, George Bernard Shaw, Henri Bergson, Thomas Mann.

Sinclair Lewis declared that he did not expect the Nobel prize in 1930. It came to him as a complete surprise. Galsworthy, Chesterton, Maxim Gorky, and the American Theodore Dreiser have not yet been singled out by the Swedish Academy for the honour. Shortly after Lewis had heard of the award, he protested that prizes meant nothing, that he was just a writing man, that he wrote as well last year as he did now.

Sinclair Lewis is a novelist. He has been translated into thirteen languages. Indeed, he has been translated into European languages more than any other American writer, except Upton Sinclair and Jack London. His books have sold in the millions: in English alone they have totalled over a million and a half copies. Lewis's novels are more a photographic record than an interpretation; but that does not detract from their merit. He recently answered reportorial questions with such replies as these:

"Hell, I don't expose things. I'm a novelist, I hope."

"I don't know what the hell this country needs."

"I shall use the prize money to support a well-known young American author and his family and to enable him to continue writing."

He did not mean that he would hand the money over to a struggling American writer. Lewis meant that he would use the money to help Lewis himself. He said his income last year did not exceed thirty thousand rupees! He has the trait of a frank and an unaffected enjoyment of good fortune.

Mr. Sinclair Lewis was first married in 1914. He was divorced in 1928, and soon after married his present wife. He has a child by each wife. The financial boosting his prize money of over a lakh of rupees given him was somewhat spoiled. As soon as the first Mrs. Lewis heard of the Nobel award she applied in court for rupees 2,400 a month more alimony.

II

The first American Nobel laureate is unconventional. He keeps his mind to a large extent free from traditional ideas. This is all to the good of Lewis, for none but a free mind can pierce the shell of conventional forms and go to the heart of things. Great creative writers are men and women who have the spirit of mental non-conformity. They do not allow the keen blade of conventionalism to amputate their individuality and originality by inches. How could a highly proper and eminently respectable person, who never permits himself to do or think anything which is out of the ordinary, be a great writer? Such a person may write successful history, biography, or mere entertaining fiction, but is not likely to write immortal works in the realm of ideas.

Aside from clever story-tellers like Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper, the chief nineteenth century American literary names which have lived into the twentieth century are Ralph Waldo Emerson, Edgar Allan Poe, Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Henry D. Thoreau, Nathaniel Hawthorne, John Greenleaf Whittier, Harriet Beecher Stowe, William Cullen Bryant, Walt Whitman, Mark Twain, all nonconformists in one way or another.

It is not an accident that the two greatest literary names in England today are George Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells—both dissenters from customary views of life. Neither is it an accident that the American writer who is the most widely read around the world is Upton Sinclair, a heretic in many

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ways. Sinclair Lewis, too, has in him a strain of heresy. I shall not be surprised to read some day that Lewis got a foot-hold in European letters by some confusion of his name with that of Upton Sinclair, a confusion that is sometimes found in this country, among the little read. Their careers have not been very different. Both are radicals, not identically of the same views, it is true; but very much alike in their insurgency.

Sinclair Lewis is very democratic. He always carries a firm, confident bearing as befits a true democrat. The following cable dispatch from Stockholm to the American press describes how Dr. Raman and Sinclair Lewis received their awards from the Swedish King: "Raman's turn came first. He stepped down from the stage, glided rather than walked to the King, bowed his turbanned head to the floor, and was given his prize. Lewis held his head high, then walked from the stage and stood erect before the King. When he received his prize, he shook hands with the King to accompaniment of frantic applause."

An amusing tale from Stockholm, where went the winners of the recent Nobel prize, has to do with a King, an author, and two cigarettes: one lighted, the other unlighted. The formal banquet given to the Nobel prize men was proceeding solemnly as such gloomy affairs always do, when King Gustav lighted and began to smoke a cigarette. Sinclair Lewis, it is reported, looked greatly pleased at the chance to relieve his boredom. He promptly reached into his own pocket for a much-desired cigarette. Alas! he was at once informed by a flunky that only the King could smoke in the King's presence. It was terrible—for Lewis. He could not understand such exclusiveness. But a King has to have some rights. This may be the last royal prerogative left. Lewis might retaliate by making a novel about it.

In 1926 Mr. Sinclair Lewis was offered for his novel, *Arrowsmith*, the thousand-dollar Pulitzer prize, the highest literary award in the United States; but he rejected that proffer as "dangerous." The Pulitzer prize is given "for the American novel published during the year which shall best present the wholesome atmosphere of American life and the highest standard of American manners and manhood." Sinclair Lewis held that a prize under such conditions would put a compulsion on writers to become safe, polite, obedient and sterile. He also sounded a note of warning when he declared that "the administrators of the Pulitzer prize may become a supreme court, a college of cardinals, so rooted and so sacred that to challenge them will be to commit blasphemy." He has now accepted the Nobel prize with justifiable pride saying that there is enormous difference between the two prizes. The Nobel prize, he explained, is an international prize with no strings attached. The Pulitzer prize, on the other hand, is cramped by restrictive provision. It suggests "not actual literary merit, but an obedience to whatever code of good form may chance to be popular at the moment."

Mr. Sinclair Lewis

III

Mr. Lewis is not yet past forty-six. He is thin, tall, over six feet, red-faced, sandy-haired man. The alertness of his blue eyes, the sudden gesture of his long hands, and his quick-paced thought and speech proclaim him at once as a high-tension American.

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He has also that nicest trait of the nicest Americans: a frank and friendly directness. To those who are personally acquainted with him, Sinclair Lewis has nothing of pompous, dignified middle age about him. He is too humorous to be dignified. Among friends, he is a prolific, tireless, boisterous talker.

Lewis's father is a country doctor. His mother was the daughter of a doctor. Lewis has also a surgeon brother, and a physician uncle. As a boy, Lewis was often drafted to assist in surgical operations by giving the anaesthetic or sterilizing implements.

In school he was not distinguished for his scholarship. When he graduated from high school, he stood fifth in a class of nine. He was, however, noted for what seemed to some, "fantastic ideas." He would not swallow ready-made opinions, and spurned all such Christian dogmas as Jonah and the whale. With his illimitable curiosity and restless mind, he was in constant rebellion against cast-iron religious creeds and social formulas.

At the proper age young Sinclair went to Yale University, which has more or less a conservative atmosphere. He was different from the rest of the undergraduates, and they regarded him with hostility and indifference. He did not seem to fit into the common mould. Gifted with an original mind, he saw everything from a different angle and in different terms from those about him. Years later when he had become the most widely known Yale graduate of his generation and fame was his, he was requested at a dinner of Yale class-mates to speak. He sprang up, reminded them of the scant attention they paid him during his lonely student days, and told them to go to the devil. His adjectivial passion was too hot to be set in type in India.

Lewis is a gorgeously colourful character. When he took his B. A. degree from Yale University in 1908, he presented no proof of his genius. The immediate task before him was to earn his living, which he found deplorably difficult. At Yale he wrote poetry and short stories for the University magazine. Even as a child he had a yearning to be a writer, for he had been impressed by the respect and awe with which the village newspaper editor was regarded. With an urge to write, he now turned to newspaper work. As a reporter he drifted for a number of years from one paper to another. All the time he was being gnawed by something within him to write fiction. Possessed of cataclysmic energy, he began to feel within him the ache of ambition. At night after he was through with his gruelling work as a news-gatherer, he would write short stories and novels. Then he became advertising manager of a publishing house in New York.

Lewis is still a boy personally, despite twenty years of literary work, ten of which have been spent in the most glaring limelight. He published his first novel in 1914—that is, his first novel under his own name. Two years before that he had written, under a pseudonym, a book called *Hike and the Aeroplane* which does not appear now in any list of his works. Sinclair Lewis writes all his novels, with two powerful slender fingers, on a flimsy little typewriter. He has a dazzling capacity for grinding work. To him work is the source of greatest delight in life. For sheer joy of being alive, he is almost unrivalled. Today he is the youngest, most interesting and "the most important novelist in America," and the first American to receive the Nobel prize for literature.

IV

Mr. Sinclair Lewis is the author of nearly a dozen volumes. The Nobel Committee in giving him the prize did not designate any one book which entitled him to the award. The Committee recognized the merit of the whole of his work which is fairly even, when the earlier novels are set aside as experimental. It is, however, generally assumed that the three books which had most to do in winning the Nobel prize for him were *Main Street* (1920), *Babbitt* (1922), and *Elmer Gantry* (1927). Let us see what they are like.

In *Main Street* Sinclair Lewis has tried to tell the story of small-town America. It is a tale of dull mediocrity and smug self-complacency. Carol Milford, a college-bred girl with a flair for "high brow" culture, marries Doctor Will Kennicutt, a small-town physician. She tries to uplift the natives of Gopher Prairie, situated in the heart of agricultural America. The people of Gopher Prairie are dull of wit, dead to art and literature, selfish, grasping, slander-loving, ignoble. Carol herself is a shallow sort of a reformer. She hates Main Street at sight, and in the seven or eight years of her life that are recorded she is not

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reconciled to it. She tries many reforms, but they all fail. Here is "dullness made God."

There is scarcely any plot, yet the book is intensely absorbing. *Main Street* is a landscape of the present-day American small town with its hopes, aspirations, foibles and sordidness. It is like life itself, so extraordinarily real. It is doubtful if any one since the days of Jane Austen and George Elliot, who depicted provincial England, has portrayed smug little burgs with such fidelity and vividness. Critics threw their hats in the air saying how good, how fresh and how unconventional the book was. The nation sat up and gasped. Stuart P. Sherman, one of the foremost literary critics of the United States, declared that *Main Street* has social importance because "more thoroughly than any novel since *Uncle Tom's Cabin* it has shaken our complacency with regard to the average quality of our civilization." It was *Main Street* which brought Sinclair Lewis's name before the American public with startling brilliance.

Babbitt is even a better novel than *Main Street*; it is one of the finest social satires in English language. Sinclair Lewis finds the setting for his satire on middle-class life in a good-sized American city, Zenith. And to symbolize this life, he takes an average American citizen, George F. Babbitt. Zenith is the brightest and bloomiest sunflower of God's great American garden. And Babbitt, its hero, is a marvel. He is an upstanding he-member of the dominant middle-class, the finished product of the snappy American civilization. In spite of his marked aversion to intellectual pursuits, there is in him certain juice and zest. He is interested in automobiles radios, bath-tubs, politics, and scandals. He is fat and well-fed. He goes to the Rotary Club and hears its morons bawl out usual idiotic banalities. He worships the Great God, Business, together with its attendant minor deities. He is the go-getter incarnate. To follow Babbitt for a single day is to get a devastatingly true view of the worst in American life: its vulgarity and crudeness, noise and glare, motor and movie madness, aimless rush and spiritual emptiness. *Babbitt* is a splendid picture of bourgeois America with its kaleidescope of "restless" women, petty society, and one illicit love affair after another. To read this book is to get an impression that the United States is grand and glorious in parts, like a certain celebrated egg.

The critical world, on both sides of the Atlantic, said that *Babbitt* was a supreme achievement in fiction. It became the best seller in America and England. *Babbitt* is full of riotous humour, yet it has sharp undertones of irony in it. High-toned patriots condemn it as a book of destructive criticism; but it destroys nothing except shams and hypocrisies and dishonesties and frauds. It attacks "Babbittism," the cult of the Rotarian, the booster, the smart business man, in fact, the whole order of the ready-made man and his machine-made civilization. The book may be said to contain both the meat and spice of all the works of Sinclair Lewis.

In *Elmer Gantry*, a portrayal of all that is most vulgar and immoral in the current American Christianity, Sinclair Lewis adds a vigorous stroke to his growing picture of materialist America. The church in all its forms and in all its activities is depicted with lacerating irony. There is also Gargantuan humour in it. The story is extremely simple. Elmer Gantry is "converted," "called" to the ministry, and ordained a Baptist preacher. Following a debauch, Rev. Elmer Gantry loses his pulpit. The black eyes of the Rev. Sharon Falconer, an erotic female evangelist, draw Elmer Gantry into the "kingdom." He serves her as assistant preacher, business manager, and lover. They indulge in various forms of religious charlatanry in the hope of quick financial gains. Eventually Sharon Falconer goes to heaven. Rev. Elmer Gantry now becomes the pastor of a flourishing Methodist church in a city of the Middle-West. He has all the gifts the Methodists admire in their clergy. He is handsome, affable, oratorical. He believes in all the fundamental imbecilities of evangelical Christianity. By successful advertising methods, in the best Babbitt tradition, he becomes a power in the community. His dogmatic Protestantism takes it for granted that truth for all time was frozen into some old writings selected from other parts of Jewish folklore by the Catholic church and put into a compilation called the Bible. For him it is *the* Word of God. Rev. Elmer Gantry is a preacher of blood and thunder. He keeps the hell yawning before the audience, and keeps it well stoked with genuine brimstone. He should have received the honorary degree of F. B. D., which is Doctor of Fire and

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Brimstone. Acquiring a frigid wife, he takes more and more to secret bacchanals and voluptuous mistresses. Good luck, however, attends him in all his escapades in saloon and boudoir. In the meantime, his fame as a successful pulpiteer spreads far and wide. Indeed, he rises to such eminence as a minister of the Holy Gospel that a famous New York pulpit calls him, and he becomes the spiritual emperor of America. He feels himself to be the veritable spokesman of the All Highest. There are in the life of this Holy Man rare moments of repentance and a few sparks of ecstatic inspiration; but he remains to the end a Methodist Colossus—sincere, lecherous, bibulous, and Christian.

The hero of the novel is a typical made-in-American man of God. *Elmer Gantry* is as American as sauer kraut is German, spaghetti is Italian, and plum-pudding is English. That man Sinclair Lewis is a naturalist. He is a consummate master in journalistic narration. He gives an amazingly vivid picture of women, wine, heroic exercises at the "sacred desk," as well as luscious, delectable sin right up to an exhilarating climax. Greed, power, money, amatory thrills, and flames of hell are depicted in outspoken American phrases and with overwhelming reality. Here one will find in the Right Rev. Elmer Gantry the essence of lewdness, insatiable cravings, wanton desire, zeal for evangelism, and intimacies of illicit love. As Mr. H. L. Mencken, critic, author and editor, has stated, *Elmer Gantry* is a perfect portrait of a man of God—American style—that has ever got between covers since the immortal Rebelais painted Friar John. The book is a bugle-blast against every evangelical edifice in the country.

V

That everybody does not like the novels of Sinclair Lewis is evident. "One good pastor in California after reading my *Elmer Gantry* desired to lead a mob and lynch me," Mr. Lewis has admitted. "Another Holy Man in the State of Maine wondered if there wasn't some respectable and righteous way of putting me in jail. I've now and then received some brickbats. Still, I've headed a good many brickbats myself and would be fatuous not to expect to receive a fair number in return." Lewis's books are high explosives; and it is quite appropriate that he should be given the accolade of Alfred Nobel, the inventor of dynamite.

A few of the Americans, as is to be expected, have gone so far as to say that it was insulting to America to give Mr. Sinclair Lewis the prize. They have argued that the creator of Babbitt and Elmer Gantry has been honoured chiefly because he made fun of America. That's nonsense. I believe he was highly worthy of honour. Should a writer always praise his country as a heaven on earth and its inhabitants as angels and archangels? A writer must write things as he sees them, even if he happens to stumble upon unpalatable truths. Lewis is far closer in touch with his times than most of the other native writers. He is the most distinguished representative of the realistic school in America.

Sinclair Lewis has stirred the intellectual life of this country to its very depth, and shown its intelligentsia how provincially dull, meaningless and stale their life is. He is an artist of the first calibre, and his novels are masterpieces of literary workmanship. He has uncanny penetration and incredible flow of language. In *Main Street* and *Babbitt*, and *Elmer Gantry*, as the New York *Nation* suggests, he has set down the very spirit and essence of America on its lower level. Lewis has left a definite mark upon his generation which will loom up larger in years to come. Long after the Henry Fords and Herbert Hoovers are dead and gone, Sinclair Lewis will be remembered.

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MacDonald's "Pulled Bread" for Political Dyspeptics in India

By St. NIHAL SINGH

INDIANS who have lived in Europe or America for any length of time must have tasted "pulled bread." It is attractive in appearance and taste. It is supposed also to be easy to digest. It is twice-baked bread. After the loaf has been in the oven for some time it is taken out, broken into bits and the inside pulled away from the crust. Hence the name. It is then put back and the process of baking is continued until the pieces are crisp.

The MacDonald scheme for settling India's destiny within the British Commonwealth of Nations reminds me of "pulled bread." It has come out of the British Labour Party's oven, to be sure: but before it was put there it saw the inside of another oven. Before the Labour Premier assumed responsibility for it, it had received attention from another political baker—My-Lord Reading, whose name, I may mention, is associated with an English town famous the world over for its biscuits and cakes. It is twice-baked bread and the "pulling" was certainly done by the ex-Viceroy of India, ex-Lord Chief Justice of England, ex-Ambassador to the United States of America, etc. etc.

The Premier's "pulled bread" looks appetizing. True artist that he is, he has given it a "fetching" appearance. Mr. MacDonald has used his Scotch shrewdness even to imprint upon its face the phrase "Dominion Status." Unfortunately, the stamp-maker did a slovenly job. The lettering is faint and blurred. Many pairs of eagle Indian eyes have, however, seen the imprint. The owners of these sharp orbs have lost no time in announcing their discovery to the world and expressing their satisfaction with it.

The "pulled bread" does not, however, eat well. There is too much grit in it. I feared the kitchen boy who mixed the dough was not careful. Or perhaps when My-Lord Reading did the pulling, grit got into it, somehow.

Then, too, there are bits which are quite hollow. You bite into the crust and your teeth encounter a void. These air-cells are, I am told, to be filled later.

This "pulled bread" is guaranteed to be innocuous. All vitalizing ingredients have been carefully sifted out of the flour with which it is made—bran (or is it only chaff ?)—has been substituted for the substance of the wheat. Political dyspeptics in India may eat it to their heart's content without suffering the least discomfort.

The period for which this "pulled bread" has been prescribed has been vaguely labelled "transitional." How long is it to last ? When is it to end ? In five years—or in fifty—or five hundred ? Mr. MacDonald is mum on the subject. Nor is his fellow-baker—the Marquis of Reading—any less discreetly silent. Neither has deigned to vouchsafe us any indication by which we can judge, for ourselves, whether or not the "transitional period" is nearing its end. What are the signs by which we are to recognize that the political dyspepsia from which India is supposed to be suffering has been cured ?

I have searched the pronouncements made by British Labourites, Liberals and Conservatives for anything that would give the faintest clue. So far, however, I have failed utterly in the attempt. My denseness, probably.

Who is to be the judge as to the moment when India has acquired sufficient strength to live upon the fare upon which communities comprised within the British Commonwealth which are adjudged to possess healthy political appetites thrive ? I suppose the representatives of the British people and incidentally the representatives of the interests that hold India in pawn !

Since we are to live upon this "pulled bread" for an undefined period, we may just as well put it in the test-tube and analyse it with care. Voids enveloped in the bread are, I am afraid, beyond such skill as I possess. I propose, therefore, to confine the analysis to an examination of the solids. The proposed

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legislature is one of these voids. So is "responsibility at the centre." There is no substance to them.

Here is the result of the analysis, as briefly as I can set it down :

(1) Vitamin "D" is missing—missing completely. The initial, I may explain, stands for "Defence." It is an ingredient with which a nation—especially a populous one—can dispense only at its peril. Nothing stimulates national pride quite so much—nothing develops national solidarity among diverse elements quite so effectually as bearing the burden of national defence on some sort of patriotic basis. Mr. MacDonald takes the view that we are, "in the transitional period," incapable of shouldering that responsibility. Lord Reading is of the same opinion and states it, if anything, with greater explicitness and emphasis.

They are willing—nay, anxious—to train Indians to hold the King's Commission in the Indian Army and will set up an "Indian Sandhurst" as expeditiously as they can. When, however, Indians will be fitted, in their estimation (or more likely in the estimation of their successors), to take over defence, they do not indicate.

In the meantime—and that "meantime" is of unstated duration—Indians can have not a particle of control over the "mercenary army"—the phrase is not mine—required for India's defence, so long as "the special circumstances" last.

(2) Vitamin "E. A." is also absent—absent completely. The letters stand for "External Affairs."

This, too, is a vital ingredient. Every nation that has a spark of manhood in it deems it essential. That is as true of nations comprised within the British Commonwealth as of those outside it. So highly do they value it that they are willing to spend money upon maintaining their own agents abroad to help to manage "External Affairs," even when they can ill-afford the expenditure.

I vividly recall a talk that I had some years ago with Deputy Desmond Fitzgerald T. D., then the Irish Free State Minister for External Affairs. The "trouble" caused by the Independentists had cost the Government a pretty penny—footing the bill for military operations and for compensating the victims of the fraternal conflict. The recently established "Dominion"—I put the word in quotation marks, for the Irish Nationalists look upon their emerald Island as a "Mother country" and not merely a daughter Dominion—was, therefore, feeling the financial pinch. The greeny-blue, dreamy eyes of the poet turned statesman through national travail blazed with anger at my suggestion of letting the financial factor over-ride the requirements of national self-respect. Then, perhaps, he recollected that, despite all my years in America and Europe I belonged to a subject race—had the slave psychology. In any case he added :

"Maintaining diplomatic agents abroad is good business, too. At least indirectly they stimulate trade. Look at it from any standpoint—high or low—the money spent upon maintaining agents in foreign countries is well spent."

But My-Lord Reading—and, later, Mr. MacDonald—have ruled that :

"Under existing conditions the subjects of Defence and External Affairs will be reserved to the Governor-General and arrangements will be made to place in his hands the powers necessary for the administration of those subjects."

(3) Except for a mere trace, Vitamin "F" is missing in the "pulled bread" of Reading-MacDonald baking. That initial stands for "Finance."

The indispensability of this Vitamin was known even in Kautilya's time. As a British editorial writer discovered recently, the father of the Indian system of political economy wrote in an age when Europe was still groping in darkness, that :

"...the beginning of every undertaking is finance."

His Majesty's Government will not give Indians even a particle of the more vitalizing elements of this Vitamin. The "legislature constituted on a federal basis"—that pale phantom of Dominion parliaments that, I presume, we are to be given—is not to be the arbiter of :

(a) Money required to meet "the obligations incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State" ;

(b) The amount required for Defence ;

(c) The expenditure on Exteral Affairs ;

(d) The estimates of the department charged with the administration of matters connected with "paramountcy" and the like ;

(e) The emoluments and pensions of the public servants recruited from Britain ; and

(f) The expenditure connected with the protection of minorities and other reserved subjects ; and

(g) Currency and Exchange (discussed in the article).

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Item (b)—The expenditure on Defence consumes, in itself, half of the Central revenues. Since My-Lord Reading made short shrift of the suggestion timidly put forward by Mr. J. H. Thomas, the Labour Secretary of State for the Dominions, for reducing the strength of the British garrison, it is likely to continue to do so. Item (d)—The emoluments and pensions of public servants recruited from Britain too, will be heavy. What will be left after the charges on "reserved services" have been met is not likely to move even a local institution of any size in Britain to envy. But Mr. MacDonald generously told the Indian "delegates":

"Subject to these provisions the *Indian Government* will have full financial responsibility for methods of raising revenue and for the control of expenditure on non-reserved services."

The phrase "the Indian Government" has been italicized by me. The Indian Government! Not the Federal Legislature.

Perhaps this is only a slip: but a slip in a carefully prepared speech.

I must not forget to refer to the governing condition laid down by the Premier. He insisted that "the transfer of financial responsibility must necessarily be subject" not only to the fulfilment of foreign obligations, but also to:

"...the maintenance, unimpaired, of the financial stability and credit of India."

This phraseology is vague enough to cover any field of administration.

Does the preservation of the "tranquillity of the State" have anything to do with the credit of a country?

(4) That brings me to vitamin "T"—the "Tranquillity of the State."

Judging by a statement made by a number of Indians who, as Lord Irwin's nominees, attended the Indian Round Table Conference, this vitamin is to be a part of the normal Indian diet even during the "period of transition."

"As regards Law and Order, the Governor-General will not have the power to interfere with the day-to-day administration and will step in only when peace and security over a considerable part of British India are seriously imperilled or when the interests of any minority are seriously endangered."

But the Indian digestion being weak, the Governor-General is to be empowered to withhold—or at least to ration—this Vitamin if His Excellency finds it is proving injurious. "...As the Governor-General must, as a last resort, be able in an emergency to maintain the tranquillity of the State," the Premier stated bluntly, "he must be granted the necessary power for that purpose."

(5) The Vitamin "M" is to be definitely withheld during the undefined "period of transition." "M" stands for "the constitutional rights of the minorities."

The British engaged in finance, insurance, shipping, trade, mining, industry and other gainful occupations in India are not in the majority, numerically speaking. Lord Reading has stipulated "equality of treatment" for them. The delegates sent out by these Indo-Britons—if I may so call them since the term "European" appears to be too wide—have also insisted upon the maintenance of the existing "judicial rights," reminiscent of the "capitulations" that existed in Turkey and Persia until the Turks and Persians refused any longer to put up with that humiliation. A shrewd Bombay mill-owner—Mr H. P. Mody—appears to cherish the hope that the Conference, while insisting upon this "equality," has sanctioned "the paramountcy" of Indian economic interests.

All sorts of contradictions are permissible in an English-made constitution—legal fictions that make the King the wielder of executive power and facts that make Parliament sovereign. In writing and speaking of India we must not forget, however, "the special circumstances" that necessitate "guarantees," "reservations" and "safe-guards." In the sort of arrangement devised by my friend Modi, the paramountcy of Indian economic interests, even if conceded, is likely to prove a legal fiction until India has the substance and not the shadow of freedom.

(6) It is, in any case, clear that Vitamins 'C" and "E" are to be altogether withheld from the fare upon which Indians are to subsist during the "transitional period" or perhaps even beyond that period. Currency and Exchange for which those initials stand—are evidently substances that, if admitted, would poison the Federal Legislature.

Lord Reading stipulated the setting up of a "non-political" Reserve Bank, which was to deal with Currency and Exchange, as one of the many requisites precedent to the grant of a new constitution to India. The Prime Minister repeated and emphasized that stipulation.

It is not difficult to understand British nervousness. If the Indian legislature had the power and the sense and the courge to

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put the rupee at the 1-4 basis instead of permitting it to remain "pegged up"* at 1-6, the money secured by Lancashire and other British shires would be automatically cut down 12½ per cent. Such action would, at the same time, help manufacturers in Bombay and elsewhere in India--virtually put the tariff up by 12½ per cent. Why should the "bloated" mill-owners in India be permitted to fleece the poor Indian masses by mere manipulation of the Exchange ratio? Vitamin "R"—Exchange Ratio is, indeed, the one ingredient that must not be given to the legislature crowded with Indians suffering from political indigestion.

* A good phrase, much used during the war when the pound sterling had to be bolstered up through American goodwill.

In making this analysis I have not been oblivious of Mr. MacDonald's difficulties. I know that too many bakers spoil the loaf. Prime Minister of Britain as he is through David Lloyd George's grace, he had no choice but to admit Mr. George's expert on India into the baking partnership.

While remembering Mr. MacDonald's difficulties and extending to him sincere sympathy, I cannot forget that India has a hearty appetite and that fare from which Vitamins "D," "E. A.," "F," "T," "M," "C," and "E" are omitted will be of no use to us. If he wishes us to get strong and to be contented, he will have to give us the genuine "stuff of life" to live upon and not merely an imitation of it.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

THE WOMEN SATYAGRAHIS OF BOMBAY

[*By the Courtesy of the Vanguard Studios Bombay*]

Mrs. Nirabala Dikshit

Mrs. Gangaben Patel

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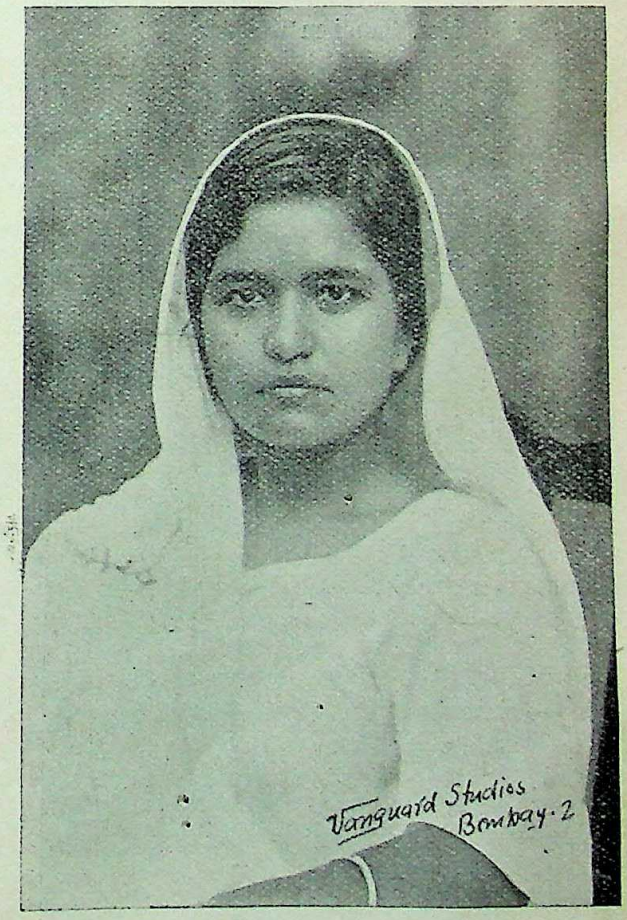
Mrs. Santaben Patel

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Astar

Miss Lila Syed



Mrs. Amrit Kunwar

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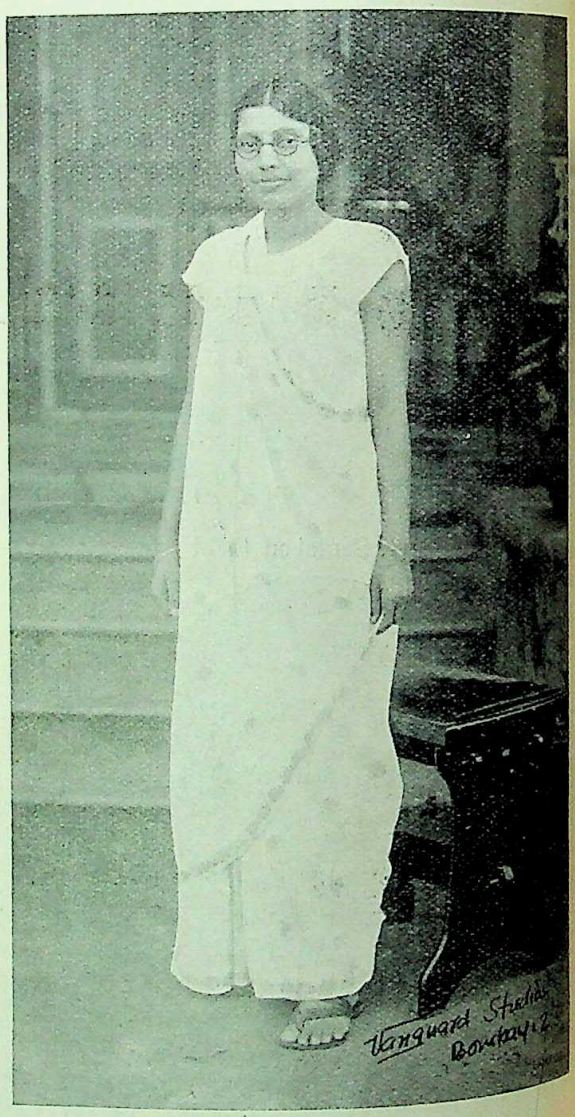
Mrs. Ramiben Kamdar



Mrs. Lilavati Munshi

Mrs. Jayasri Rayji

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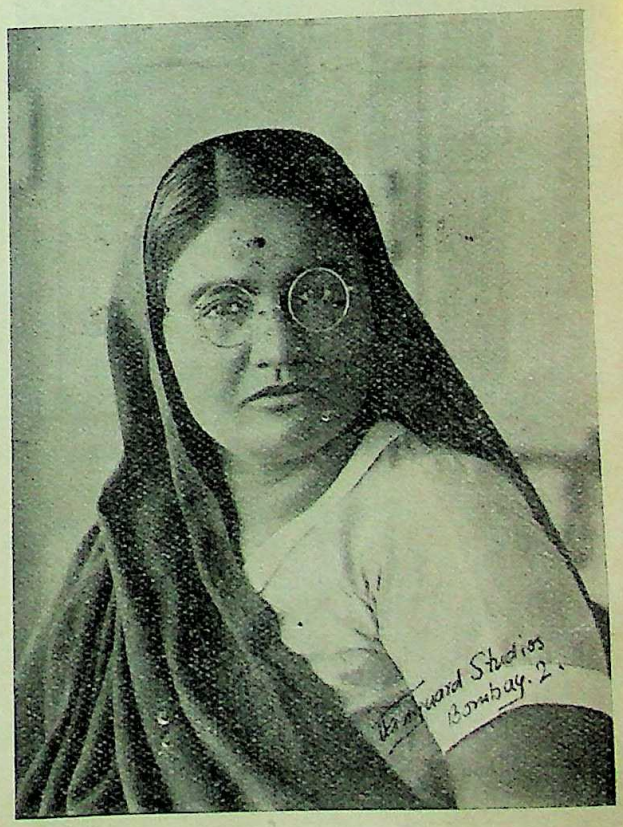
Miss Perin Captain

Miss Trisula Daru



Mrs. Kamalaben Sonawala

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Mrs. Urmila Mehta

Miss. Sumati Trivedi

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Miss Sofia Somji

Mrs. Hansa Mehta

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Miss Lakshmiben Suraj Ballabhdas

Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale

Women in Conference

THE ALL-INDIAN AND ALL-ASIAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCES CONTRASTED

By MARGARET E. COUSINS

"COMPARISONS are odious," one exclaims, but "contrasts" are essential to bring into prominence the proportions of a composition, and a study of the contrasts evident at the recent two women's conferences held in Lahore may be valuable in showing the proportions of the women's movement in the Orient.

If the element of contrast had not been inherently present in their nature the organizers of the All-India and All-Asian Women's Conferences could not have attempted to hold two such strenuous and important Conferences in two consecutive weeks, for public interest could not have been sufficiently sustained to ensure their success. Did the organizers all women, incidentally or deliberately plan the feat of endurance to show that the name "the weaker sex" is a misnomer? Six hours discussions daily for fourteen days consecutively and numbers of tiring social engagements were lived through and even enjoyed by a large number of women who were delegates or visitors to the two conferences. The chief reason for this strength of body and mind lay in the strong contrast contained in the personal and subject-matter of the two gatherings. At the same time

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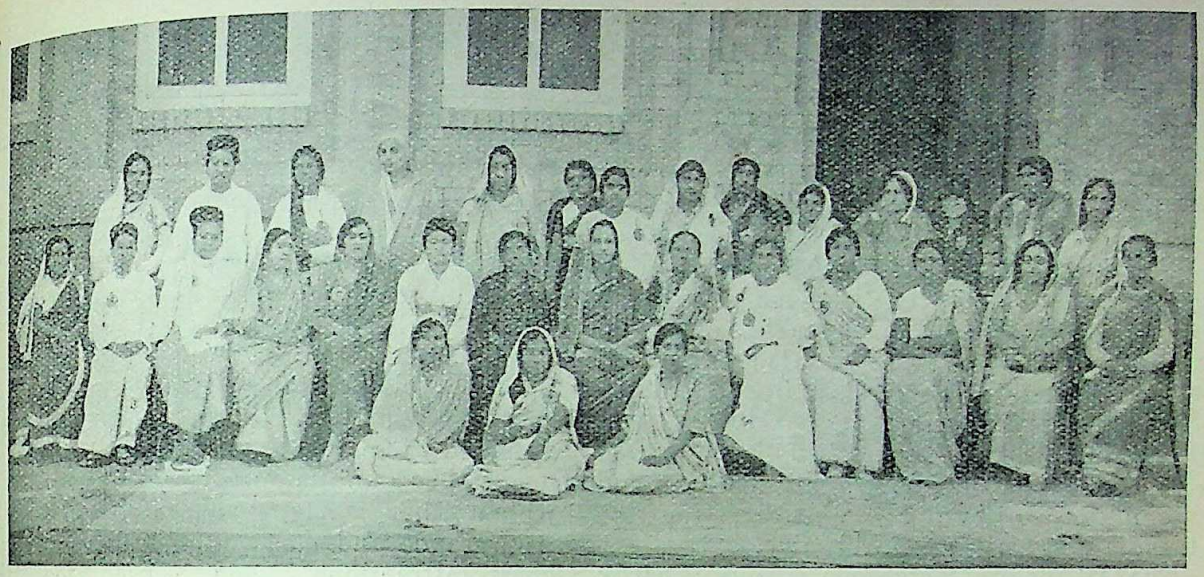

Delegates to All-Asia Women's Conference, Lahore

was an experiment that I would not recommend for repetition.

The All-India Women's Conference came first in order of time and naturally was largest in numbers because of the smaller expense of travel and its greater ease, the adequacy of its organization and its ramifications in accomplishing reforms since its inception five years ago. Its aims are well defined within limitations, namely, reform of education and social customs in India especially as affecting the welfare of women and children. So well-consolidated is its organization as a democratic representative expression of the womanhood of India that though the past year has been one of political distraction, testing trials—and glory—of a kind never anticipated when the Conference last met in Bombay, yet the constituent areas held their annual local conferences loyally, and delegates came to that far away, cold Lahore from all parts of India in numbers only slightly fewer than to Bombay. The number of actual delegates for the Asian Conference was only one quarter those of the All-Indian. Similarly with the number of Reception Committee members who always form the bulk of the local attendance. Lahore women had joined to the number of three hundred at a fee of rupees eight each and thus ensured the foundation of the success of the Conference, for they attended the sessions right loyally. One lady told me that she had never been to meetings before, but she found it all so interesting that she had not missed one and would in the future attend other meetings. This is the way the presence of a Conference stimulates the awakening and the self-consciousness of a locality. The regular presence of at least four hundred women of North India made it inevitable that the vernacular was more in evidence than at any previous conference. Hindi and Urdu were predominant. Even where speeches had been made in English or another language they had to be translated into Urdu. The majority of the population in Lahore and the Punjab is Muhammadan and the majority of its women observe the custom of purdah. So this custom itself and all its difficulties had to be felt more than at any other conference, but it teaches women to give and take within the circle of their common womanhood and the unity of India. Through meeting in Lahore all Indian women received many valuable lessons and demonstrations in the necessary adjustments needed so that the claims of a great community which is one-fourth of the Indian people may always be adequately met. The true fusion of Muhammadans and non-Muhammadans is a vital problem not only of India but of Asia, and if women cannot effect its solution in the crucible of the common good of their children, no one else will do it. That desired unity was not perfected in Lahore but it was fostered and strengthened by increase of understanding of mutual view-points, and it cultivated the qualities of diplomacy and tact that are necessary for dealing with questions of

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statesmanship such as women will have to grapple with in the future. Wherever communalism seemed apparent it was more through lack of realization of the needs involved, more through ignorance, than through antagonism. It seems as if self-consciousness for a part is a step before self-consciousness for union. It seemed to me that Punjabis are daunted by difficulties at first sight but they rally to leadership and to confidence displayed in them by outsiders. At any rate their Reception Committee and their constituency Local Committee and the men of the city ("Conference husbands" and "Reception husbands" we called them) proved most successful organizers, all creeds and communities working unitedly, for the All-India and All-Asian objective.

The All-Indian Conference is now a hardy annual and has its general procedure smoothly in running order. I felt that but for the matter of punctuality Indian women's ability to conduct business, to solve constitutional questions, to decide points of procedure, to discuss difficult problems, to frame resolutions calmly, with dignity, and with an entire absence of personality, could be equal to that of the women of any other continent. I only wished that the leading women of other nations could have been present to rejoice as I did in the powers Oriental women show in common with women all over the world, proving they have the hand to rock the world as well as the cradle and both at the same time.

In comparison with the All-Indian the All-Asian was necessarily only a seed, and a true comparison of it would be with the first All-Indian Conference in Poona. Its work was to produce atmosphere, not a programme. Throughout its year of organization as well as at the first day of its sessions one felt groping, lack of background, nebulousness, but a great need, a deep longing for a wider consciousness of the Asian oriental heritage. The Conference might so easily have been an entire failure. The Asiatic Educational Conference at Benares had been saved from that only by the hugeness of its success as an Indian Conference of teachers. They had had promises of at least fifteen Asian visitors who never arrived. The Women's might also have found themselves with only four non-Indian delegates. There were serious disappointments from Western Asia but twenty-one women from Java, Burma, Ceylon, Afghanistan, and Persia, in addition to the number of Indian delegates, and the women visitors from non-Asian countries New Zealand and America and Britain and Holland made it a veritable and valuable seed of the complete Asian synthesis which will one day assuredly be the flower of this seed. This Conference coming second retained the interest because of its novelty. It certainly was thrilling to walk down the Mall with a Burmese graduate one side and our Cherry Blossom Japanese girl on the other.

At another time to hear Begum Maula Baksh telling funny stories in her fluent Persian while her little be-ringed hands twinkled like stars in gesticulation as she made her points with a hearty laugh in which her Afghanistan friend joined. Appearance and costume and customs proved great attractions, and caused the Asian Conference to conquer legitimate weariness of body and brain, even to the end of the fortnight. They also gave zest and variety to all the social engagements which filled our nights wherein perhaps the deepest sense of kinship was realized, in interchange of folk and national song, in mysteries of hair-dressing or tying of obi, in tales of marriage, in comparisons of food preparation, in criticisms and appreciations of men and mother-in-laws. Certainly the work of the Asian Conference was done as much outside as within the Conference sessions.

For both Conferences the exhibition of handicrafts brought by delegates provided a new and valuable addition to the exposition of ideas by words only. Another year there will be more ideal accommodation for this practical side of the All-Indian Conference's support of indigenous industries. A visit to the admirable Arts and Crafts School Depot also stimulated interest in non-factory production. This was the first year in which labour questions had been discussed as part of the social reform programme of the All-Indian Conference. The word "labour" tends to be interpreted entirely in terms of industrialized, mill or factory conditions. It was good that women's needs in this connection were reviewed and reforms demanded, but I would have liked to hear more about the organization of home crafts for the agricultural population. That will have to come up next year. Our conference is still too much a city product.

There was no doubt that the Sarda Act still retains the strongest hold of any subject on the minds of the Indian delegates. Great

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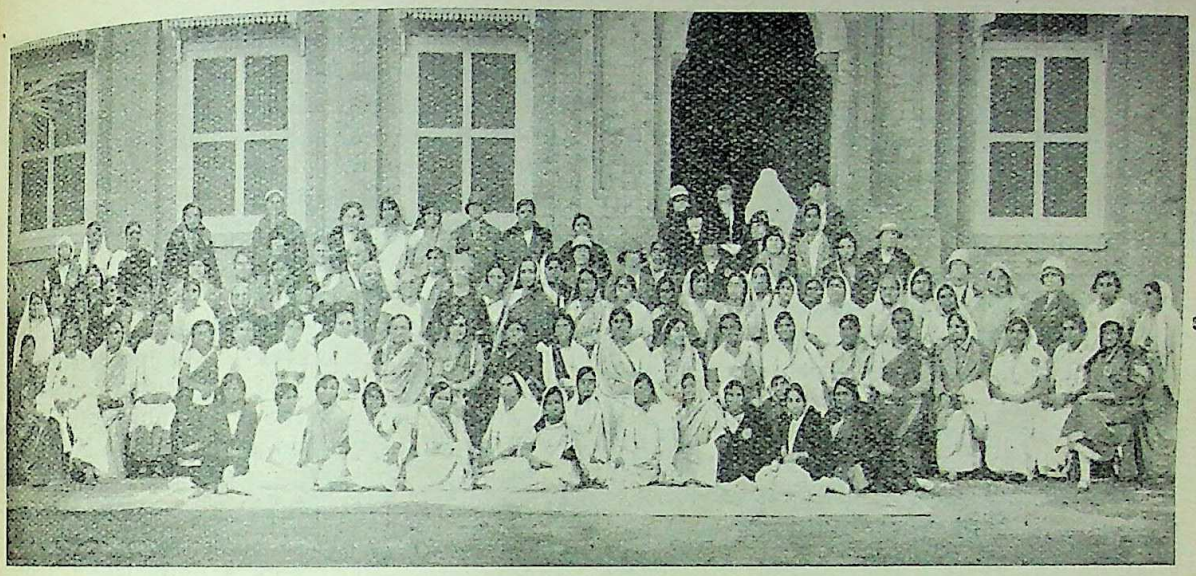

All-Asia Women's Conference, Lahore

censure was poured out on the Government by every speaker for its failure to enfore the Act. The laws about marriage disclosed in the Asian sessions were most interesting. In Burma all the property and income are owned jointly by the husband and wife. There is no child marriage in Ceylon. There is no religious marriage in Burma. A Persian woman owning property in Persia cannot, on marriage to a non-Persian, take from Persia any proceeds from her property, nor is she allowed to enter her country except with the greatest difficulty. It was easy to see that natural selection for marriage is decidedly not the custom of Asian civilization right from Beyrout to Tokyo. To reform this the Arabian Women's Conference had resolved that "the parties to a marriage should have sufficient time before the marriage to make one another's acquaintance" *en cercle intime* marriage remains the critical point of a girl's life and motherhood its "valley of the shadow of death," as proved by the Asian figures of mortality. This was why the medical reforms affecting women's life came forward for the first time this year in the Social Reform Section.

Perhaps it was also due to the fact that both President and Secretary were women doctors.

How poignantly some of us at any rate, missed our imprisoned sisters—Sarojini Devi and Kamala Devi, pillars of all former Conferences! It was surely inexcusable carelessness and ingratitude that caused the delegates not to fail to elect the latter as a Vice-President for the coming year after all she had done for the Conferences. Mrs. Huidekoper and Mrs. Brijlal Nehru and Miss Lazarus and Mrs. Jinarajadasa were also noticeably absent. The three newcomers in office made their mark at once. The President of the All-India Conference was Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy, Ex-Deputy President of the Madras Legislative Council, well known and much-loved in South India but almost a stranger to North India. Her grasp of affairs and the simplicity and sincerity of her dedicated character won her respect at once, and her ignorance of Urdu seemed no detriment to her masterly handling of the speakers and audience. Rani Rajwade as Secretary of the two Conferences bore the brunt of the battle. Very few women could have managed two sets of correspondence, two sets of files, double sets of resolutions and speakers' arrangements, and continuous taking of minutes and notes. Then there was also the writing of two important reports, and the readiness to speak clearly and effectively on many subjects. She is the worthy daughter of Sir Moripant Joshi, and a recruit of the first quality for the women's conference. She was unanimously re-elected Secretary for this year. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur of Jullunder also immediately won the respect of the delegates for her powers of service. The Chairwoman of the Receptoin Committee Lady Qadir, had actually opened the Conference in the very large Convoca-

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tion Hall of the University by breaking her strict purdah of a lifetime to the extent of reading her welcome address before a mixed audience (even though she still used a small screen). She and Mrs. Hamid Ali and Mrs. Ferozuddin were the chief "spokeswomen" of the Muslims throughout both Conference.

One must not omit the always beautiful figure of the devoted Secretary of the Women's Education Fund, Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji who is doing so much for the new Home Science Institute Scheme. The formulation and support of this Institute is the outstanding accomplishment of the Conference year.

It was remarkable that without any one outstanding personality the Asian synthesis was accomplished. Perhaps it was the more possible because of that fact. Other Asian Conferences will undoubtedly bring into evidence great women of their respective countries but from this no one like Sarojini Devi, (Mrs. Naidu). She was ever in our imagination, singing her aspiration for freedom for all that lives.

Lady Bandaranaike of Ceylon and Miss Mai Oung, M. A. of Burma were the most able of the foreign delegates, the former out of a long experience of public work and the latter fresh from Oxford, daughter of an ex-Home Member and famous orator of Burma. She was elected as Secretary for a permanent Committee to arrange another Asian Conference two or three years hence.

There was no doubt that the watchword of the Asian Conference was religion, not the religion of theologies, but of a pure life consecrated to the service of one's fellows. It was always on the spiritual note that the speaking became most inspiring, it was there that unity was most claimed.

Roman Catholic Christian from Sind, Muhammadan from the Panjab and Java, Buddhist from Ceylon and Burma, Hindu from South India, all alike saw a new world religion, formed out of the common basis of all the creeds, as the hope of a united world. Perhaps it is this that Asia has to *live* and to *give* as its supreme gift to humanity.

For the All-Indian the cry was education, natural and national, for all, and a healthy body to educate; for the All-Asian, the cry was for freedom for self-expression, purity, and peace.

Boycott Movement and its Effect on Trade

By H. SINHA, Ph.D.

FROM the recently issued official return for December 1930, it appears that there has been a serious decline in the British share of Indian imports during the current financial year. The percentage shares are calculated below for the last quinquennium :

(Nine months 1st April to 31st December).

1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
48.5	47.6	45.6	43.0	38.5

External causes such as fall in commodity values affecting all countries equally cannot bring about any change in the percentage share quoted above. The undoubted acute economic depression in India at the present time must be similarly ruled out.

The real reason must be looked for rather in the present political movement in India, which seeks to replace British goods by non-British goods, when indigenous substitutes are not forthcoming. In the table below the year 1930 has been split up into two periods (a) January-March (*i.e.*, the period prior to the launching of the movement) and (b) April-December. These two are separately compared with the corresponding periods of 1929 by the percentage method. To illustrate the method by an instance, in column (1) the price index for January-March, 1930 (127) has been deducted from the corresponding figure for 1929 (144) and the decline (17) has been calculated as a percentage of the 1929 figure (to be 12).

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I. Prices and Imports in India during 1929 and 1930

(Import figures are in Rs. lacs (Rs. 100,000) Percentage falls have been calculated from figures to nearest thousand.)

		Calcutta wholesale prices index (July 1914=100).	Imports from the United Kingdom.	Imports from other Countries	Total
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Jan.–Mar.	1929	144	29.19	39.74	68.93
	1930	127	26,76	34.31	61.07
	p.c. Fall	12	8.3	13.9	11.4
April–Decr.	1929	140	76.32	103.37	179.69
	1930	113	47.56	76,10	123,66
	p.c. Fall	19	37.7	26.4	31.2

It will be seen that during the first three months, aggregate imports fell by approximately the same amount as prices (11. 4 per cent compared with 12 per cent), British imports declined proportionately less (8.3 per cent) and non-British imports *more* (13.9 per cent). This position is reversed during the last nine months, British imports recording a heavier decline compared with aggregate imports and a still more serious fall compared with non British imports. It will also be seen that aggregate imports have fallen proportionately more than prices, for at present the price of agricultural commodities is much more depressed than that of manufactures with the result that India's purchasing power has been seriously crippled.

The extent of the replacement of British cotton manufactures by non-British competitors, in spite of the preference of 5 per cent, is seen to be greater during the last nine months than during the first three months as shown below in Table II.

II. Imports of Cotton Manufactures into India during 1929 and 1930

(Import figures are in Rs. lacs (Rs. 100,000). Percentage falls have been calculated from figures to nearest thousand. Asterisks denote increases.)

		Grey Piece-goods			White Piece-goods			Coloured Piece-goods			Twists and Yarns		
		Br.	Non-Br.	Tot.	Br.	Non-Br.	Tot.	Br.	non-Br.	Tot.	Br.	Non-Br.	Tot.
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Janv.–March	1929	4,01	2,30	6,31	3,74	33	4,07	2,68	1,32	4,00	97	87	1,84
	1930	3,42	2,21	5,63	3.22	46	3,68	2,37	1,53	3,90	62	68	1,30
	p.c. Fall	14.7	4 0	10.8	16.1	38.8*	9.6	11.6	16.0*	2.4	38.0	22.5	29.6
April–Dec.	1929	8,34	6,96	15,30	8,80	80	9,60	7,14	4,10	11,24	2,34	2.36	4,70
	1930	2,62	3.12	5,74	4,28	73	5,01	3,84	1,80	5,64	96	1.41	2,33
	p.c. Fall	68.6	55.2	62.5	51.4	8.5	47.8	46.2	56.3	49.9	58.8	40 5	49.6

It will be noticed that except in the case of white and coloured piece-goods the disparity between the percentage falls recorded by British and non-British goods has become wider during the second period compared with the first. It should also be noted that there were heavy imports from non-British countries of these two commodities during the early months of the year, so much so that 1930 figures exceeded the corresponding figures for 1929.

As shown in Table III below, there has been replacement of British by non-British imports in the case of other commodities as well :

III. Imports of Other Commodities into India during 1929 and 1930

*(Import figures are in Rs. lacs (Rs. 100,000) Percentage falls have been calculated from figures to nearest thousand. *Asterisks denote increases.)*

		Machinery and Mill work			Cigarettes			Electrical instruments			Provisions.			Hardware		
		Br.	non-Br.	Tot.	Br.	non-Br.	Tot.	Br.	non-Br.	Tot.	Br.	non-Br.	Tot.	Br.	non-Br.	Tot.
Jan.–Mar.	1929	3.36	1,24	4.60	52	·43	53	53	36	89	51	100	151	48	77	1,25
	1930	3.76	1,15	4.91	64	·33	65	59	45	1,04	57	74	131	46	80	1,26
	p.c. Fall	11 8*	7.7	6.4*	23.6*	33.3*	23.2*	11.6*	24.5*	16.7*	10.5*	25.9	13.6	2.9	3 4*	.3*
April–Dec.	1929	9.92	3.40	13.32	1,47	1	1,48	1,56	1,01	2,57	1,79	2,55	4.34	1,34	2.48	3.82
	1930	8.14	2.77	10.91	79	3	82	1,25	95	2,20	1,50	2.26	3.76	1,00	1.67	2.67
	p. c. Fall	18.0	18.6	18.1	46.3	134.5*	44.9	19.9	5.4	14.2	16.1	11.3	13.3	25.3	32.7	30.0

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In the case of cigarettes, which is practically a monopoly of the United Kingdom, there has been a sensational fall compared with a rise during the early months of the year Other figures are equally striking. The agitation does not seem to be confined to any particular part of India. In the table below are given the values of the different kinds of cotton manufactures exported from the United Kingdom during November, 1929 and 1930 to the different parts of India.

IV. IMPORT OF BRITISH COTTON MANUFACTURES INTO DIFFERENT PARTS OF INDIA

Parts of India.	Grey, unbleached yearn. November			Bleached and Dyed Yarn. November			Grey piece-goods. November			White piece-goods. November		
	1929	1930	Fall	1929	1930	Fall	1929	1930	Fall	1929	1930	Fall
	£	£	p.c.	£	£	p.c.	£	£	p.c.	£	£	p.c.
Bombay	32,419	4,015	*87.6*	15,239	7,150	*53.1*	51,230	28,868	*43.7*	328,662	60,140	*81.7*
Madras	34,347	14,900	*56.6*	21,938	10,790	*50.9*	71,928	27,693	*61.5*	90,344	30,147	*66.6*
Bengal	23,313	8,698	*62.7*	16,744	3,481	*79.2*	727,754	18,225	*97.6*	86,913	14,618	*83.2*

It will be noticed that except in the case of grey unbleached yarn, Bengal which is believed to be quiet, records proportionately greater declines than Bombay, which is supposed to be the storm centre in India.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[*Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.*—Editor, *M. R.*]

ENGLISH

THE FOURTH FACTOR IN THE ETIOLOGY OF MALARIA. ITS RELATION WITH ANOPHELES AND ITS PARTICULAR APPLICATION TO MALARIA IN BENGAL: *By Dr. P. C. Roy, Berhampore, Bengal. Published by the author, pp. 41.*

In this book the author says that the presence of Pistia in tanks and other water surfaces causes malaria, and quotes instances of several healthy villages where malaria is said to have occurred by the introduction of this vegetation. He also claims to have removed malaria by the clearance of Pistia from tanks in certain villages. General statements like these without any scientific data to support them are of no value whatever. The book contains many rambling statements which cannot be accepted as evidence. On the other hand, they tend to mislead the ordinary layman.

If Dr. Roy wishes to ascertain the correlation of Pistia to malaria he should take a few selected villages and engage an adequate staff to record systematically the observations made from day to day, and publish them for scientific criticism.

IMPRISONMENT: *By Lieut.-Colonel F. A. Barkar, M. A., M. D., B.-C., O. B. E., I. M. S., Inspector-General of Prisons, Punjab. Published by Christian Literature Society for India, 1930, price Re. 1-8, pp. 191.*

This book is the second production of the "Books for the Times" series edited by A. J. Appasamy, M. A., (Harvard), D. Phil. (Oxon). The book has a foreword by the Bishop of Madras. It is a wonderful little book written by a person who is thoroughly familiar with his subject. The author gives a historical introduction of the prison systems as prevalent in the different countries of the world. He has a wide outlook so rare amongst officials and writes in a sympathetic and an interesting way. The book is intended "to guide and help the conscience of the general public to understand what crime is, to seek out and remedy the causes of crime, to understand the meanining of prison, to gain an accurate knowledge of the means and methods of prison administration, to realize that it is insufficient merely to punish but that punishment, must be supplemented by efforts to reform, to learn the methods of reform at present in use, and, lastly, to interest the public in that vital part of such reform—the welfare of the ex-prisoner." The book is primarily intended for Indian readers and will serve to dispel a good deal of prevailing misconception about prisons and their administration in general. The social side of the work has been thoroughly stressed

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and the whole problem of crime has been dealt with in an extremely fascinating manner.

INDIVIDUAL PSYCHOLOGY: *By Erwin Wexberg, M. D. Translated by W. Beran Wolfe, M. D., Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London, pp. 441. 15s net.*

The book is an able exposition of Adler's views on individual psychology. Adler, as is well known, began as a follower of Freud but later on developed his own ideas and seceded from the Freudian school. He thought the Freudians laid too much stress on sex and he took up the purposive view of life in which "will to power" was one of the supreme motives. The term "inferiority complex" which is so popular now is one of the contributions of Adler to modern psychology. Adler believes that any deficiency or defect in any organ in the human system leads to the development of a compensation mechanism which not only counteracts the existing defect but produces certain important mental adjustments. Adler's views have been very popular and this book gives a clear account of the implications of Adler's doctrines in many different directions such as evolution of personality, character development, education, neurosis, psychoses, medical pedagogy, cultural psychology, etc. The book is written in a very interesting style: the translation has been well executed.

G. BOSE

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THE INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY AND OTHER ESSAYS. *By Mr. B. Govinda Rao, Secretary, Godavary Chamber of Commerce, Cocanada, with a foreword by Sir P. C. Roy, pp. 153, price Rs. 1-4.*

As the author, Mr. B. Govinda Rao, states in his preface the present book is principally a summary of the monograph on "The Indian Cotton Textile Industry—its past, present and future," published by Mr. M. P. Gandhi, Secretary, Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta. The author has also added several useful appendices at the end, and has laid down the information relating to the cotton industry of India before the general public in a very lucid and attractive manner. The author's aim is to create a keener interest among the public for the cause of Swadeshi. A perusal of this little work will, we hope, stimulate the desire for promoting Swadeshi in India.

An attractive feature of the book is the foreword from the pen of Sir P. C. Roy, who has urged upon the people the necessity of encouraging Swadeshi enterprises.

N. SANYAL

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RENASCENT INDIA: *By K. S. Venkataramani, Sri Aranya Ashrama, Mylapore, Madras. Second Ed. Re 1.*

The writer of this book is the well-known author of *Paper Boats* which earned the praise of some eminent men of letters. He writes with charm and has some felicity of expression. In the present work he claims to have foretold in 1913 the Great War of 1914 and now he "sees" war clouds gathering for a universal conflagration. In the author's opinion India could avert this calamity if she remoulded herself according to her age-long spiritual and cultural tradition. But to achieve this object India must be free, and thus he proceeds to draw up a Swaraj constitution for India. While giving a picture of the Indian village life of today he uses sentences like this, "Work has the joy of recreation and the sweat on the brow is a pearl-like drop". It is all very poetic and the Swaraj India of the author's dream is on a par with this strain, but we entertain grave doubts whether it is "practical politics".

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, THEN AND NOW: *By S. Bhimasankara Row, B.A., Chintamani Press, Rajahmundry. Re 1*

This is a well-reasoned and earnest plea for Indians to sink their political differences in the common object of attaining Swaraj and present a united front under the banner of the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress would in that way be truly worthy of its name, would be truly representative, would gather force, and Swaraj would be brought nearer. This is at least what the writer believes.

AMAL HOME

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SKITS AND SKETCHES AND SKETCHY BITS: *Two books by S. C. Mookerjee (Funniman) Published by Chuckervertty Chatterjee and Co. Calcutta and U. N. Dhur and Co. Calcutta, respectively, Price Rs. 1 each.*

Mr. S. C. Mookerjee is a well-known society entertainer. Among his admirers figure governors of provinces, Rajas, men high up in the professions, and also those who can laugh at a good joke; for Mr Mookerjee combines good humour with good taste; a rare combination in these days of blatant vulgarity. His little books are big mines of mirth and yield a wealth of laughter without much digging. We can recommend these collections of witty morsels to all habitual pessimists and confirmed dyspeptics. One need not part with ones kingdom for a good laugh. For two rupees one can laugh and laugh and laugh.

X. Y. Z.

—

THE SEPARATION OF EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL POWERS IN BRITISH INDIA: *By Naresh Chandra Roy, M.A., Lecturer, City College, Calcutta, published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons. Rs. 5.*

The combination of executive and judicial powers in the same public functionaries is an administrative evil which has been the target of agitation for about one century in India. The Indian National Congress for over thirty years devoted more attention and energy to the separation of these two powers and functions perhaps than to any other administrative question. During the last ten years also repeated attempts have been made in the two Houses of the Central Legislature and in all the provincial Legislative Councils for separating criminal justice from executive control. But before the solid phalanx of opposition which the members of the Civil Service presented, all the attempts of the popular representatives in this direction proved to be vain and abortive.

The book under review deals with a vital problem which is yet unsolved, with an accuracy of detail

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and a scientific arrangement of facts and arguments which do credit to the author. He has utilized all the sources of information on the subject and made his study a thoroughly documented one. The book consists of eight chapters in the first of which the principle of the separation of powers has been enunciated and examined. In the second, the evolution of the criminal judiciary in British India has been traced. The third chapter has been devoted to a graphic history of the movement for the separation of the two powers. In the fourth chapter the author has brought out in clear relief the helpless position of the magistrates who generally dispense criminal justice. Such is their dependence upon the executive chief of the district, and such is the interference of the executive and police officers in their work that the magistrates are reduced to mere gramophones of the executive. They are the conduit pipes through which the behests of the executive officers are transmitted. The specimen cases the author has introduced by way of illustrating the vagaries of the magistrates are interesting. The author in another chapter has also analysed the position of the judges who preside over the Sessions Courts He has also in a very lucid and convincing way met the arguments put forward so often by the official representatives against the demand for separation. A chapter has been added which discusses some lines along which the separation of the two functions may be attempted. The get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired. We congratulate the author upon the production of this book which we heartily commend to the growing class of readers of political literature.

A. K. SEN

—

HISTORY OF ORISSA (FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BRITISH PERIOD). *Vol. I, by Prof. R. D. Banerji, M. A. (published by R. Chatterji, Calcutta, 1930) ; price Rs. 20.*

Mr. Ramananda Chatterji, M. A. the learned editor of the *Modern Review*, has done a great service to Indian scholarship by undertaking the publication of this important work from the erudite pen of the late lamented Archæologist, Mr. R. D. Banerji. Among the numerous original contributions of the late Mr. Banerji by which he has aided in the recovery of so many lost chapters of Indian history and civilization and won for himself the foremost place among Indian archæologists, this posthumus publication of his will rank as his *Magnum Opus*. It is all the more a matter of profund regret that the author was not spared to see it in print. It shows a double originality, originality in conception and design, and originality in its material, much of which the author had personally discovered and explored. For the first time, the province of Orissa is having a proper history based upon the results of the latest researches and archæological finds, Sir W. W. Hunter's *Orissa* being entirely out of date and not planned on a sufficiently comprehensive scale.

The present volume is in twenty-two chapters. The first chapter deals with topography, with the different geographical limits, in different epochs, of the province known as Kalinga in ancient times, and its political divisions and centres. The second chapter deals with the human content of the region, its peoples, castes, and languages, including the stray and varied aboriginal element. The third chapter deals with prehistoric antiquities, some of the oldest relics of human habitation being found in Orissa, So far the palaeolithic finds are few and as regards neoliths, there has been recently an exceptional find of "shouldered" axes in the Mayurbhanja State at Baidyapur. The discoverer of this neolithic site is Mr. Paramananda Acharya, B. Sc., an Archæological scholar of Mayurbhanj State. These "shouldered" implements are connected with the second group of Austric race, Khasia-Nicobarese group, and not with the first group, that of the Santhals and Mundas, among whom only unshouldered axes are found. It is interesting to note that early prehistoric pottery has also been found at this neolithic site along with stone implements, as at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. The fourth chapter deals with the references to Kalinga, Odra, and Utkala in Brahmanical and Buddhist texts. The fifth chapter comes to historical times and treats of Orissa under the Nandas and Mauryas, with an account of the Kalinga edicts of Asoka. The next two chapters dealing with "Kharavela and the empire of Kalinga and the Overseas empire of Kalinga" are some of the most original parts of the volume. The famous Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela is re-interpreted on the lines of the joint contribution of the author and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal to the pages of *J. B. O. R. S.* The most important suggestion is thus given. "We learn from the Hathigumpha inscription that the Greek King Demetrios had to fall back on Mathura, apparently his base, on hearing of the approach of Kharavela" (p. 79). It is also shown how "in the very dawn of Indian history the people of Kalinga were the pioneers of Indian colonization in Further India and the Indian Archipelago." The next two chapters deal with Orissa in the time of Harshavardhana, as as described by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan-Chuang. The remaining chapters deal with the history of Orissa with reference to different dynasties with which it came to be connected such as the *Kara* (about whom the author discovered an important inscription, that of Neulpur plate), the *Bhanjas*, the *Turigas*, *Sulkis* and Nandas of the dark period prior the conquest of northern Orissa by the eastern *Gangas*, the *Somavamsis*, the early *Gangas* of Kalinga, the eastern *Gangas*, until we come to the foundation of the Orissan empire under Kapilendra, the zenith of its power and prosperity under Purushottama (1470-97) and its decline under Prataparudra (1497-1541). The volume concludes with a chapter on the last of the *Gajapatis*.

The work thus presents an intensive study of an important province of India which is full of interest to the student of Indian history as a whole. As is well known, the history of India has never always developed from a single centre as an organic unity. It is a complex web of different strands each of which requires specialized study. It is made up of subordinate histories of different provinces and peoples so that not a single province or people can claim any monopoly in its making. A proper knowledge of this complex of Indian history can come only out of intensive studies of its many local histories and regional cultures. The scope and standard of such studies are seen at their best in this volume on the *History of Orissa* by one whose untimely death has been a great

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blow to Indian scholarship and is deeply deplored by all students of Indian history.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA: *By Ramaprasad Gupta, M. A., B. L. Book Company, Calcutta, 1930, Rs. 5.*

The work presents a critical and comparative study of ancient Indian criminal law on the basis of the principal legal texts such as those of Gautama, Vasishtha, Apastamba, Baudhayana, Manu, Kautilya, Yajnavalkya, Vishnu, Narada, Brihaspati and Katyayana. A very valuable feature of the work which makes it a contribution to Indian history in general and to the history of Sanskrit literature in particular is the light it throws on the chronological sequence of these legal works as exhibited in the stages they represent in the evolution of ancient Indian law. A critical study of the legal material points to the conclusion that an earlier development is registered in the works of Gautama, Vasishtha, Apastamba, and Baudhayana, in the somewhat rudimentary character of its criminal law and its imperfect differentiation between laws proper and what are merely the rules of penance. In Manu, however, the standard *Smriti* text, is to be noticed a higher, and, consequently, a later social evolution in respect of its systematized code of laws, civil and criminal, its enumeration of the number of offences, modes of punishment, subject-matter of suits, betokening a complex and cultured social life. Vishnu appears to be later than Manu in his attempts to reduce the severity of some of Manu's punishments. The break with Manu is more marked and complete in Yajnavalkya and Kautilya with their less severe penal codes, their elaborated civil and criminal procedure, their hierarchy of courts and other features. A further advance in legal development is reached in Narada, Brihaspati and Katyayana in point of treatment, arrangement, classification, definitions, and procedure, though they model themselves on Manu rather than on Yajnavalkya on the ground perhaps that Manu's laws had a wider currency than those of Yajnavalkya. In the second part of the work, the author deals with the laws relating to crimes and offences as presented by the Hindu law-givers but does not follow their method of arrangement and classification by which the subject-matter of law-suits is brought and considered under eighteen titles or heads. He follows the modern system of the Indian Penal Code. What further enhances the value of his treatment is his comparison of Hindu Law with the laws of other important countries in ancient, mediaeval, and modern times which in the case of England are limited to the work of Blackstone. The work is the fruit of a happy blending of historical and legal knowledge in the author and must appeal equally to students of Indian history and literature, and law, both for the matter presented, and the manner of its presentation in lucid and logical language. Only one mistake may be brought to his notice in the Bengali spelling *Yagnavalkya* given for *Yajnavalkya*. Nor does he care very much for proper transliteration of Sanskrit names and words.

RADHA KUMUD MUKHERJI

—

AFGHANISTAN IN THE MELTING POT: *By C. Morrish, printed at the Civil and Military Press, Lahore*, pp. 1-61.

The unfortunate ex-king Amanullah Khan had a big heart, a big mind and a large vision. His scheme of reform to rebuild Afghanistan as a powerful and advanced State to find its place in the comity of great nations. failed partly on account of Amanullah's impatience for speed, but largely due to the stupid obstinacy, woeful ignorance of the Afghan people, baneful influence of the reactionary Mullahs and other interested parties. Amanullah's tragic exit from the field of action and from his rightful place in his country excites pity, but never anger or contempt. We do not know who this Mr. Morrish really is or what his office or work was while he was in India during those troublous times in Afghanistan. In his words the writer of the booklet under review, Mr. Morrish, "was in the closest connection with Afghanistan during the recent revolt, having lived throughout the troublous days in Peshawar (N. W. F. P.) and in outlying districts on India's North-West border." And since then "has been able to complete my information concerning the facts connected with the revolution and after collecting personally news in Afghanistan, India and England, venture to give an account of events as they were, from the early days of Amanullah's reign to the present day." But this presumably well-informed writer has not a single word of praise or appreciation for Amanullah's noble character and unquestioned patriotism. He has no word of regret at the failure of the patriotic king's schemes for the political, social, and economic regeneration of his people. On the other hand, the writer has given a positively harmful picture of that great Afghan who one day will certainly be worshipped by the future generations of Afghans as a hero and a martyr. The author concludes his booklet with a good certificate for the present King Nadir Shah: "It is hoped that king Nadir Shah may be spared to continue the government of the country in which he has staked his all and may yet see the fruits of his labours, of his self-denials and of his ever constant and unwavering patriotism." We do not doubt that King Nadir Shah is an able general and a great patriot. But what we doubt is the King Nadir Shah's 'self-denial.' To leave a lonely villa in France, where he lived in virtual exile, cut off from his family in Afghanistan, and then to sit on the Afghan throne to which he had no pretence of claim is certainly not 'self-denial.'

N. N. GHOSH

—

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CIVIL VETERINARY DEPARTMENT, BIHAR AND ORISSA, FOR THE YEAR 1929-30. *Price Re. 1.*

The officiating Director of the Civil Veterinary Department is to be congratulated on his presenting a highly illuminating report, the map at the beginning of the report being very useful to locate seats of outbreaks of contagious diseases and to form an idea of the general distribution of the veterinary force of the province.

The outstanding event of the year is the opening of a veterinary college for the province. The more such colleges are established, the better it is for the animal welfare of India. The college

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seems to be well-equipped, but there is no mention of a veterinary hospital being attached to the college, and to our mind, any technical instruction divorced from clinical facilities, is never very fruitful, or useful. We venture to hope that this defect will be remedied as soon as funds become available.

The measures adopted by the staff to combat epidemics are very commendable, but could not the various kinds of sera and vaccines be made free to the public bodies? In return for such relief, they should be asked to entertain an augmented veterinary staff, create fresh posts, and open new dispensaries, especially in view of the fact that some of them are doing away with the services "of this most important agency."

Weeding out of scrub bulls by the process of bloodless castration is a step in the right direction, and it is satisfactory to note, from the increase in the number of operations, that this method is gaining in popularity.

An encouraging feature of the report is the carrying out of propaganda work by the staff. Intelligent and widespread propaganda goes a long way in promoting the usefulness of a Department, especially a recently-created one as this.

In view of the growing tendency of our young men to earn an independent livelihood by entering into some form of business, we should like to know whether the Patna Cattle-breeding and Dairy Farm is a self-supporting one, particularly the dairy portion of it, and if so, could not young men desirous of embarking on this line of business, be given a short practical course of training in order to fit them for such an undertaking, the view-point being of course an appreciable amount of profit with a minimum of expenditure.

The lay public, like ourselves, might have been enlightened by a short and simple explanation of the Tharparkar breed. The photographs are excellent.

We fully endorse the opinion of the Director that "the crying need of the department is an increase of the subordinate staff. Unless this staff is sufficiently strengthened control of livestock diseases will prove a most difficult problem for the department."

K.

—

THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL THOUGHT IN INDIA: *By Ishwar Nath Topa, Dr. Phil. Hamburg, 1930.*

This is a closely printed quarto volume of 176 pages in which the author traces the growth and development of Indian nationalism. The book is really a summary of the political history of India under British rule, to which is added a few introductory chapters on Hindu and Muhammadan polity. There are many typographical mistakes, which can however be easily corrected. The author's use of the English language is rather slipshod, betraying hasty composition and want of thorough familiarity with English idioms. A peculiarity of his style is the use of expressions like the following: 'we shall be seeing' 'we shall be doing' 'we shall be using' 'we shall be tracing' so on for 'we shall see' 'we shall do' etc. The use of German words here and there might have been avoided, except in the case of one or two well-known words, of which the exact synonyms are not to be found in English.

The value of the book lies in the excellent use that the author has made of the material at his command, and in the choice of the material. Parliamentary despatches and blue books, and authoritative though not always available books on various aspects of British rule have been all laid under contribution and the most striking passages have been extracted without going to tedious lengths, in order to illustrate the points which the author has sought to make. Another significant feature is the spirit of detachment which Dr. Topa has striven to maintain in his presentation of the picture, thereby making his inferences more telling and effective. He has succeeded in showing how, step by step, the idea of government of the people, by the people and for the people developed in India and how English writers contributed to the growth of that idea and the British administration drove the lesson home by their acts of omission and commission till India lost faith in British professions which was at one time the dominating feature of the situation, and became thoroughly saturated with the conviction that nations by themselves are made and that they who will be free, themselves must strike the blow. That blow has now been struck, but in a non-violent form which, as a moral equivalent of war, has taken the West by surprise aud puzzled our English rulers who never prepared themselves to ward it off by measures designed for the moral and material uplift of the people. But the history of this recent struggle through which we are now passing is not to be found in this book, which brings the narrative to a close with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The book is well worth study and will amply repay perusal.

POLITICUS

—

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA: *by A. K. Ghose. Bar-at-Law, Lecturer University of Calcutta. Published by the University of Calcutta. Royal 8vo pp. XXII+743.*

Mr. A. K. Ghose has been delivering a series of lectures before the University of Calcutta, which are now published in book form after thorough revision and amplification. The book contains an able analysis of the system of Government in India established by the British and takes the reader through its various phases and developments while pointing out critically every important historical detail.

Mr. Ghose has written a book on public administration which should be classed with the best standard works on the subject. With his legal training and outlook, he has left out nothing which is of any importance; nor has he minced matters where the subject-matter requires criticism. For instance: referring to the recent institution of the Indian High Commissionership Mr. Ghose points out its lack of proper height in comparison with the High Commissioners of the Dominions, saying, "The High Commissioner for India performs for India *functions of Agents only*...(Ital. ours), as distinguished from *political functions* · analogous to those performed in the offices of the High Commissioners for the Dominions."

To those whose critical faculty chooses the extreme, Mr. Ghose might appear mild where he

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credits the British with liberal intentions in instituting the reforms in India. Impassioned criticism would call it the policy of giving as little as possible. But others would think that the British might have given even less than what they conceded in the reforms. Mr. Ghose, however, does not worry too much over valuations. His academic spirit rules supreme throughout his book. Criticism is introduced everywhere with great restraint.

The chapter devoted to the Army is perhaps the most satisfactory part of Mr. Ghosh's book. For its compilation he seems to have relied almost exclusively on the official publication, *The Army in India and its Evolution*, whose arrangement and, in many places, language has been almost literally followed. This attempt at sampling and compressing a book which is itself hardly anything more than a skeleton, combined with the author's natural unfamiliarity with the subject, gives a certain air of unreality and scrappiness to the chapter. We notice only a few defects which have caught our eyes. The account of the distribution of the commands and districts in the text (pp. 428-29) is contradicted by that given in annexure E (pp. 491-92). The last account is, of course, correct. But as Mr. Ghosh has followed a 1924 publication, he gives the old distribution and reproduces a whole passage from that book, to explain why Waziristan district is, under the direct command of the A.H.Q. Incidentally, it should also be mentioned that Rajputana (with the exception of the States of Alwar, Bhartpore and Dholpur), is now under the Southern Command and the responsibility for defending Aden no longer belongs to the Government of India. Mr. Ghosh's treatment of the questions of internal security, relations between the Imperial General Staff and the A. H. Q., and the employment of the Army in India beyond India, is also very unsatisfactory and vague. There is also another omission which has struck us. The description of the various arms and services of the Army in the book includes even the Remount Department, but it omits the artillery altogether.

The Government of India's lack of willingness to spend money on important social services such as education, public health, housing, old age pensions, unemployment benefit etc. comes in for well-deserved criticism at the hands of the author. He says, whereas all modern civilized countries pay special attention to these matters, the Government of India are an exception and they have not yet awakened themselves to that high sense of responsibility which is the fundamental basis of all national Governments." He recommends the Government to try to reduce expenditure on debt charges and the army and to spend more on the beneficial services. The book deserves a lengthier notice than space would allow us to attempt. We congratulate the author and the University of Calcutta for having brought out this excellent treatise on a subject which is now in the forefront of public attention.

ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

—

HINDI

BHARATI-BHUSHAN: *By Seth Arjundas Kedia. Published by the Bharati-bhushan Office, Benares, pp. iii+395; Price Rs. 2. 1930.*

Old Hindi literature was fortunate not only in its poets but in its poetics also. Indeed, there was rather an inordinate rage for poetics. And the tradition has not died out. In the book under notice we have an able exposition of the figures of speech in Hindi poetical literature. Copious illustrations from the old and new masters have been a special feature of the book. The attempt is useful because much of the charm of old Hindi literature depends upon the interpretation of its rhetorical skill and point. The diagrams showing the figures *Kamala-bandha*, *Dhanusha-bandha*, *Chamara-bandha*, *Sarvatobhadragati*, and *Kamadhenu-bandha* are very interesting. We think we have never met these anywhere else. The introduction is by Mr. Krishnabehari Misra.

PRAPANCHA-PARICHAYA: *By Prof. Visweswar, Siddhantasiromoni. Published by the Hindi-grantha Ratnakar Office, Bombay. 1930, pp. 236. Price Re. 1-8.*

A philosophical treatise in the widest sense comprising dissertations concerning life and the universe as found in eastern and western philosophies. The philosophy of science of the modern west is also discussed.

SRI RAMNANDAN CHARIT: *By Pandit Ramnandan Sahay, pp. 179.*

A Hindi drama depicting the life of Kusha and Laba, the sons of Ramchandra. The work is executed in the old Indian style and is interspersed with Hindi verses.

RAMES BASU

—

GUJARATI

SANGIT KALA DARSHAN: *By Pandit Maharanishanker Sharma.*

Kavi Maharanishankar Sharma, a Gujarati poet and teacher, appears here in the rôle of a music artist. He furnishes a long-felt want in Gujarati literature by his present treatise on Indian music. Music as an art, occupies a very prominent place in the cultural life of a nation.

The author of this scientific treatise on Indian music has made a very laudable attempt to compose songs in simple Gujarati and set them to music in different tunes (*Ragas*). The notation that has been adopted is such as can be easily understood. The ascending and descending notes are given in case of every *Raga* and their amplification is also shown. A statement of particulars of different times is given at the outset. The theme of the songs is varied covering from pure devotional songs to those inspiring patriotism. This happy combination of a poet and musician has created enough material for a music student.

With the help of experts like Messrs. Jambekar and Bapat Mr. and Mrs. Maharanishanker managed to achieve mastery over the science, and the present work has been the product of their combined effort. The work will supply a great want in the Gujarati language and will certainly be valuable to those wishing to have a training in the art.

R. M. K.

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RATNA MANJUSHA AND AKSHAR PARIDHAN OR DAMPATYA YOGA: *By Ramchandra Adhvaryu, Bardolikar, printed at the Bharat Vijaya Printing Press, Baroda, pp. 293. Cloth Cover: Price Re. 1-4-0. (1930).*

The writer of this "Advice to his Son" is a widower and not blessed much with the goods of this world. Being therefore unable to give any very costly present to his son on the occasion of his wedding, he wrote out this treatise which is meant to guide him in his future career as a married man and a man of the world. The advice tendered is homely and sound, and partakes of the features usually found when an elder speaks to his juniors. The language is, however, very high and stilted, and this takes away entirely whatever value this book possesses; such young people as his son and the latter's bride who are supposed to be the recipients of this advice, would hardly possess the knowledge required for following the Sanskritized language in which the thoughts of the author are couched. There are other similar published books and the advice may well have been given to the members of his family alone, instead of being inflicted upon the public.

MEGHA SANDESH: *By Vallabhdas Bhagvanji Ganatra. Printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Paper Cover, pp. 35. Price 4 as. (1930).*

This is an imitation of the well-known Megha Duta by Kalidas. A student leaving his college studies as the result of Mahatma Gandhi's propaganda, and joining the Satyagraha, is supposed to send a message to him at the Yeravda jail from Bombay. The actual message, clothed in the language of an enthusiast, is stirring. The absurdity of the whole performance, however, has not escaped the contributor of the preface, Mrs. Ramibai Kamdar, who notices that Poona is to the south of Bombay and the monsoon clouds travel up from the south to the north and it would therefore be an unnatural incident for a rain bearing cloud with a message to go in the opposite direction.

RASESHWARI: *By Chandra Kant Mangalji Oza, printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover: pp. 79. Price 12 as. (1930).*

This is a collection of sweet songs (*Rasos*) composed by Mr. Chandra Kant who is not a novice in the line. They are meant to be studied and sung by women and because of that are concerned with such domestic incidents in their lives as touch them most. The ornaments used by them to adorn their persons such as their forehead ornament (*Tiladi*, p. 50), their hair ornament made of flowers (*Veni*, p. 51) are skilfully utilized for making the verses more attractive and interesting. The present collection keeps up the reputation of its predecessor—*Rasmani*.

K. M. J.

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BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

MANDARAVATI—By K. Krishnamacharya.

A SHORT HISTORY OF KASHMIR—By Pandit Gwasha Lal.

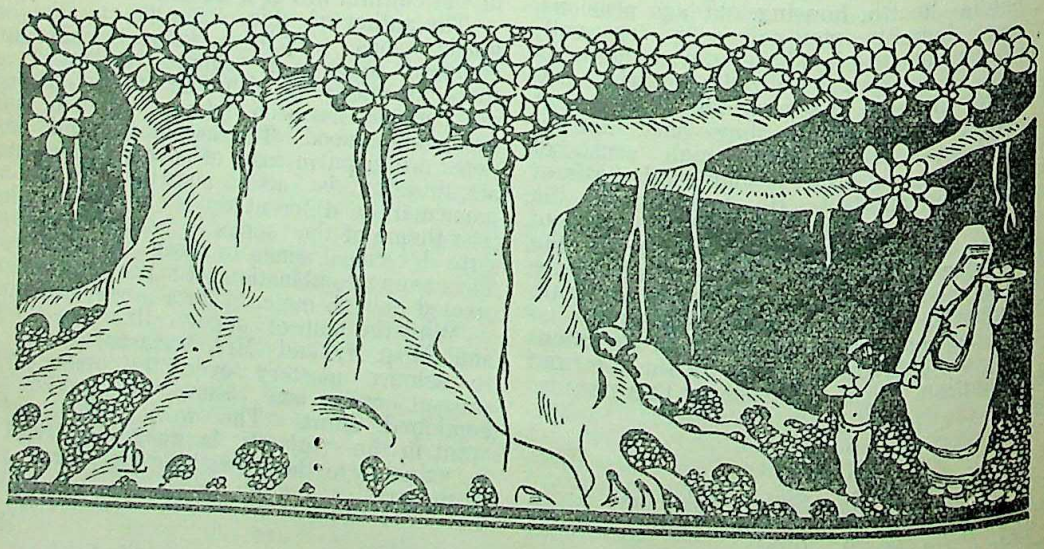
THE ORIGIN OF THE RAJPOOT KSHATRIYAS—By Harichandra Bandhu.

INDIA IN MELTING-POT—By Jamuna Prasad Shastri.

THE NEW ERA STORY BOOKS, PARTS I & II—By C. Gordon

CHANDRAHASA, GRADE IV—By Prof. J. C. Bollo, M.A.

THE CLAY CART, GRADE V—By H. O. Kershaw.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"Bolshevismus Asiaticus"

"Scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar," is an ancient saying whose vague recollection haunts many a European estimate of Russia and the Russians. For many decades past it has often been stated that Russia is, at heart, an Oriental country, only superficially Europeanized by the Czarist autocracy. This theory has had its repurcussions on Russian thought too, and a dispute about the essentially Russian and un-European character of Russian culture once cast its shadow over the friendships of Tolstoy and Turgenev and Turgenev and Dostoevsky. The view, it seems, has again been put forward by Count Keyserling, and is vigorously denied by Dr. Otto Hoetzsch, in an article in the *Schweizerische Monatschefte*, translated and abridged in *The International Digest*. Dr. Hoetzsch says :

The historical development of Russia is actually a part of European history. She is not essentially, but only more or less superficially, different from Western Europe ; the political and economic systems of Russia of today are primarily of European origin.

Count Keyserling speaks of a "*Bolshevismus Asiaticus*", but actually Socialism in the form of Bolshevism is of German creation. A visitor to the Marx Institute in Moscow, viewing the extensive collection of the works and belongings of Marx and Engels, might readily believe that he was in a museum of German history. The world of the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is of European origin. Social-Revolutionism, which might have thrived on Russian ground between 1905 and 1914, has been completely uprooted. All Russian social-revolutionists today live abroad. "*Bolshevismus Asiaticus*" is nothing but a happy phrase.

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Russia and Europe

In course of the same article, Dr. Hoetzsch goes on to describe the challenge of Russia to Europe :

But it is no consolation for Europe to know that what is happening in Russia today is not "*Bolshevismus Asiaticus*," but an economic and social system of European origin. The newly created Russia, with its 151 million inhabitants and its area of 21 million square kilometers, is a socialist part of Europe, with additional imperialistic influences over an Asiatic empire (influences maintained by the promise of carrying Bolshevism throughout the world), and Europe must face the fact. The remainder of Europe is of capitalist-democratic organization. Will the capitalistic part of Europe, with its economic crises, its unemployment, its political confusions, its national frictions, its constant threats of war—will it be able to preserve itself against the danger with which it is confronted ? It has a chance against the threat of the Russia of the Soviets only if it has the power to reconstruct firmly the organization of European peace, and the will to reform the capitalistic economic system. Continuous peace and reform of capitalism will force Russia to change and will strip her of a great deal of her influence. Merely opposing Russia with the slogan. "Anti-Marxism" leads nowhere. Only a recognition of the actual situation, and a will for constructive reform will lead Europe forward.

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What Russia is Doing

Dr. Hoetzsch's article contains an estimate of the Russian Revolution. He, first of all, emphasizes the necessity of caution with regard to the Russian experiment :

But how is it possible to make even a fairly accurate estimate of Russia ? The officials of Russia know just as well as those of former times how to impress or deceive foreign observers. But, as a matter of fact, the Stalin system seems to have adopted the policy of not exaggerating achievements ; on the contrary, considerable self-criticism is evident. The reason for this is that Stalin is attempting to get the utmost mental and physical effort out of his people, and is constantly spurring them on to the goal he has set ; to paint the results in falsely glowing colours would defeat his purpose. Thus the visitor to Russia has a certain foundation for accurate judgment, though reliable conclusions can be drawn only by one who can compare the Russia of to-day with the Russia of before the war. He must be familiar with her former problems and conditions, and he must understand her history. The Bolshevists do not want to be reminded of history ; in their opinion, Russia of today is an entirely new world. But this is not true ; history does not leap—it flows steadily In today's conditions and relations there is still a great deal of the past. A visitor to Russia. with a knowledge of Russian history and the Russian language, will be able to make accurate observations. On fifteen separate occasions, four of them since the war, I have been required to visit Russia, and it is with this background that I make the observations which follow.

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The Bolshevist state is an example of an attempt to combine organic unity and freedom. Far-reaching liberty in self-government is granted to the national minorities within the whole. But the state has many of the characteristic traits of the absolutism of Ivan III, except that the chief power is in the hands of the Communistic Party, and not in the hands of a Czar. The position of Stalin is not comparable to that of Mussolini. When Mussolini speaks and acts, only as a member of the Party. It is by means of the Party that he holds his position, and only through it can he carry out his plans.

What gives "Stalinism" its individuality? Stalin's outstanding characteristic is an overwhelming and iron will (which, however, does not preclude an ability to compromise, or to revise an opinion). He is the axis around which the Party and the State turn. His actions reveal a definite system—not a truly Russian characteristic.

Stalin's chief aim is the industrialization of Russia, for he believes that only by this means will Russia be able to provide herself with necessary products, to give work to her constantly increaing population, and to maintain the class of industrial workers who form the foundation of Socialism and her economic system.

His second aim is the socialization of agriculture. This is a task which even Lenin did not dare assume. According tc Stalinism, farms and agricultural production belong to the community, which now consists of a number of farmers who jointly sow, reap, and market. With this arbitrary socialization of agriculture, class friction has extended to the villages. Farmers are of two classes: those of comparatively large property (the *kulaks*), who are generally oppressed and persecuted, and those of small property who are favored and who receive State aid.

The third outstanding characteristic of Stalinism is its stand against the Church and religion. The Church and State were already separated at the time of the Revolution, but the positive declaration against everything connected with religion is a particular doctrine of Stalinism.

To make any statement regarding the success of the Russian experiment is difficult. An attempt has been made to bring the realization of the ultimate goal nearer to the masses, by means of a programme worked out for a period of five years. This "Five Year Plan" is a schedule of four thick volumes, the demands of which are to be carried out within the time limit, regardless of the constant and terrific handicaps within the country. To each branch of production, and to each part of the country, a certain task is assigned, and in this way each labourer is made to feel that he is a part of the whole, and he is thus able to determine how well the aim is being reached. A universal competition is the result. Incidently, it is amazing how little is heard these days in Russia of the "Third International". The reason is that people are thinking only of the realization of the Plan, and have no time or effort for anything else. This will tend to estrange Russia still more from Europe, for now only very few Bolshevists know Europe from actual experience, while formerly the leaders at least were familiar with it.

There are no political parties in Russia today. The Left and Right Oppositions both acknowledge Marxism. All political life is dominated by a rigid dogmatism, and by an almost unbelievable idolization of Lenin and his doctrines. Difference of opinion is only to be found in estimates of the length of time the people will be able to stand the terrific strain. But there is nothing to be done except to endure, just as Germany had to endure in 1917-1918, and this is the constant Russian refrain. What holds the Bolshevists together is the belief in their common cause, and their realization that there will be a common gallows in case of failure.

Stalin states that the foreign policy of Russia is peaceful; he really means it, because any other policy would bring ruin to the present regime. All that matters now is the consummation of the Plan.

—

On the Modern Cult of Nudity

M. Edmond Jaloux is one of the most graceful and witty of the French men of letters of today. He contributes to the famous Paris daily, *Le Temps*, an article on going naked:

During the summer, while waiting for a friend in the lobby of a big cosmopolitan hotel, I ran through a number of illustrated reviews. Have you noticed that only these illustrated publications give you a real idea of our period? If you read the chief literary reviews you have a hard time believing that there is any measurable difference between 1874 and 1894 or between 1912 and 1930. Recently, I studied a complete file of the *Revue germanique*, a remarkable publication from every point of view, that appeared from 1857 to 1865. In it I found studies of all the problems that occupy us to-day. I found all the ideas that we believe peculiar to our time being analyzed. Needless to say, the possibility of creating a United States of Europe was discussed at length.

In a collection of this kind one is able to measure how slowly humanity progresses and within what a narrow circle it moves. One detail only in all that I read in this publication gave a definite impression that times had changed. This was the protest made against the ferocious and unjust chastisement inflicted on black slaves in America, who were cruelly whipped for the most insignificant short-comings. Yet even this impression of an essential change is more than corrected by the stories now current of negroes being lynched by modern Americans.

On the other hand, if someone in 1940 or 1960 takes it into his head to run through the half-sporting, half-fashionable reviews to which I have alluded he will instantly discover the extent of our transformation. Man, who remains immutable in great things, cannot stand the sight of little things unless they keep changing. Now what characterizes modern life in France no less than in England, in America, no less than in Scandinavia, in Germany, no less than in Italy, is the passion for the open air, for the sun, the cult of nudity. On the Lido and at Deauville, at Abbazia and at Flims, the beaches are covered with recumbent figures clad only in skimpy tights. It is as if one had returned to the primitive humanity that Arnold Böcklin painted. Indeed, who among us has not got some ancestor who was a Triton, some great-

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grandmother who was a siren? Venus, they say, emerged from the sea. Is she returning to it only to disappear in its depths?

—

The New Paganism

There are many who have read in this and the other modern cult of sports the signs of a new paganism. M. Jaloux would not have it so. He goes on to say:

I do not believe that we have a very just concept of classic paganism, though we act as if we had. We let ourselves confuse the heroic epochs of the real Greece with the amiable dissolution of Alexandria. The Greeks were above all a civic and religious people and if they cultivated their bodies they did so chiefly to be able to defend their cities more adequately. We invest the idea of paganism with an excessive atmosphere of pleasure that it never possessed, for the Romans, like the Greeks, only gave themselves up to pleasure when they had ceased being real pagans, that is to say, when they no longer believed in their gods. For they were severe gods and we must not learn our mythology from Offenbach. Jupiter's adventures have thrown a certain discredit on Olympus, but when we understand that these divinities incarnated the elements and powers of life itself we are no longer surprised that the creative power was in its turn magnified. The idea of creation is only indentified with the idea of pleasure by certain thoroughly modern philosophies. If there is such a thing as paganism in the mistaken meaning that we now give to the word, it is of our own day.

Still we must not exaggerate. There is a malign tendency to look upon our poor contemporaries as if they were sad fellows replete with various enjoyments and always ready to throw themselves into some new orgy. But this is an optimistic picture. We are not stupefied by too much pleasure. Indeed, for my part, I believe that if a great many people like alcohol, noisy bars, and braying music, to say nothing of certain sedatives more dangerous still, they only go in for all this because they are unable to find real pleasure anywhere. Pascal speaks with disgust of mere diversion-seeking, but what would he say today of the oblivion that is the aim of so many of our actions, an oblivion whose real nature is concealed by the external stimuli that produce it.

To tell the truth, the new paganism lacks excess. It consists chiefly in the cult of the body. Since sport has become a kind of beauty factory the body is now the object of our most tender solicitude. An attempt has even been made to consecrate a whole literature to it, but the attempt failed for lack of durable sustenance. Why should we refuse, as we have refused for centuries, to enjoy the healthy pleasure that is born of movement? But, on the other hand, should we make an occupation of this kind the centre of all our activities? Anyone would think we should, to judge from the pictures in French and foreign reviews depicting the life of our day and, at the other end of the social ladder, the enthusiasm that crowds manifest for sporting exploits. Is this open-air life, this outdoor life, this life of high speed and record-breaking, going to replace the life that our grand-parents knew?

* * * *

I would not have this new paganism commit us to precocious animality, but the retired life of ancient times which we led far too long did not produce much more intelligence and, for one learned man who profited from his retreat, how many angry numbskulls there were. The struggle for youth, health, and beaty has in it those elements of courage and energy which only become a danger if they confuse the end and the means. Greek and Roman paganism had the city as their ideal. Where is our paganism going? Alas, I am afraid it is nothing but a fashion and that another fashion will replace it. When the gods have departed caprice is born, and even the most fantastic systems of polytheism have not been able to make a demigod of caprice.

—

Guglielmo Ferrero on the World of To-day

The Christian Register of Boston gives the following summary of the diagnosis of the world situation by Guglielmo Ferrero, the famous philosopher-historian:

After the economist tells us why the world is sick, we turn to the philosopher, Guglielmo Ferrero, who knows world-history and its meaning as well as any man alive, has been writing in trenchant fashion about overproduction and underconsumption and what lies behind these things. The five continents are suffering from the same malady, and they will only be cured together, he says in *The Illustrated News*, London. The economic problem, and every other, is not isolated. All things in the world hang together. The peoples all need one another in order to live, and they must have the same conception of life, morals, and the State, if they are to succeed.

To-day the nations do not have the same fundamental beliefs. Russia is the most ominous exception. She has seceded from the Western world, and normal trade conditions are impossible with the other nations. The secession is serious because it is rooted in a new principle of civilization, opposed both in Western ideas of liberty and progress and to the concept of absolute monarchy. Russia is determined by all possible schemes of dividing internal forces in other countries to bring about a world-wide revolution. Already the political leaders everywhere are in a state of perturbation, and the unity, certainly of Europe, probably of Asia, and not impossibly of the Americas, is in jeopardy.

Thus Signor Ferrero sums up the situation. "The world requires a greater moral economic, and political unity," he continues. "That is the obvious conclusion which is hidden in the depths of the calamities of 1930. Nothing is eternal in life; neither prosperity nor misfortune. However dark the times in which we live may be, it is reasonable to hope that better days are in store for us. But we shall reach them much more quickly, and with much greater possibilities of enjoying them, if we have worked conscientiously and tried to find out how to eliminate the causes of the disasters of the present day. There is always a fault at the bottom

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of the collective sufferings of humanity: to discover and correct it is one of the finest victories that man can win over himself and over circumstances. Will our epoch be able to draw out of that subterranean unity which makes us all suffer together, a surface unity, visible and real, which will be an element of universal happiness?

What Ferrero looks for is a unifying world-religion, instead of the sects which have led us since the Reformation to nationalism, disunion, wars, and disasters such as this last. There is such a universal religion. *The Register* believes passionately and profoundly. It is not the Roman Catholic religion, which is a mere shell of universality inwardly decaying in a scientific age. Such a religion cannot stand against free and democratic ideas. It is not any religion now existing under a corporate name in Christendom or elsewhere. It is a religion based upon universally accepted principles, such as the inherent oneness of humanity, the singleness and practicability of spiritual ideas and moral laws, the mutual obligation to serve the world around, the basic command to secure economic well-being for all the people, and, most important of all, a faith in the very nature of things, in the great law of Life, that it will give us all a ground and support for the temple of a catholic religion, lacking nothing in scope and power for one people with one soul and one purpose.

To-day the world is sick and in disorder. Nothing like it, we are sure, has occurred before in history. But to-morrow, if we are equal to our religion and make our religion equal to the requirements of the nations, we shall restore this unity which is our true nature and our spiritual home.

—

Disarmament

The following depressing review of the present position of the disarmament question appears in the *World Unity Magazine*:

After five years' attempt to reach some agreement the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament has finally drawn up a "skeleton" convention which will be submitted to a World Disarmament Conference to be held, it is now hoped, not later than 1932. It suggests what armament can be eliminated and how to limit, but it remains for the World Conference to determine how much each State shall limit its armaments on this basis.

That the programme agreed upon falls far short of what has been hoped is self-evident. After years of talk and subterfuge, for the Commission to have made no greater progress amounts almost to a confession of bankruptcy. Describing the net result of the long labours of the Preparatory Commission our chief representative, Ambassador Gibson, said at the closing session, "I should not be frank if I did not say that this draft falls far short of our hopes and expectations. It fails to contain many factors in which we have always believed and which in our opinion would lead to a real reduction in armaments. What we have achieved does not hold out the promise of bringing about that immediate reduction of armaments we would like to see. We can at least foresee a stabilization of armaments."

In a world which has pledged itself to disarmament with one hand and proceeded to increase its armaments with the other, there may be some slight gain in merely "stabilizing" armaments at the present high level. But in the present critical world situation such gain would be more theoretic than real. For stabilization would mean perpetuating the present inequality, in violation of the Versailles Treaty—*viz.* the allied nations armed to the teeth while Germany is virtually disarmed. The one thing that is clear is that unless general arms reduction is achieved soon, the German nation will insist on arming again. Speaking of the stern necessity for speedy action, the Greek delegate declared that "disarmament is imperatively necessary"; the Dutch chairman of the Commission said, "No more time is to be lost. The people await. Failure now would mean disaster;" the German delegate warned of "grave danger" unless action can be secured; and Ambassador Gibson warned against a false sense of security when he said, "Public opinion will not be informed in such a way as to exercise an intelligent influence if, through a desire to create confidence, we adopt too optimistic a tone as to what can be accomplished on the basis of our present draft."

It is not clear that the supreme need of the world just now is not for new machinery, valuable and necessary as such machinery is, but rather as John Dewey puts it, for "a new spirit, a new consciousness" on the part of Governments that leads to the realization that as nations we are all members one of another, and that we must act not for the ends of selfish aggrandizement but for the largest good of all nations?

Lord Cecil said: "This convention gives the people of the world a great opportunity. What will they do with it? The world can be disarmed if the people wish. The question is—do the people wish for disarmament? Only they can give the answer."

To quote from an editorial in the *New York Telegram*, "Faced with this explosive world situation, the United States during the year 1931 has the power to lead in international co-operation for peace without which the armament race, unchecked, will lead inevitably to war. If the United States will join the World Court promply, keep down its own armament expenditures, call off its tariff war against other nations, come forward with a consultation treaty that will give meaning to the Kellogg Peace Pact outlawing war, we may prevent the international explosion. This is the world challenge to the United States."

—

An M. P.'s Work

What sort of work does an M. P. do? Mr. P. M. Oliver, an M. P., gives an answer to this question and is reproduced in *The Inquirer*:

In the last session there were 382 members who spoke less than 100 minutes each. On the other hand there were five who spoke more than 100 hours each . . . And not less than 156 hours were passed in walking through corridors. He knew that some people believed that every politician should be a statesman. Correspondence

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interfered with that, correspondence about grievances not only national but personal, and a post pension might well mean as much to one person as the loss of India to the nation.

After telling of a friend who received 4,000 letters in one week on one single subject, and outlining the work involved in answering even an average post-bag, Mr. Oliver spoke of the necessity, even among those who did not aspire to be statesmen, of reading the Government-issued reports on important subjects. Then there were the committees of some 70 members and the Scots Grand Committee, on which th re were "a few representatives of the lesser breeds from below the Border" to watch their interests. These were more businesslike than the House. Attendances were regular, speeches short, and on the rare occasions when reports went into the press, when there were obstructions, they gave an entirely wrong impression of normal procedure. Then there were the Select Committees

"Personally," he said, "I think that legislation affecting industry could be very properly referred to Select Committees. There is a great deal that can be discovered in evidence that cannot be discovered in debate in the House. Representatives of the various interests telling their difficulties and desires seems to me the best form of procedure that has so far been devised."

Again, Mr. Oliver told of work on the committees, on private Bills, and of lobbying—which he regarded as not necessarily an evil thing. But, better than lobbying he said, was the machinery of discovering and sifting evidence in Select Committee. And at the end of his day he would go to the smoke-room, pick up a newspaper, and then be presented with a little green card—a constituent to pass a few words and be shown into inside of the House. He would return to the smoke-room, pick up the newspaper again, and find that the Manchester Luncheon Club wanted to know if members of Parliament worked. The answer was in the affirmative.

—

Sidelights on America

The World Tomorrow gives a selection of stories from the daily press and suggests how they might be utilized by the historian of the future in re-constructing the social history of the past:

The daily grist of stories in the newspapers takes a crazy pattern. One has to see them against a broad background in order to put them together and construct a social history of our contemporary world. But just at present they fit curiously as parts of a general pattern rather more generally than usual. Consider a few of the recorded incidents during the holiday period:

Farmers near England, Arkansas, to the number of 500 appeared in the town armed with shotguns, and demanded food for their families. They were given $275 worth of food per family.

The Bank of the United States in New York closed its doors and its failure has resulted in the withdrawal of savings accounts in many other banks. Banking circles are nervous and jumpy and attribute the frequent runs of depositors to communist propaganda.

The famed oil millionaire, Doherty, of New York, gave his step-daughter a "coming out" party in Washington, the cost of which was variously estimated from a quarter of a million to a million dollars.

The automobile show opened in New York, and a crowd of 25,000 people stormed its gates the first day to view the new models. Some of the cars are priced at $12,000.

Henry Ford, after keeping his men on two and three day week schedules for several months, gave them a Christmas present of a three weeks' lay off over the holidays. At the close of the year hardly a wheel turned in the automobile capital of America. The papers carried a picture of Mr. Edsel Ford on his new yacht.

Possib y the social historian of the future will put these and similar stories together and arrive at a generalization something like this:

The year 1930 marked the end of an era in the history of the United States. Once prosperous farmers were reduced to penury by the unwillingness of the dominant commercial groups of the country to admit them into the charmed circle of American prosperity. The poverty of the farmers was a contributing factor to the debacle in which the whole economic structure of the country came toppling to the ground. A nation which had given so little thought to fundamental, social and political issues was naturally unprepared to meet the crisis created by the stock market collapse of 1929. The rich continued in their profligate expenditures and resisted every effort to meet the needs of the poor through adequate taxation. The man, who more than any other was known to the world as a symbol of America's enlightened capitalism, threw his labourers upon the mercy of charitable institutions to which he made no contributions on the theory that justice is better than mercy. The government was chiefly concerned with the project of bolstering the morale of the people by optimistic statements, its theory being that the depression was largely psychological. It was during the year 1930 that every pretension by which American capitalism had maintained its power was reduced to an absurdity, and every hypocrisy achieved such monstrous proportions that it ceased to create the illusions it desired.

—

German Alarm at the Birth-rate

There is a very good, almost infallible, criterion of militarism. It is the panic over the birth-rate. Judged by this standard all Europe is war mad. As *The Literary Digest* says:

Germans lament that too few Germans are born. French lament that too few French are born. Italians lament that too few Italians are born.

Even among the Slavs, complaint is heard about the decline in the birth-rate.

So notes Dr. Wilhelm Röpke in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, but he asserts that it is a mistake to consider the birth-rate as merely a national problem.

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It is really a world problem, and what he calls the "international birth strike" is one of the gravest menaces of the day.

What makes matters worse, he then tells us, is that it is so difficult to rouse the masses of mankind to the peril that confronts them.

Investigation shows, he avers, that, everywhere, the practice of birth limitation, in more or less rapid rates of increase, is growing in the Germanic world, in the Latin world, and in the Slav world. Strangely enough, most people are taught to believe that there are too many people in the world, and Dr. Röpke continues :

"The decline in the birth-rate as a nightmare to competent statesmen affords a vivid contrast to the period in which the whole world was filled with alarm at impending over-population.

"Seemingly, anxiety over excess of population is sufficiently wide-spread to-day.

"The anxiety is the more general because great masses of the unemployed appear to the ill-informed to confirm them in their idea that there are too many people. This is erroneous.

"But, it is asked, is not the prevailing increase in the population considerable and sufficient ? Doubtless.

"Nevertheless, the ablest statisticians who have concerned themselves with the subject of population in recent years have satisfied themselves that the present rise in the survival ages of the masses of the people contributes, among other causes, to disguise the extent of the absolute decrease in the population.

"Competent authorities believe that a persistence of present tendencies will in no long time bring to a halt even such increases in birth-rates as we now enjoy.

"The next phase may be an actual diminution in population.

"No one can escape the conclusion that we have a development here—apart from all other questions of the day—which is scarcely to be exaggerated in importance from an economic, political, and cultural point of view.

"It is all the more to be deplored that sociological science has scarcely got beyond the threshold of a problem so ominous."

—

Borrowers and Lenders

The following interesting note about one of the acutest of modern financial problems occur in *The Japan Weekly Chronicle :*

It is just about a hundred years since Charles Lamb said that there are two races of men, the men who borrow, and the men who lend. The men who borrow, he described as cheerful, hearty persons, always confident and smiling. Mr. John Maynard Keynes, in the London *Nation* has re-discovered this division of the human species, but he finds the men who borrow sadly degenerate. They are so scared that they will not borrow—which is inexplicable considering the fact that, when Lamb wrote, the Marshalsea and other debtors' prisons were in full career, whereas nowadays there is hardly a penalty for failing to pay debts. Mr. Keynes says :

A wide gulf is set between the ideas of lenders and the ideas of borrowers for the purpose of genuine new capital investment; with the result that the savings of the lenders are being used up in financing business losses and distress borrowings, instead of financing new capital works. At this moment the slump is probably a little overdone for psychological reasons. A modest upward reaction, therefore, may be due at any time. But there cannot be a real recovery, in my judgment, until the ideas of lenders and the ideas of productive borrowers are brought together again; partly by lenders becoming ready to lend on easier terms and over a wider geographical field, partly by borrowers recovering their good spirits and so becoming readier to borrow. Seldom in modern history has the gap between the two been so wide and so difficult to bridge.

But Mr. Keynes is not a business man himself. He seems to have in view mainly the possibility of starting up something new. But there are many would-be borrowers who merely want to keep some excellent going concern in being. They find that they cannot sell at a price that will enable them to replace what they sell but it is as certain as any mundane thing can be that in a little while things will have changed for the better and the business be paying well again. Meanwhile they want a little money to keep from closing up, and they are not in a position to refuse even if one or two per cent should be added to the rate. But the bank "does not see its way," so either the business passes into the hands of a usurer for a song or closes its doors altogether. Yet the banks are not altogether to blame; they have heard that story so often, and they have in their possession ships, houses, merchandise, and "going concerns" which they would like to get rid of at any reasonable price. One even hears stories of big merchants living rent free in houses once theirs but now belonging to the bank, which does not turn them out simply because it is better preserved by having somebody in it than by lying empty. But, as already mentioned, the race of borrowers seems to have lost its touch—or its inclination to touch. According to Japanese reports, the Tokyo bankers were concerned at the lack of borrowers at the year's end. One pictures them standing on the bank steps with bags of gold which nobody will come and borrow. The Lord loveth a cheerful borrower.

—

God's Finger-prints in the Universe

Dr. Robert A. Millikan is the most distinguished physicist of America. He is also a churchman, and a believer in God. In a recent address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, he told his audience that he had found proof of what he calls the finger-prints of God in the universe. His speech is reproduced in part in *The Literary Digest* :

The discovery of God's finger-prints in the universe, as announced by one of America's most distinguished scientists, makes first-page news.

Perhaps that is a bald, a bold way of stating it, but that is the gist of Dr. Robert A. Millikan's humble announcement that he believes he

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found evidence that the Creator is still at work and that the cosmic ray is His implement.

Somewhere out in the cold depths of interstellar spaces the process of rebuilding keeps up with the process of atomic annihillation in the suns.

Birth is a step ahead of death.

In other words, it is a process of continual resurrection.

Perhaps, we are reminded, Dr. Millikan really announced little additional to previous reports on his discoveries. But his picturesque phrase has turned fresh attention to his adventures in physics which lead him directly to the Creator....

Dr. Millikan advanced his theory in an address delivered as retiring president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, meeting in Cleveland. A gathering of 5,000 of America's most distinguished scientists listened as he told how he had, in effect, finger-printed God in the heavens.

It showed, he said, as he is quoted in the press, "a Creator continually on His job."

Entirley in disagreement with the "heat-death dogma," he quoted in support of his own theory a recent utterance of Gilbert N. Lewis that "thermodynamics gives no support to the assumption that the universe is running down."

While the sun and the stars are constantly annihilating atoms and throwing them off in the form of radiant energy, said Dr. Millikan, new atoms are being built out of hydrogen all through space and are rained upon all heavenly bodies in the form of cosmic rays.

"I am not unaware of the difficulties of finding an altogether satisfactory picture of these how events take place," he added "but acceptable and demonstrable facts do not, in this twentieth century, seem to be disposed to wait on suitable mechanical pictures."

In substance, Dr. Millikan holds that the "mad, hot pace kept up in the interior of the suns" is caused by a "suicide-pact" of two paired electrons, whose snuffing out brings us heat and light.

This continuous atomic destruction is offset by the equally continuous building-up process of the cosmic rays originating in the coldest depths of interstellar space and penetrating to the stars. This interstellar space is a coal-bin perpetually drawn upon but never exhausted.

In this cosmic ray, in other words, Dr. Millikan sees the operation of a force which continually renews the universe, a force to which he applies the word "Creator."

In his own words, Dr. Millikan concludes:

"This has been speculatively suggested many times before, in order to allow the Creator to be continually on His job Here is perhaps a little bit of experimental finger-prints in that direction.

"But it is not at all proved, nor even perhaps necessarily suggested. If Sir James Jeans prefers to hold one view, and I another, on this question, no one can say us nay.

"The one thing of which you may be quite sure is that neither of us knows anything about it.

"But for continuous building up of the common elements out of hydrogen in the depths of intersteller space, the cosmic rays furnish excellent experimental evidence.

"I am not unaware of the difficulties of finding an altogether satisfactory kinetic picture of how these events take place; but acceptable and demonstrable facts do not, in this twentieth century, seem to be disposed to wait on suitable mechanical pictures. Indeed, has not modern physics thrown the purely mechanical view of the universe, root and branch, out of its home?"

—

Students in Europe and America

Higher education has a slightly different meaning in America than what it has in Europe. The Universities in America include within their curriculum many "bread-winning" subject, while university in Europe means almost pure scholarship. The distinction is emphasized in an contribution to the *Journal de Geneve*, translated in *The Living Age*:

Almost everywhere in Europe the student is a privileged being. With nearly all his time free for study, almost always sheltered from financial worries, he finds that liberty is his domain. He is free to muse or to work, to learn or to let things slide. He has no responsibilities. If he knows how to grasp his personality he can form it and affirm it. Examinations, which are consecrated by long usage, are hardly necessary and are chiefly used as a kind of sieve to get rid of the inevitable failures. The European student is therefore a being apart from the society he is about to enter. This society imposes sacrifices on itself in order to supply the student with assistance and admiration, for he is its flower. His personality will soon be the personality directing the nation, either as statesman, doctor, professor, artist, or thinker. By cultivating its university each community cultivates its own soul. The student in Europe is therefore a being apart, a privileged person.

In America the point of view is utterly different. Less attention is paid to forming personalities, particularly universal personalities, than to forming men of action. The end of study is essentially practical. Even before he has matriculated the American student nearly always knows just what he will do in later life. He knows down to intimate details what his speciality will be. Thus most American universities direct themselves not only toward preparing their students for professions, but also toward preparing them for positions. Nearly all of them make efforts to place their graduates and some maintain bureaus for this purpose. This is why the subjects taught include applied science as well as pure science It also explains why teachers of engineering and forestry almost always belong to the faculty of science and why almost every university includes a school of journalism where one learns how to write model articles. American instruction tends towards specialization because it is preparing people for an active practical life.

In short, the two systems and the two continents are diametrically opposed to each other. Europe wants intellectual freedom and the most complete absence of all worry, an atmosphere most propitious to the development of the intellectual personality, since this development can only occur under completely disinterested conditions and without reference to any practical *arriere-pensee*. America,

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on the other hand, is ready to sacrifice part of the intellectual baggage of the individual and even a little of his personality in this domain provided the student can become the perfect instrument of the special and precise end he has set himself or the end that society has assigned to his abilities. In America man is less an end than an instrument.

—

American Education

The same subject is approached from another point of view by Professor A. B. Hart of Harvard in *Current History*. There are some people, Professor Hart says, who have an implicit and unquestioning faith in education of whatever sort it may be. But,

Right athwart this comfortable confidence in college education lies the recent publication by Abraham Flexner entitled *Universities, American, English, German* (New York: Oxford University Press). Here is an observer, a graduate of Johns Hopkins, who has spent much time in research on both sides of the Atlantic, who is very familiar with American conditions and disposed to be fair-minded. Yet from the beginn ng to the end of his book he criticized our "naive trust in education, lack of comprehension, aversion to discipline and over emphasis on social activities as against intellectual eff rt." He protests especially against four evils—athleticism; courses of study that are trivial and lacking in educative value; business schools and departments; and mail order education. Evidently his criticisms sting, inasmuch as they have brought out defensive and unconvincing explanations from very high quarters. Without attempting a general review of a book so carefully wrought, so suggestive and in some respects so undeniably destructive, it will be worth while to inquire how far Flexner's criticisms are justified in these four fields.

Prominence of Athletics

On athletics the public has abundant information apart from what is contained in new books, for the football season is just over. Everybody knows that college athletics have gone far toward breaking up the old-fashioned gate nights and rebellions and general hullabaloo of three generations ago. Athletics is also one of the fields of human endeavour in which nobody can succeeded by favour or popularity or trickery. Hence athletics provide a closer suggestion of the conditions of later life than class activities. How far athletics are from complete education is proved by the observed fact that success in athletics does not necessarily mean success in later life, not even a a life of good health. It is strange that vigorous exercise of the muscles, so desirable for a student should nowadays be confined in the most interesting sports to the small percentage of proved athletes except of course for the tremendous exertions of voice and limbs by the cheer leaders and those whom they lead. The hard-and-fast line maintained between the professional athlete and the amateur in athletic circles is due to the fact that the professional is paid to win, but he may also be paid to lose—a motive impossible in the genuine amateur. Therefore, whenever a college student is supported in whole or in part without corresponding services rendered, he abandons the amateur platform. A coach is a professional if he, not a student and not a member of a team, directs the moves upon the field from minute to minute. The spectacle may be magnificent, but it is war and not sport.

Trivial Courses

Flexner justly protests against trivial courses because of a preposterous extension of the elective system. President Eliot's plan always had in view a choice only among subjects capable of intellectual discipline. The great argument for election of courses is that it creates a presumption of interest in the subject chosen; hence training must be given in every course.

Business Schools

An interesting feature of Flexner's book is his violent attack upon collegiate schools of business, particularly against the most highly developed of them—the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. The burden of the criticism is that business instruction aims "to short-circuit experience and to furnish advertisers, salesmen or handy men for banks, department stores or transportation companies."

Correspondence Schools

Upon the correspondence school system as carried on by some of the most populous universities in the country. Dr. Flexner can have free course and be justified. He is not the first to point out the preposterous triviality of many of the courses offered by the so-called correspondence schools. The theory of those schools is that written work showing knowledge and thought can be sent in to be read and corrected and made the basis of training by a competent instructor. If you visit one of those schools you may find that the "competent instructors" are young women, twin sisters of the stenographers in the same concern, possessing nothing but a high school training. No contribution to education can be made by a correspondence school. No success can be had through a course without a staff of competent, expert, patient teachers, willing to work without attaining a reputation and to work in the most laborious and time-consuming method. To give academic credit for correspondence work toward a degree is to grant a degree in considerable part simply upon the statement of the applicant that he has done his work honestly.

Presidents of great universities may insist that the discipline of correspondence work is as strict as of class work; they may defend the advertising methods which place the highest university instruction on the same plane of accessibility as Goodman's Good Galoshes. There is no evading Flexner's scathing judgment on written work accepted by Chicago University on the subjects of "Photographic Studies on Boiled Icing," "Twins in Hosiery Advertising," and a dissertation on "A Time and Motion Comparison on Four Methods of Dish washing," printed as part of the qualification for the degree of Master of Arts. Columbia University, claiming 75,000 home study students, offers (though not for university credit) such mind arousing subjects as "Elementary type-writing"

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and "Expressing Personality in a Letter." And why should a great university teach grammar school subjects to anybody?

The truth seems to be that the most shady and preposterous method of advertising manufactured goods have invaded some institutions of higher learning. We are aware that no staple article of commerce any longer sells on its merits without some kind of display advertising. Surely institutions of higher learning do not need to increase their fees or their income or their efficiency by such talkie-movie methods of retail business. The notion of advertising seems to be behind a great many of the get-wise-quick methods.

So severe a book as that of Flexner's is very uncomfortable, for it rests upon a substratum of evidence furnished by powerful institutions of learning to their own discredit. "Good near-beer needs no bush"—educationally or morally,

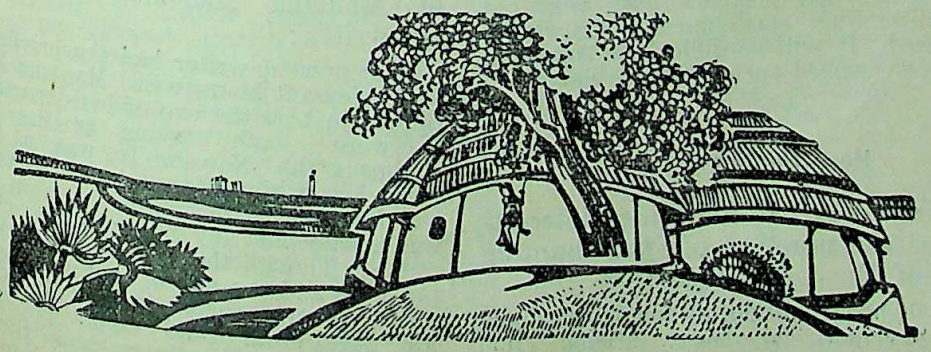
This criticism of the trends in American universities has special application to our country where the claim on behalf of vocational education is sometimes being carried to fantastic lengths. The true purpose of a university (not of all education though) is not to provide means of livelihood but to create thought and thinkers.

—

American Life at the Cross-roads

A very penetrating analysis of the present trends in American life appears in *The New Republic*:

And to tell the truth, it seems to me that at the present time the optimism of the Americans is flagging, that the morale of our society is weak. The faith and energy for a fresh start seem not forthcoming: a dreadful apathy, unsureness and discouragement seem to have fallen upon our life. It is as if people were afraid to go on with what they have been doing or as if they no longer had any real heart for it. I want to suggest that the present depression may be nothing less than one of the turning points in our history, our first real crisis since the Civil War. The Americans at the present time seem to be experiencing not merely an economic breakdown but a distinct psychological change. From the time of the Civil War on, all our enthusiasm and creative energy went into the development of our tremendous resources. This development had two aspects: one was the exploration of the continent and the engineering feats involved in reclaiming it, and the other the amassing of gigantic fortunes. Today the discoveries have all been made: we no longer look toward the West, as the Europeans looked to America in the Renniassance, as toward a world of untold treasures and wonders—and the excitement of mastering new rivers, forests, prairies, mountains and coasts seems now completely spent. This was already true at the time of the European war (when incidentally we were running into a business depression) but the war gave us a new objective—new discoveries, the discovery of Europe; new heroic stunts of engineering to accomplish, the transportation of our army to France. Since the war, however, we have had nothing to excite us and carry us along except the momentum of money-making. We have been trying still to find in it the exhilaration of the money-making of our period of expansion, which had been in reality largely the exhilaration of the richness, wildness and size of the continent—the breaking it into the harness of the railroads, the sudden finds of gold and silver mines. But during these last years our buoyancy, our hope, our faith has all been put behind the speed of mass production, behind stupendous campaigns of advertising, behind cyclones of salesmanship. It has been a buoyancy which has been becoming hysterical. And the reaction from a hysterical exhilaration is a slump into despondency and inertia. What we have lost is, it may be, not merely our way in the economic labyrinth but our conviction of the value of what we are doing. Money-making and the kind of advantages which a money-making society provides for money to buy are not enough to satisfy humanity—neither is a social system like our own where everyone is out for himself and devil take the hindmost, with no common purpose and little common culture to give life stability and sense. Our idolization of our aviators—our extravagant excitement over Lindbergh and our romantic admiration (now beginning to cool off) for Byrd—has been like a last desperate burst of American idealism, a last impulse to dissociate our national soul from a furious progress which was leading from automobiles and radios straight through electric refrigerators to Tom Thumb golf courses.



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INDIAN PERIODICALS

University Education in India

In his address before the All-Asia Educational Conference Principal P. Sheshadri dealt with the nature and the requirements of university education in India. The following extracts from it are quoted from *The Progress of Education* :

It is true that there can never be too much of university education in a country, as is evidenced by the excellent example of the United States of America, but increased number is again not the special need of India to-day in the sphere of university education. With its eighteen universities, including Burma and the Indian States, and enrolment of nearly a hundred thousand students, it cannot be said to be inadequately provided, as far as centres of higher learning are concerned, but each of them has to advance immensely before we can hope to compare with the facilities provided in the better universities of the West. Founded in imitation of the University of London, as it was at one time, it is only recently that the universities in India have began to realize at all that they have other functions than the mere examination of students and the conferment of degrees. The provision of adequate libraries, research fellowships and the bringing into existence of a large band of scholars who can devote all their attention to advancing the bounds of human knowledge. are conditions to which we are only still aspiring to conform in various degrees. The atmosphere of intense residential life in a university, implies expense not only to the authorities but also to the hundreds of young men who crowd into its hostels, but neither class is now in a position in this country to meet all the demands upon it. Time was when the great traditions of university learning in India drew many a devout pilgrim from the Far East, in search of the ever-growing fruit of knowledge and scholars also went out from Indian Universities spreading the knowledge they had mastered. It will be difficult to maintain that we have now reached such eminence again.

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Head-Hunting

Man in India has the following interesting account of the practice of head-hunting from the pen of Dr. J. H. Hutton :

The practice of head-hunting, although no doubt due partly to psychological causes arising from that acquisitive instinct which has played such an important part in the civilization of man, arises from more than a mere desire for a trophy. The principle underlying it is a belief in the existence of a more or less material soul matter on which all life depends. In the case of human beings this soul matter, often apparently, in diminutive human form, is located particularly in the head. In abstracting a head the soul within is captured and thus added to the general stock of soul matter belonging to the community and so contributes to the fertility of the human population; the cattle and the crops, for the soul is conceived of, according to the Karens of Burma at any rate, as a sort of pupa, filled with a vaporous substance, which bursts, when its contents spread over and fertilize the fields, passing again through the grain or herb eaten into the bodies of men or animals and so again into the seminal fluid enabling men and animals to propagate life. It is not suggested that precisely the same formula can be postulated of all head-hunters, but there is much to indicate that head-hunting generally is based on a similar belief in a cycle of life dependent on the possession of soul.

Head-hunting is therefore associated with ideas regarding the sanctity of the head as the seat of the soul and with some forms of cannibalism where the intention is to consume the body or part of the body in order to transfer to the eater the soul matter of the eaten. It is also connected with phallic and other fertility cults intended to imbue the soil with productivity, and it is obvious that it may thus develop into human sacrifice, a practice which has been generally associated with agriculture. It is not surprising, therefore, that head-hunting, or at any rate some practice closely allied to it, is to be found sporadically all over the globe either actually existing or in some degenerate survival.

—

Maulana Mahomed Ali

Mr. C. H. V. Pathy contributes an appreciation of the character and achievements of Maulana Mahomed Ali to *The Scholar*. He writes :

The present writer had the privilege of spending some pleasant hours with Maulana Mahomed Ali at Bhopal just on the eve of his departure to England. We were both staying as the guests of His Highness the Nawab. It was a lovely evening when I met him after a long interval and the air was fragrant with gentle autumn winds. Above was a pale blue sky traversed by brisk fleets of clouds. Though the atmosphere was filled with sunshine and the stir of autumn breeze, there was a look of melancholy in the Maulana's eyes. He was semi-blind and could not even read my visiting card His brow was furrowed and his usual bright face a little faded. Fifty-four years of storm and stress had left their mark even on his

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iron physique. He conversed with me on several topics but his conversation somehow revealed the misgivings of a tragic soul moving about in a world of physical and mental agony. He who could be simple, childish and intense was somehow frozen with the chill cares of life, and his familiar natural fancy and mirth, which even a term in jail could not choke, was somewhat absent. He told me with all his usual fervour that the talk about his aspiring for the Presidentship of the Assembly was "the mischievous invention of a malicious brain." He also said that he was optimistic about the outcome of the Round Table Conference. Alas, I never knew then that I was talking with him then for the last time.

The history of his life has been the record of strenuous political activity animated by a grand unity of purpose and ennobled by one consistent ideal a capacity for sacrifice. He flung his personality into everything he did. Ardent, tempestuous, eloquent, he was a kind of Oriental Sultan. His gorgeous satisfaction with life impregnated the whole company like ozone where he was. Patriotism with him became a spiritual stimulus, a vision and an ideal lit by a light that never was on land or sea. He was the cynosure of cameras wherever he went, the theme of jounalists, the god-send of gossips, the centre of a legend.

More than fifteen years ago he went up the political sky like a rocket. Never was there such a dazzling spectacle. In the stormy days of noise and rush which preceded the Bardoli halt, next to Mahatma's, the Maulana's was the most outstanding personality. The rocket that rose at Calcutta has now completed its ark at Jerusalem. He added to the soul of nationalism the wings of rhetoric. Politics dealt harshly with this great man. Though in the last stages the fanatic conquered the politician, politics had broken the heart of Mahomed Ali. As Mahatma is the soul of Indian nationalism, Mahomed Ali was its mystic.

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Tenancy Laws and Agrarian Reform

Tenancy laws as they stand to-day are one of the greatest obstacles in the way of agricultural and agrarian reform in India. Pandit V. Ramdas Puntulu contributes an important article on this subject to *Triveni*, in course of which he points out the present uselessness of the landlords :

It is not perhaps so widely recognized as it should be that our Tenancy laws have an enormous influence on the economic life of our farmers and that the weakness of India's rural as well as urban economy can, in no small measure, be traced to unprogressive and crude systems of our land tenures. The rights of the cultivators in the soil, the heritability and the transferability of their holdings and the extent of their freedom from eviction and enhancement of rent, are regulated partly by written law, the Tenancy Acts in force in the several parts of India, and partly by the unwritten law, custom and usage. The way in which land is held has many direct and indirect effects on agricultural prosperity which, in its turn, has its reactions on industry, trade and commerce. Mr. George O'Brien, in his 'Agricutural economics' very clearly indicates the ways in which a bad system of land tenure may effect agriculture. He says :

"Farmers may be deprived of the security of enjoying the fruits of their labour or capital investments, the supply of land available for cultivation may be artificially restricted, the fertility of the soil may be permanently lowered, the size of farms provided may be unsuitable, the difficulties of acquiring capital may be increased and the successful application of a progressive agricultural policy may be impeded, owing to the existence of an unsatisfactory system of land tenure."

The World Economic Conference which met recently at Geneva has clearly traced the connection between agricuitural depression and industrial depression. These general economic principles must necessarily have their fullest operation in a country like India where 80 per cent of the people pursue agriculture as an occupation and entirely depend on it for their subsistence. The state of our agriculture will naturally depend upon the efficiency of those to whose hands it is entrusted. It should, therefore, be the constant endeavour of those who are interested in schemes of nation-building to realize the effects of the systems of landholding in vogue in India on the well-being of her agricultural industry, and to strive to so modify the existing theory and practice as to create a self-reliant and prosperous body of peasant proprietors, on whose economic strength the happiness and efficiency of the nation largely depends.

It must be a matter of common knowledge even to casual students of Indian land tenures that, in most parts of India, occupiers of land do not possess rights which insure to them freedom from eviction and periodic enhancement of rents. The position, in some provinces, is better than in others ; but nowhere does the farmer enjoy the full status of peasant proprietor in his holding. The Tenancy Acts now in force in India have installed a new class of powerful landlords everywhere. It is not now necessary to go into the origin and history of these landlords. The widespread existence of this system of landlordism has been, and continues to be, a real menace to the economic progress of the Indian peasantry. Under existing conditions, the bulk of Indian peasants have no incentive to improve their holdings so as to make agriculture efficient and remunerative. Liability to eviction and enhancement of rent effectively deter tenants from sinking capital on the improvement of their holdings. "Security against the confiscation of improvements is universally regarded as a condition precedent to efficient farming," says an eminent writer on rural economics. Whatever might have been the services which landlords rendered in our pre-British rural economy, to-day they fulfil very few useful functions.

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Germany's Trade with India

Dr. Hartmann contributes an article to *The Calcutta Review* on Germany's foreign trade with India. He says :

As regards Germany's trade relations with British India we have to note, first of all, that

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they have been determined and influenced by various circumstances for a long time. Those relations were of course rudely disturbed by the dreadful world war; but soon after the conclusion of the war the normal conditions were restored to such an extent that now Germany's share in India's foreign trade has again reached its pre-war magnitude. This fact is all the more encouraging to the German nation because the Germans have been allowed to travel in India and settle down there only since the year 1925. At present the magnitude of Germany's trade with India is equal to that of Japan and the United States of America, and these two countries have varyingly held the second position in the magnitude of trade with India, Great Britain having always possessed the largest share in it.

After this he gives the figures of the import and export trade between Germany and India, and continues:

These figures give a clear idea of the great magnitude of trade between the two countries; and they also prove what may come as a surprise to many, *viz., what a profitable market Germany is for Indian products. According to these figures the value of German commodities imported into India is but one-third of that of India's export to Germany!*

This also shows that the possibilities of Germany's export trade with India have not yet been fully utilized. How far the growing Indian boycott movement directed particularly against English products and also against all European cotton-goods, has affected the trade relations between Germany and India remains still to be determined. But in view of the great importance of Germany as a profitable market for Indian products, it is to be hoped that the Indian buyers, in recognition of this fact, as well as of the universally admitted high quality of German goods, will remain true to their German purveyors: and rather than wind up their relations with German firms they will all the more cultivate them. Such a course will be not at all detrimental to their general tendency of the Indian people towards increasing industrialization and self-production; rather the requirement of the Indian people will be increased in this way. Moreover, the difference between Germany and India in the conditions of production is still so great that even on the basis of a natural division of labour Germany may well be given more chance to push her products into India without thereby in any way jeopardizing the real interests of India.

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Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy as Legislator

Stridharma has the following appreciative note on Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy's work as a legislator:

Dr Muthulakshmi Reddy, the first lady to serve in a legislature in British India, has just published her experiences as member of the Council. Those who have been following the work of the local Legislative Council need not be told that Dr. Reddy took great pains to advance the cause of her sex from her place in that body. Her experiences will, therefore, we hope be read with much interest and profit by all interested in women's advancement.

Dr. Muthulakshmi had before her nomination to the Council interested herself in social reform and social service activities. It was, therefore, felt by all that her presence in the Council would strengthen the hands of those who in that body were championing the cause of the poor and oppressed. It was also hoped that she would be able to keep clear of all political parties and devote herself entirely to the cause of the uplift of women. A perusal of the book under review shows how well she has acted up to these expectations. During her period of membership she joined no political party but kept the confidence of the whole house, a fact which can be well understood from the fact that she was unanimously elected Deputy President of the Council.

As a medical woman of experience Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy was very much interested in maintaining the activities of the Department of Public Health and Medicine at a high state of efficiency. Remodelling of the General Hospital, appointment of a women doctor in the General Hospital, construction of a children's hospital, strengthening of the children's hospitals in the mofussil, introduction of prohibition—are a few of the many reforms pleaded for by her in the Council.

She also never missed an opportunity of putting before the Government the cause of girls' education. The true reformer she is, she has realized that education is the key to a solution of the problems of women in this country. We do not exaggerate when we say that she has been responsible for many a salutary reform in girls' education. As a result of her plea medical inspection of all girls' schools has been introduced.

Dr. Muthulakshmi was not content with suggesting a reform here or a reform there. She seems to have entered the Council with a plan for carrying out reforms which vitally affect women of this province. It is significant that it was left to a woman to touch these vital matters for the first time in the reformed Council. Her resolution in favour of abolishing child marriages, and her bill for the prevention of dedication of girls to temples entitle her to lasting credit. The fervour and moral earnestness with which she pleaded for these causes did not fail to make an impression on the Council. We are also proud that she played a leading part in piloting the Brothels' Bill through the Select Committee and the Council.

The record of Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy in the Council would do credit to any legislator, man or woman. The fact that Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy was quite inexperienced in Council work and that she had all the disadvantages of being the only woman member in that body, speak volumes for her courage, devotion to and capacity for work. A perusal of this book will, we are sure, silence critics, (of whom we have some in India yet), who are not tired of repeating that woman's place is the home. Mrs. Reddy has not only silenced such critics but shown clearly that, when women get into Councils and local bodies, they are likely to be more sustained and constructive in the art of nation building.

We thank Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy for publishing her experiences and heartily commend it to our readers.

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Small-pox Epidemic and National Health Insurance

The editor of the *Insurance World* draws attention to the statement of the Chairman of the Public Health Committee of the Corporation of Calcutta that an epidemic of small-pox is expected in Calcutta, and suggests that the sanitary measures should be supplemented by health insurance. He says:

But all these precautions are useless if a person actually dies. Safeguards are necessary no doubt, but we must extend these safeguards beyond the death of the person concerned for upon the fact of his living depends the support of his dependents. How can this problem be met? Epidemics carry away hundreds of men and women in spite of precautions, leaving their dependents absolutely helpless. This situation can only be met with insurance. In case of death of an insured person, his dependents will receive considerable help from the insurance company and so have their sufferings mitigated. The impending epidemic should be a sufficient warning to the uninsured persons to get their lives insured without delay.

We have also to consider the question of National Health Insurance in this connection. Under this scheme people get medical benefit in case of illness and also a maintenance allowance during the period he is incapacitated in doing his professional work. All progressive states have adopted some system of National Health Insurance. England has adopted a system of compulsory Health Insurance by the National Insurance Act of 1911. The scheme is on a contributory basis and embraces practically the whole wage-earning population. In general, all persons between the ages of 16 and 65, who are engaged in any employment under a contract of service are required to be insured under the National Health Insurance Act. Before the passing of the Act, Friendly Societies and Trade Unions had always provided sickness and disablement benefits to those of their members who wished to insure themselves against these emergencies.

It is high time that such Friendly Societies should be established in our country and the existing trade unions should develop schemes of Health Insurance. But in all these the active support and direct action on the part of the Government are required.

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Biology in Education

Professor A. V. Hill writes in *Prabuddha Bharata* about making biology a part of the curriculum of our universities and schools. "During the last quarter of a century," he says, "It has gradually been realized that biological science, no less than physical science, has an important rôle to play in the affairs of human llfe," and he goes on to explain why biology is an essential factor in education:

The discipline of the mind, important as it is is not the only object in education, any more than is the production of athletic champions the chief purpose of physical training. Many of the subjects taught at school, history, geography, modern languages, poetry, divinity, music, are to be regarded rather from the point of view of their cultural value than as simple mental gymnastics, Experience has shown that biology also can be included in this larger category, even for children of a relatively tender age. An admirable pamphlet, *Biology in the Elementary Schools and its Contribution to Sex Education*, published by the American Social Hygiene Association, describes a series of experiments in the teaching of biology, even to quite young children, by a group of sympathetic and intelligent people, "To children in general, regardless of their upbringing, the world of living nature is vastly interesting." "Children have shown in the course of their studies in biology ample evidence of their ability to classify facts, recognize relations between ideas, make generalizations, formulate results." "They have found new problems in old haunts, have examined them resourcefully, critically, objectively.' It is true that such teaching requires more skil' and understanding, more forethought and prel paration, than much of the established routine o- the schools. Biology poorly taught is as bad asf history poorly taught. To introduce biology wholesale, and without the provision of intelligent and sympathetic teachers, might be dangerous and would certainly lower its value as an ingredient in a humane and liberal education. Let us retain without question the subjects which discipline the mind by their formal precision, their logical difficulties: but among those which are taught in order to breed a wider understanding of the world I would urge that, in the ideal school, biology in its general aspects should have an assured and honourable place. That place, however, must be acquired gradually.

In a variety of ways such a minimum of biological knowledge as I would have every child possess can minister to his or her needs and thoughts and difficulties. The problems of sex are much simpler if viewed from the natural and objective point of view. Reproduction is an honest and straightforward matter from the biological aspect. Inborn differences in mental and physical qualities, and the manner of their origin, are essential factors in the structure of society: our views of human relationship are bound to be affected bp the existence of such differences—and to breed rational views on human relationships is one chief purpose of education. The basis of the family or the tribe, the relative effects of inheritance and environment, the aristocratic or the democratic principles in government, all these are matters which lively young minds will ponder and debate, and which ultimately depend upon the intrinsic properties of man, the biological unit. Problems of mental and bodily health, of nutrition, of physical training, of disease, belonging naturally in one sense to medicine, are most readily approached by children, as by adults, through the channel of biology.

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Communalism and Christianity

The National Christian Council Review publishes an important pronouncement by an influential church group in India, in which the latter declares against communalism on behalf of the Christians. The editor's observations on this decision will commend themselves to others as well as Christians :

It is the misfortune of India that followers of different religions have aligned themselves into distinct communal and social units. The atmosphere of India with its age-long system of caste favoured such a development. With the introduction of the first measure of responsible government in the country these separate communities, organized on common religious or caste loyalties, shewed unmistakable signs of being capable of functioning politically only in communal or religious groups. Even the Christian community in India could not get over the prevailing tendency of organizing itself communally and demanding like other communities special privileges. In the Madras Presidency where Christians are far more numerous than in other Provinces the Christian community was, in response to the persistent demands made by its leaders, recognised as a separate political entity in the Reforms of 1919. The communal electorate for Christians in South India and special electorates for other communities in all parts of India have been functioning during the last decade; and the results have not been altogether conducive to the building up of the united India we all desire to see. Enlightened opinion in all communities is now inclined towards finding some way out of the separatist tendencies introduced by communalism in our civic and political life which will also at the same time give legitimate protection to the cultural and religious interests of minorities. The best opinion in the Christian Indian community has been for some time expressing itself against communalism. The resolution of the Methodist Conference is therefore timely: 'We hereby state that we have no intention of creating a separate political entity called the Christian community. We believe in the Christian Church as a moral and spiritual organization and a means of the corporate development of the moral and spiritual life, but we do n t desire to build up around the Christian Church a separate social and political entity called the Christian community.'

The resolution makes it clear that part of the responsibility for creating a separate Christian community in Indian belongs to non-Christians. If those who desired to give their spiritual allegiance to Christ had been allowed to stay in their homes and be frank, openly baptised Christians, then this communalism would not have been built up. We are even now ready to say that if those who desire to follow Christ should be allowed to stay in their homes without social or political penalty then we are willing to see the Christian community as a political entity fade out leaving the Christian Church as a moral and spiritual organization contributing its power to the uplift and regeneration of this land. Part of the remedy for this communalism which has been built up around the Christian Church lies in our hands, but more so does it lie in the hands of those who have, in general, laid social penalties on those who have changed their spiritual allegiance.'

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The Way of Life

The Indian Review publishes the following reflections on life by Sir Jagadis Bose, in which he describes the way of life as the up-hill way, but exhorts all to go forward courageously :

Consider the parable of the tree, which is not a mere collection of unrelated parts but an organized unity. The tree persists because it is rooted deeply in the soil, which is the place of its birth. It is its own soil that provides for its proper nourishment and endows it with strength in struggling against the waves of change and disaster, that have passed over it. The shocks from outside have never been able to overpower it, but have served only to awaken its nascent powers. The decaying and the effete have been cast off as worn leaves, and changing times have called forth its power of readjustment.

Whence did the tree derive its strength by which it emerges victorious from all peril? It is from the strength derived from the place of its birth, from its perception and quick adjustment to change and from its inherited memory of the past. The afflorescence of life is the supreme gift of the place and its associations, and patriotism is the response to the call of the country. Who could be so base as to be deaf to that supreme call?

Is there any strength for the constant renewal of our national life? Is the tradition of the past dead and forgotten, or is there a latent power of national memory which is to be awakened once more in a new and vivified impulse? To-day it is the ideality, the high character and achievements of our people that will prove to be the greatest constructive force. It will not be through transient emotion but through persistent efforts that they will succeed in building the Greater India yet to be. They will realize that for national advance it is ignorance that divides, and knowledge that unites the multiple forces contributed by the different peoples who have made India their home and their motherland.

It is not by passivity but by active struggle that the world can be served in nobler ways. The weakling who has refused the conflict, having acquired nothing, has nothing to give or renounce. He alone who has striven and won can enrich the world by giving away the fruits of his victorious experience. It was action and not passivity, that was glorified in the heroic India of the past. There can be no happiness for any of us unless it has been won for all. When a great call is echoing through the land, who can lead a life of ignoble ease or even seek personal salvation?

Opportunities are never given, but man has the divine power to create; he can, if he wills it, create the necessary condition and determine his destiny. Go out then with trust and hope in life's great adventure: the more difficult the task, the greater is the challenge! When we have gained the vision of a purpose to which we must dedicate ourselves wholly, then the closed door will open

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and the seemingly impossible will become fully attainable.

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The Right of Secession

Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's claim has brought the question of secession, already raised by South Africa, to the fore. Mr. Paramukh Nihal Singh writes about this question in *The Hindustan Review*. After giving an exposition of the legal aspect of the question, the writer observes:

Such then is the legal position in regard to secession. It is far from clear, though it must be frankly confessed, that at present the *legal* position is decidedly unfavourable to the Dominions. But I agree with Noel Barker when he says :—'For, even if the doctrines which deny the Dominion right of secession are sound constitutional law, which is not certain, it *is* certain that they are not sound politics. And of the two the latter is by far the more important point.....We may be sure that if secession becomes.....an issue of practical politics, which at present it is not, it will be, not the legal rights, but the political will of the various nations of the. Commonwealth that will matter. Arguments in constitutional law are, in fact, beside the point. It is a fact that cannot be repeated too often that the Commonwealth is held together not by any legal bonds but by the voluntary will of the component nations to co-operate for common ends. It is for this reason that the report of 1926 states :—every self-governing member of the Empire is now the master of its own destiny. In fact, if not always in form, it is subject to no compulsion whatsoever...Free institutions are its (*i.e.*, that of the British Commonwealth) life-blood. Free co-operation is its instrument. Peace, security and progress are among its objects. And, though every Dominion is now, and must always remain, the sole judge of the nature and extent of its co-operation, no common cause will, in our opinion, be thereby imperilled.' This is the basis on which the British Commonwealth exists at this time—whatever may have been the position in the past—and it is obvious that the denial of the Dominion right of secession, *or* what is the same thing, forced retention of membership, is absolutely inconsistent with the present position of relationship as defined in report of 1926. In any case the sentiment of nationality in the Dominions demands that the right of secession be formally recognized by the forthcoming Imperial Conference.

It is pointed out by Dr. Keith that in case such a right is recognized 'it would prove extremely difficult to define the conditions under which the right should be exercised.' And he mentions some of the conditions that will be necessary—insistence on some form of referendum; Imperial legislation when desired by both houses of a Dominion Parliament; provision for the retention of British nationality by those subjects of the seceding Dominion who may desire to do so previous reference to an Imperial Conference specially convened for the purpose. In the opinion of Dr. Keith it is not enough to merely give notice for a certain length of time for withdrawal from the Commonwealth.

It is not necessary to discuss these or any other conditions that may have to be laid down for the purpose of secession at the present time, as it is recognized by all Dominions that secession is impractical in the near future. None of the Dominions is in a position to defend herself today. The position of Australia and New Zealand is in this respect specially difficult in spite of the fact that Australia maintains the biggest navy among the Dominions. But the case of South Africa is not very much better. Writes Dr. Keith: 'The Union of South Africa has frankly and unashamedly declined to prepare for her own naval defence, and the whole of her trade depends for its protection on the British fleet.' As stated by General Smuts: 'The great sheet-anchor of South Africa's liberty is the British Fleet.' It may naturally be asked: Why is it then that the nationalists in South Africa, India, Ireland, and elsewhere in the Dominions insist on the formal recognition of this right of secession. The answer is given by General Hertzog in the following words:

'No jot or tittle of our independence will be sacrificed. I am convinced that we possess complete independence. The people of South Africa will be prepared to an ever-increasing extent heartily to maintain co-operation with Great Britain and with the other Dominions, but the co-operation will depend on national independence. Every nation worthy of the name will prefer isolation rather than subservient inferiority. In no circumstances may the right to secede from the British Commonwealth be taken from South Africa.'

The crux of the question is that National Freedom, National Honour, National Self-respect require that the right of secession be coneceded to the Dominions. Beside the demands of Dominion Nationhood all questions of legal and constitutional difficulties and of practical needs are futile. All living nations are bound to prefer isolation to subservient inferiority.

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The New Outlook in Science

Professor H. John Taylor writes in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* on new ideas in science and discusses their implication about our conception of the world:

The average man may not be vastly concerned with the details of the particular theory by which the physicist accounts for his results. But when the theories begin to encroach upon the province of philosophy, or of religion, or even of common-sense, the average man can hardly avoid some show of interest. One of the most striking things about these new theories is that they do quite definitely trespass beyond the preserves of the nineteenth century physicist. The latter—the "Classical Physicist" as he is called—never thought of trespassing: indeed he doubted at times, in a dignified way, whether other territories than his own really existed. But to-day the position is changed, and physics is now seen in a truer light as governing only a part of Reality, which we

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call the Physical Universe, or the Physical World. Physics is the science which is concerned most intimately with the nature and structure of this Physical World and other sciences. Chemistry for example, are built up on it. Biology is in a different category, and although the attempt has been made for generations to reduce it to Physics, there is no prospect of success. Life, as far as we can say at present, is entirely outside Physics, and very likely Biology will have its own independent contribution to make to scientific thought. So the Physical World is a *part* of Reality, the whole world of mind and thought and beauty and goodness lying outside it. Nevertheless it is not an inferior part, nor unimportant, but when we have put forward for it the best case we can, we have still to admit that it is only a part.

Thus to-day we admit the possibility of intuitive knowledge of a kind altogether different from that which Physics gives. Time, for example, is something of which we have direct apprehension. Quite independently of our senses, we have knowledge of the passage of time. We "feel it in our bones"—or more accurately in our mind. And this time of consciousness is not of necessity the same thing as the time of Physics, which is an external quantity measured by a clock. "Time travels in diverse paces with diverse persons. I'll tell you who Time ambles withal, who Time trots withal, who Time gallops withal and who he stands still withal:" thus Rosalind describes the time of consciousness. But physical time has one of this character; and yet it is only the latter with which the physicist *can* deal; if he would deal with the former, he must needs turn philosopher. Space is different, and is a purely physical conception, which we gather originally in childhood by constant use of our sense-organs, and by interpreting the impressions which they receive. We do not have that same direct experience of extention that we have of duration. But whether or not an entity has a private door, as it were, into our mind, the physicist must deal it as a physical quantity pure and simple. And a physical quantity is one which is recognized and measured by the use of our senses, or by some established procedure which depends on them.

FINANCIAL NOTES

Last Straw on the Camel's back

As was apprehended, the Government of India was compelled by their ruinous exchange and currency policy to float still another sterling loan in the first week of February. Subscriptions for this new loan were invited for £12 million of new money and £5 million of conversions making £17 million in all. This was the fifth big loan operation of the Government of India since February 1930. The loan was advertised on February 7 and was opened in London on February 9, at 9 A.M. Subscriptions were invited at 6 per cent, the issue price being 99. The terms were slightly stiffer than those of the previous loans, and yet the loan was soon over-subscribed to the extent of more than 21 per cent. The lists for the new money portion of the loan were closed at 10-15 A.M. on the day of opening and that of the conversion portion at 9-55 A.M. on February 10.

It is feared that this new sterling loan will act as the last straw on the camel's back.

Indian Exchange Policy

A few weeks ago it was hoped that the consequences of the terrible economic situation that has been brought about by the exchange policy of the Government of India will open their eyes and will make them realize the need of a revision of the exchange ratio. The Government *communique* from the office of the Controller of Currency on the subject of the retention of the 1s-6d exchange ratio which was published simultaneously with the speech on the subject by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons in the second week of February, set at naught all expectations.

It is beyond our humble comprehension why for the sake of a few British manufacturing concerns, the Government are prepared to stake their all in India. A false sense of prestige has been attached to the maintenance of the 1s-6d ratio and this has cost us not only much of our industrial and trade development but also a large part of our gold reserves in London. What then remains to add to the credit of the Government?

Sir Arthur Salter on Central Economic Council

It will be remembered that Sir Arthur Salter, Financial and Economic Adviser to the League of Nations, has come here on the invitation of the Government of India to

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advise them on the question of the formation of State economic council or councils.

During his tour in South India Sir Arthur is reported to have stated certain views about the formation of such economic councils. The peculiar feature of post-war economic organizations, he said, was that the Governments had shown greater and greater anxiety to consult and take into their confidence the non-official element of their population. So far as India was concerned, Sir Arthur's present view was for the formation of a Central Economic Council linked up with Provincial Councils. The Central Council should be larger and fully representative of all the interests concerned, such as industries, commerce, agriculture, banking, railway and water transport, governmet officers, economists, legislature, labour, co-operative societies, Indian States, Tariff Board, Jute Committee, Cotton Committee, Railway Rates Committee, Imperial Agricultural Research and so forth. This body will meet only once or twice in a year. The provincial councils would be smaller bodies meeting once every month or so. Regarding details these councils may follow with profit the English method of working by sub-committees.

The Government of India and the Provincial Governments would each have to shoulder the expenses of its respective council, and in the beginning the expenses would have to be strictly limited. The research and statistical machinery would have to be part of the regular Government Departments, because the collection of the main statistics would remain the duty of the Government.

Regarding the constitution of these councils, Sir Arthur emphasized that "they would, of course, have to be national in constitution and outlook and the Indian non-official should have a predominant voice."

Railway Policy and Constitutional Reforms

The Britishers are a clever people, so far as, at any rate, financial and commercial questions are concerned. It is no wonder, therefore, that they have cleverly managed to hoodwink the Indian members of the Round Table Conference regarding the implications of their financial safe-guards. It is now understood that the financial safe-guards mentioned at the Round Table are proposed to include the administration of our railways as well. It is believed that one of the conditions precedent to the devolution of responsibility at the centre would be the handing of our railways over to a statutory body determined by Parliament, in order that politics may not corrupt our railways.

Our thanks are due to Mr. Kshitish Chandra Neogy, M. L. A., for having drawn the attention of the Legislative Assembly to this new danger.

In their despatch on proposals for Constitutional Reforms the Government of India observed: "We think that, if in the future, the control of commercial and industrial policy is to rest with the Indian Legislature, the general direction of railway policy should be placed in the same hands."

But the Government could not stop at that, as they were not free from suspicion and distrust of Indian administration. They became solicitous of Parliamentary protection to safe-guard certain matters in which Parliament should, in their opinion, continue to take interest. These included provision for railway requirements for defence, control of railway finance, the rights and privileges of superior railway officers, and special obligation to the Anglo-Indian community.

The Government of India admit that in all countries railway policy is a matter for the respective Government and the Legislature to decide, and yet one fails to understand on what grounds they could insist on Parliamentary safe-guards.

It would be a suicidal policy for the Indian Legislature to divest itself of the power to control and shape our railway policy and administration, at this stage, when the whole constitution has got to be modified and a new structure built up on independent lines. The control, it may even be interference, of the Legislature, in the working of our railways, will be necessary not only to bring about a complete harmony as between the policy and administration of various departments of the State but also for the removal of the inequalities and discriminations with which the whole railway administration is imbued today. A national economic policy can ill-afford to neglect the railways, which can, if carelessly managed, set at naught all attempts at the adoption of a progressive and comprehensive policy of nation building.

If India becomes free and circumstances change in course of a few years, of course the relation between the Legislature and the railways will have to be modified to suit the needs of scientific management of

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the biggest industrial undertaking in the hands of the State.

In this respect one feels that not only for the railways, but also for all commercial and financial undertakings of the State, we should devise two distinct methods of administration for two obviously different periods, namely, the period of transition, and the period of reconstruction. In the former period the Indian Legislature—Central and Provincial, ought to make an attempt at concentrating control in smaller hands, so that a comprehensive policy for every part of the State may be devised and seen through. After a certain time will be over the problems will present themselves in a new light and the question of devolution of centralized responsibility will arise.

So far as the railways are concerned the new machinery for such a second stage may be composed of three main parts, namely, (1) a Statutory Board of Trustees for the Railways, which will be the highest directing and controlling body acting ordinarily independent of the Legislature with certain rights and obligations defined under law; (2) a Central Body of railway experts, called preferably the Railway Commissioners to look after the technique of actual management and execution of the policy laid down by the Legislature and the Board of Trustees; and (3) Local Agencies or Boards of Management for each Railway system or group of railways conveniently brought together.

This new Railway Board of Trustees for the railways will be principally a deliberative body responsible for the shaping of general railway policy as roughly directed by the Legislature, and also for watching that the obligations laid down by Statute regarding contributions to general revenues or requirements of defence and maintenance of adequate services etc., are properly met. It will be composed mainly of experienced Indian business men, industrialists, financiers, representatives of Indian States and railwaymen's trade-unions. To maintain a link with the Legislature the Minister of Communications may be made the Chairman of this Board with power to suspend the adoption of any proposal which may run counter to the general policy of Government. The Members of the Board are to be elected by the Indian Legislature from persons outside their body, those representing the Indian States and the railwaymen being elected by their respective bodies. Once they are elected the Legislature under ordinary course, will have nothing to do with their work save and except that annually an opportunity will be presented to it for pronouncing its criticism of the working of the railways at the time of adopting and approving the railway budget. For emergencies and under stated exceptional circumstances the Minister of Communications will have power to refer any matter to the Legislature and to receive its directions.

The railway property is to be handed over to the Board of Trustees for Railways, who will manage the railways on behalf of the State with certain defined obligations. Railway finance is to be completely and effectively separated from general finances, and except during exceptional circumstances the railways will be free to use their resources or to raise money on the security of their property subject to a few necessary restrictive conditions.

The actual management is to be done by local agents or boards, acting under direct control, supervision and administration of the Central Body of railway experts—the Railway Commissioners. This body will be composed of persons appointed by the Board for a period of years.

Finally, in order to secure a co-ordination of railways with road motors, inland and coastal water carriers, and air vessels, the Minister of Communications will make adequate arrangements.

Railway Budget 1931-32

The Hon'ble Sir George Rainy, Railway Member, Viceroy's Council, introduced the Railway budget for 1931-32 in the Legislative Assembly on the 17th February. The salient points of the budget are noted below:

The financial results of 1929-30 were far from what were anticipated. Economic depression, the civil disobedience campaign, and the strike in the G. I. P. Railway are believed to have combined to reduce railway earnings, and the total receipts from all sources amounted to Rs. 104·78 crores. As a result the net gains to the railways came up to Rs. 4·04 crores only, which necessitated the withdrawal of Rs. 2 crores from the Reserve Fund in order to meet the contribution to general revenues.

In the current year the railways have suffered very badly. For the first time since

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the separation of railway finance from general there has been a deficit in the railway working, amounting to more than Rs 5 crores. In addition to this the sum of Rs. 5·74 crores was required to be paid as the contribution to general revenues. It has therefore been necessary to withdraw Rs. 10·86 crores from the Reserve Fund reducing the same to Rs. 5·48 crores. Of the total loss to the railways during 1930-31 strategic lines account for Rs. 2·19 crores and the commercial lines Rs. 2·93 crores.

The Depreciation Fund does not fare so badly, the balance at credit of this fund being expected to be increased to Rs. 16·29 crores at the end of this year.

As regards the budget for 1931-32, the gross traffic receipts from commercial lines are estimated at Rs. 99·5 crores or about six crores higher than this year. The total receipts from commercial lines will be Rs. 101·02 crores, or Rs. 5·69 crores more than that of the current year; while the total charges ought to be Rs. 97·85 crores or Rs. 41 lakhs less. On these estimates a surplus of nearly Rs. 3·17 crores is expected as against a loss of Rs. 2·93 crores in the current year. The loss on strategic lines will amount to Rs. 1·96 crores, leaving a net balance from all railways of Rs. 1·21 crores. The contribution to general revenues, which is based on the results of 1929-30, amounts to Rs. 5·36 crores. To pay this the Railway Reserve Fund will have to be drawn upon to the extent of Rs. 4·15 crores, thereby reducing the balance to Rs. 1·33 crores at the end of the year.

With regard to Capital expenditure in 1931-32 the state of the finances obviously would not permit the same style of work as in previous years. The first duty would therefore be to provide adequately for the maintenance of the lines in a condition to carry traffic safely and economically, and for the completion of work already begun, including lines now under construction. If the present expectations prove true then it is estimated that the total expenditure in 1931-32 on works in the programme will be Rs. 21·70 crores, of which part of the materials required, to the extent of Rs. 2 crores, will be found from the balances of stores in stock, and Rs. 8·25 crores will be met from the Depreciation Fund. The net money required to be raised for capital expenditure will be about Rs. 11·45 crores.

The Railway Department realizes fully that it is only by the exercise of strictest economy in every direction that railway administrations can keep their heads above water during coming years. Apart from this some of the principal measures proposed to be taken to reduce working costs are the following :

(a) Scrutiny of the scale of establishment, particularly of the temporary establishment, and of contingent charges in every office ;

(b) Reduction of the strength of permanent way gangs, particularly on branch lines and sidings ;

(c) Economy in the use of materials and cutting down the number of ballast trains ;

(d) Reduction in the cost of maintaining and repairing structures and buildings and the employment of cheaper material for this purpose ;

(e) Reduction in the cost of maintenance of way and works ;

(f) Reduction in the allotments for machinery, tools and plant and miscellaneous expenditure ;

(g) Review of train services with the object of abolishing those which are not found to be sufficiently well patronized.

Regarding new construction it is expected that about 303 miles of railway will be opened in the current year and about 583 miles in 1931-32.

Notable among these new lines are :

(1) Unao-Madhoganj Section of the East Indian Railway.

(2) Sections of the Central India Coal-fields Railway.

(3) Chittagong-Duhazari line of the A. B. Railway.

(4) Sections of the Raipur-Vizianagram Railway.

(5) Kalukhali-Bhateapara line of the Eastern Bengal Railway.

(6) Calcutta-Chord railway with the Bally bridge on the E. I. Railway.

(7) Lucknow-Sultanpur-Zafarabad line of the E. I. Railway ; and

(8) Salem-Attur-Vriddhachalam line of the South Indian Railway.

The affairs of the railways of India as revealed through this budget and the accompanying notes and memoranda leave little doubt in our minds that the present system of railway management by a body of non-responsible persons—whose interest in the success of the working is at most very temporary—has been a failure. Like every other Department of Government the Railway Board acts as an *imperium in impero* with

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complete callousness towards the demands of the people and the requirements of a big commercial undertaking. It is feared that if things are permitted to go on in this way for a few years more the whole system of State management will be thrown into question and figures will be accumulated to condemn the present policy of terminating the contracts of English companies managing Indian railways. It is our great misfortune that while the whole country believes in State management alone and in nothing else, the carrying out of this policy has got to be left in the hands of those who have little faith and still less interest in the success of such direct management by a department of the State. This only proves the mecessity of a thorough modification if not of complete overhaul of the machinery of administration.

In course of his budget speech Sir George Rainy tried to lay all blame on world trade depression and the civil disobedience movement. It was rightly pointed out, however, during general discussions, that the loss of net receipts of the railways is not peculiar to the present year nor to 1929-30. It is apparent from figures published in the Railway Boards Annual Administration Reports that this fall in net receipts has been consistently proceeding ever since there was an unusual profit made by the railways in 1927-28. The fall has been particularly steep in the case of railways directly managed by the State. One is inclined to believe that the present economic depression, and the civil disobedience movement specially, have helped Government considerably in covering up many of their sins of omission and commission.

The fact of the matter is that apart from the unusually heavy arrangements at the top, that has followed the present system of management through the Railway Board and a series of their special officers, the whole system is built on patched-up work introduced experimentally from period to period by various officers and bodies in authority. In policy, or in financing, in construction, in management, and in rates and fares, everywhere is to be found the same difficulty, namely the absence of an well-thought-out plan or system whi has been followed. This has caused only a multiplicity of the classes of railwa in India, with different standards and var ing gauges, but also has led to a seri of inconsistencies in rates policy a anomalies in practice. What appears, there fore, to be the supreme need of the moment is a thorough enquiry with a view t adapt the future administration of o railways to a comprehensive and systematiz policy that would fit properly into t general scheme of national economic re construction, that is urgently called for.

The Railway Budget as well as t Railway Reports will most likely evoke good deal of criticism in the Legislatu and in the country. Usually such criticism draw attention to the need of retrenchment the grievances of third class passenger the stores purchase policy, the question Indianization, the problem of certain ne constructions, a few scattered grievanc like station platforms, train-services, want lighting, inadequacy of stoppages, e and communal representation.

It must be pointed out, however, that t remedy does not lie in these at all. N do they lie in the stop-gap arrangements f economy proposed by the Hon'ble S George Rainy. If the Railway Board is real anxious to deliver Indian Railways fro the danger of economic ruin what is needed is a thorough overhaul of the rate-structu and a complete reversal of the present rat policy. New circumstances have arisen ev since the bases of the present rates ha been determined, and these call for carefu consideration.

To say in one sentence, a mere dependen on India's external trade towards the develo ment of which our present rates and fare are mainly directed, will no longer serve t best interests of the country or her railway and if our railways want to be abo difficulties not only in the coming year b in the years to come our rates shou generally go to develop internal movemen and indigenous industries, trade, and traffic.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

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INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSI DAS CHATURVEDI

Repatriation of South African Indians

Mr. C. F. Andrews wires from Cape Town : "The South African Indian Congress is making very careful enquiries regarding the returned emigrants under the repatriation scheme since the Cape Town Agreement. They find that 7,500 have returned during the last four years. At the present moment correspondence is proceeding between the Congress and the Indian Government in order to discover facts concerning the treatment of arrivals in India. The number of those returning last year was about 1,000. Every year the number of those returning now shows diminishing returns."

We are glad to hear that the South African Indian Congress has after all realized the necessity of making 'careful enquiries' regarding the returned emigrants and we learn from the *Hindu Herald* that the Congress has also asked the Indian Imperial Citizenship Association to enquire into the condition of these repatriated emigrants. Will this Association take up this work in right earnest ? I have grave doubts.

Pandit Motilal Nehru and Indians Overseas

A correspondent of the *Leader* has reproduced a letter that Pandit Motilal Nehru wrote to the Government of India regarding the position of our countrymen in East Africa. This letter shows quite clearly how anxious Panditji was to help our people overseas. In this connection I may also relate an incident here. In November 1925 I wrote to some members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State about the necessity of forming an Overseas Committee to ask pointed questions based on correct information and to work specially for our people in different colonies. Panditji sent me a very encouraging reply and it is reproduced here.

ANAND BHAWAN
ALLAHABAD
23. 11. 1925

DEAR BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI,

I have your letter of 17th November. Your idea of forming an Overseas Committee is an excellent one and has my entire sympathy. The most suitable opportunity to form the committee will be when the Assembly is in session and the matter can be personally discussed with the members. I would therefore suggest your visiting Delhi about the end of January or the beginning of February and seeing the various groups of members about the proposal. I need hardly assure you of my personal support.

Yours sincerely
MOTILAL NEHRU

Unfortunately, I could not go to Delhi and the Committee could not be formed, but I shall never forget the encouraging reply of Pandit Motilal.

Indians Overseas and the Struggle at Home

The colonial papers that we have been receiving for the past few months are full of news about the Indian struggle for freedom. They clearly show that our compatriots abroad are watching the movements in the Motherland with a keen interest. They are also trying to help financially as far as possible. A correspondent from Mombasa wrote to me that East African Indians have sent thousands of rupees to help the Swarajya movement. Our poor countrymen in Fiji sent something like Rs. 350 to be given to the Congress Office at Allahabad. I am quite sure that people in other colonies are also anxious to follow the good example of their countrymen in East Africa and Fiji. I should tell them one thing in this connection. Whenever they want to send anything they should send it direct to the General Secretary, Indian National Congress Swarajya-Bhawan, Allahabad, instead of sending to any particular individual. Mr. C. Chattur Singh wrote to me from Fiji that he has sent a sum of £ 27—10 shillings to Sir so and so to be given to the Congress. Of course, the money must have reached the Congress, but it means needless trouble and correspondence.

Hindi Propaganda in Trinidad

Some time ago I wrote a note in these columns about the necessity of making some arrangement for the teaching of Hindi in

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the schools in West Indies. I am glad to note that some individual efforts are being made to take up this useful work. Kumari Saryu Devi of Tunapuna, Trinidad, has begun to devote a good portion of her time to this cause and she deserves every help and encouragement from her brethren in Trinidad. It will be a good thing if some Central Indian Association of Trinidad can organize this work properly, but there does not seem much hope of such a thing being done in the near future and we should therefore help the individual workers whenever we can.

Kumari Saryu Devi

Indian Associations Abroad

Our compatriots abroad have not yet understood the value of publicity and I do not know of any Indian organization of colonial Indians which realizes the importance of this work. The letters, that I receive from colonies, are usually from individuals and not more than two or three per cent of these letters belong to Indian associations. Of course, I do complain against these associations for writing to me, for I know how very I can do for their cause but surely can send their news regularly to the pap like the *Leader* and the *Hindu* and also the Head Office of the Indian Congress Allahabad. Though the Congress is with the struggle for Swarajya still it do a good deal. I need not tell my frie in the colonies that being the pre political organization here the Cong carries the greatest weight in India.

The Building of Greater India

Here is a significant passage from article written by Mr. Peter Rohomon in *Forward Guiana* of Georgetown, Bri Guiana:

> What contributions may not colonial Ind make to the motherland with their wealth experience born of contact with Western influe and Western civilization! As has been pointed out, is not India's greatest saint leader, the product of a dual culture of East West? These influences which have been at w for nearly a century have been productive new race with a broader outlook upon life with newer ideals. As Dewan Bahadur Ke Pillai observed a new race is being born in colony "free from the soul-killing rigours of and unreasoning social and religious practi and is "helping to enrich the life of the col and to gain the respect of their races."
>
> The process of building of greater India unconsciously at work and has been so from time our forefathers landed on these shores, an bound to continue, but if the continuing pro is to be ensured on lines that will redound to mutual advantage of India and its overseas child wise leadership and wise direction are nee . . . . . We are capable of making some co bution to the solution of this problem of bui a greater India. Let us meet together discuss it in all its bearings and in all its de and with a genuine desire to offer real constru criticism.

May I respectfully tell the writer individually we can do much more than through meetings, associations organizations.

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NOTES

Will Durant on "The Case for India"

Though only a monthly reviewer, the sent writer tries to keep himself informed arding the arrival and movements in India distinguished foreigners. And such formation sometimes reaches us through ers personally brought to us. But so long Will Durant was in India we did not w that he was here. It was long after had left these shores and had brought his book on *The Case for India* that came to know from the letter of one of bravest friends of India in America that Will Durant had come and seen and gone k to tell his people by writing and ech what he thought of the situation in dia

But who is Will Durant? He is an inent philosophical writer, author of *The ry of Philosophy*, *Transition*, *The nsions of Philosophy*, *Philosophy and Social Problem*, etc. Why he came to dia, and how he was led to write of India, tells us in his "note to the reader" which faces his book:

I went to India to help myself visualize a people se cultural history I had been studying for *Story of Civilization*. I did not expect to be acted by the Hindus, or that I should be swept a passionate interest in Indian politics. I ely hoped to add a little to my material, to with my own eyes upon certain works of art, then to return to my historical studies, forget- this contemporary world.

But I saw such things in India as made me that study and writing were frivolous things the presence of a people—one-fifth of the human —suffering poverty.....bitterer than any to be d elsewhere on the earth. I was horrified..... I came away resolved to study living India as l as the India with the brilliant past; to learn e of this unique Revolution that fought with ing accepted but never returned; to read the dhi of to-day as well as the Buddha of long And the more I read the more I was filled h astonishment and indignation.....

And so I ask the reader's permission to aban- for a while my researches into the past, so I may stand up and say my word for India. know how weak words are in the face of guns d blood; how irrelevant mere truth and decency ear besides the might of empires and gold. But one Hindu, fighting for freedom far off there on e other side of the globe, shall hear this call of e and be a trifle comforted, then these months work on this little book will seem sweet to me. For I know of nothing in the world that I would rather do today than to be of help to India.

The author adds in a note:

"This book has been written without the knowledge or co-operation, in any form, of any Hindu, or of any person acting for India."

Will Durant

This fact is apparent from a few inaccuracies in the book, which do not, however, weaken the author's argument in the least. Had any native of India (which is the sense in which Americans generally use the word Hindu) or anybody acting for India been connected with the preparation and publication of the work, it would have been immediately defamed as propaganda, which it is not. We believe Indian editors have not received copies of this book—we have not. We are able to write about it by the courtesy of the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, who lent us the copy presented to him by the author with the sentence:

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"You alone are sufficient reason why India should be free."

—

Contents of *The Case for India*

We have neither the desire nor the leisure and space to summarize this book. We shall give only the chapter and section headings.

Unlike the typical globe-trotter, the author does not pose as an authority on India ;—he has a very modest estimate of his equipment for writing a book on this country. Says he in the very first two pages of the book:

I am poorly qualified to write of India ; I have merely crossed it twice between east and west, and once from north to south, and seen hardly a dozen of its cities. And though I have prepared myself with the careful study of a hundred volumes, this has all the more convinced me that my knowledge is trifling and fragmentary in the face of a civilization five thousand years old, endlessly rich in philosophy, literature, religion and art, and infinitely appealing in its ruined grandeur and its weaponless struggle for liberty. If I write at all it is not only because I feel deeply about India but because life cannot wait till knowledge is complete. One must speak out, and take sides before the fight is over.

He continues :

I have seen a great people starving to death before my eyes, and I am convinced that this exhaustion and starvation are due not, as their beneficiaries claim, to over-population and starvation, ... I propose to show that . . . . self-government of India by the Hindus could not, within any reasonable probability, have worse results than the present form of alien domination. I shall limit myself in this chapter to presenting the case for India, knowing that the case against her has been stated all too well in what may be long remembered as the unfairest book ever written.* Nevertheless, lest I should merely repeat and reverse that crime, I shall in a later chapter outline the case for England in India as strongly as I can.

This he has done.

The book is divided into four chapters and the conclusion. After a personal explanation, from which we have quoted above, the first chapter gives "a perspective of India," describes how England became mistress of India, describes the caste system and gives an account of the economic, social and 'vital' condition of India.

The second chapter deals with Gandhi and is sub-divided into sections devoted to Portrait, Preparation, Revolution by Peace, Christ Meets John Bull, The Religion of Gandhi, Gandhi's Social Philosophy, Criticism, and Estimate. The Estimate concludes as follows :

The unifier of India could not be a politician, he had to be a saint. Because Gandhi thought with his heart all India has followed him. Three hundred million people do him reverence, and no man in the world wields so great a spiritual influence. It is as Tagore said of him :

"He stopped at the thresholds of the huts of the thousands of dispossessed, dressed like one of their own. He spoke to them in their own language. Here was living truth at last, and not only quotations from books. For this reason the 'Mahatma,' the name given to him by the people of India, is his real name. Who else has felt like him that all Indians are his own flesh and blood?—When love came to the door of India that door was opened wide. At Gandhi's call India blossomed forth to new greatness, just as once before, in earlier times, when Buddha proclaimed the truth of fellow-feeling and compassion among all living creatures."

Perhaps Gandhi will fail, as saints are like to fail in this very Darwinian world. But how could we accept life if it did not, now and then, fling into the face of our successes some failures like this ?

The third chapter is devoted to what the auther calls "The Revolution" and is sub-divided into Origins. A Stroke of Politics, A Whiff of Grapeshot, The Revolt of 1921, Between Revolutions, The Simon Commission, 1930.

In the fourth chapter the author puts "The case for England" as strongly as possible. It is sub-divided into "England Speaks" and "India Answers." England's case comprises "The Nietzschean Defence," "British contributions to India," and "The Key to the White Man's Power." What India answers, according to the author, comprises "Morals in India," "The Decay of Caste" and "Greek Gifts."

The conclusion bears the caption "With Malice Toward None." The author appears, for the present, definitely to favour Home Rule, though he concludes his first paragraph with the sentence, "We may still believe that taxation without representation is tyranny." His second paragraph opens thus :

Nevertheless it would be unwise to seek now complete independence for India, or complete democracy ; universal suffrage should wait upon universal education, and complete independence has been made impossible by the international character of modern economic life.

But the Independentists of India want complete independence only in the sense in which France, Belgium. Japan, Persia, Siam, Bolivia, etc., are completely independent.

* Miss Mayo's *Mother India*.

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PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU
at Dakshineswar during his last illness

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Motilal with his family

Motilal in 1905

Motilal Nehru with his son
after the latter's return from England

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"Efficiency," "Peace," and Poverty

British Imperialists, and probably most Britishers, are impatient of American and other foreign criticism of British rule in India. But they may be less impatient of British critics of present day administrative methods in India. *The Nation and The Athenaeum* of London is such a critic whose opinions we are going to quote below. It observes in a recent issue :

"For many years our administration in India, owing to its lack of any real popular support, has been growing less and less efficient. We pride ourselves on having brought India peace, but for some months the casualty list, due to political fights, have been at least on a Boer War scale. Our old love of political freedom is shamed by the fact that there are probably more political prisoners under lock and key in India than in the remaining five-sixths of this unhappy and uneasy post-war world. We like to think of ourselves as the protectors of the Indian 'ryot,' but he remains at the end of a world slump with a standard of living, which is still the lowest of any people past the nomadic stage."

In this short paragraph the British weekly sums up its idea of the present condition of British administrative efficiency in India, of *Pax Britannica* and the economic effects of those two factors. Among Britishers there are advocates of strong rule who seem to hold that that would be a panacea for the present condition of India. The British journal however holds that

"The idea that this deterioration can be checked by a further display of force, or by doubling the number of our political prisoners, could only come from men who are out of touch with the modern world."

The British paper gives its reasons for opposing the views of those who support the principles of "Martial law and no d—d nonsense," and a whiff of grapeshot. It says :

"First there is not a scrap of evidence to show that they have the beneficent effect so confidently predicted by Lord Rothermere, and, secondly, the present generation of Englishmen is less prone to this form of activity than was the last The war did produce a certain modicum of international decency, and modern England is not likely to embark on a policy of repression upon the advice of a few disgruntled old officials and soldiers who feel, quite rightly, that the present situation reflects on the administration and outlook of their generation in India."

We have been told repeatedly that there are lots of very decent people in England. But why don't they come to India and see things for themselves ? Or is it that whoever comes here undergoes a sea-change ?

More about Will Durant

In our first note we forgot to tell the reader that at present Dr. Durant is at work on the first volume of his *magnum opus*, tentatively entitled *The Story of Civilization*. This volume will deal with the Orient, which Dr. Durant recently visited. It will substantiate in detail his opinon that India "was the mother of our philosophy, mother, through the Arabs, of much of our mathematics, mother, through Buddha, of the ideals embodied in Christianity, mother, through the village community, of self-government and democracy. Mother India is in many ways the mother of us all."

Efforts have been made in America to 'suppress' Dr. Durant. But as he is only 45 and a freeman, he will take a good deal of suppressing.

—

"Law and Order in Midnapore"

An illustrated booklet containing the reports of a non-official enquiry committee, appointed at a public meeting in Albert Hall, Calcutta, was some time back proscribed by the Bengal Government and declared forfeited to His Majesty King George V's Government, wherever found. The press where the booklet was printed was searched by the police. The most telling portions of the contents of this publication had been read in the Assembly Chamber at Delhi by an M. L. A. who was one of the members of the Committee, and subsequently published in the official report of the proceedings of the Assembly and in various Indian newspapers. Other passages, not the weakest by any means, of the reports had been published in different journals. Neither the officially published report of the Assembly proceedings nor any of the journals referred to above have been proscribed ; nor were the presses where the official report and those newspapers were printed searched. Under the circumstances the proscription and forfeiture of the booklet and the search of the press where it was printed cannot be regarded as an example of equal administration of the Press Ordinance.

It is one of the objects of that Ordinance to prevent the circulation of writings which the Government may consider harmful to its interests. But in this case circulation had already taken place, and some of the most telling portions of the enquiry

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committee's reports will stand on official record as long as these records endure. Moreover, in a recent article written by Mr. H. N. Brailsford and published in the *Manchester Guardian*, there is a very plain statement of one of the most tragic Midnapore incidents. This article has been reproduced in *New India* (February 19, 1931) and many other Indian newspapers. Therefore, if one of the objects of the proscription and forfeiture of the booklet was to prevent information relating to the alleged incidents reaching England, that object has been partly frustrated.

Of course, the Bengal Government cannot and dare not proscribe the *Manchester Guardian*, neither can it directly proscribe *New India* and the other papers (published outside Bengal but circulating in Bengal) which have reproduced the *Manchester Guardian* article. So in this case the enforcement of the Press Ordinance has been such as if it were meant only for a particular publication and a particular press, though undoubtedly it was not so meant.

We have a word to say to the members of the enquiry committee also. With one exception, they are, we believe, all practising or qualified lawyers. They know—and we, too, firmly believe—that the booklet is not seditious. We are, therefore, entitled to ask, why they have not appealed to the High Court against the proscription of their booklet. Some of them being lawyers themselves, they would not have had to incur any considerable expense, and the expense, some of them are well-to-do enough to be able to bear. Moreover, there was no risk in filing an appeal. It may be that they thought that an appeal would be useless. But having placed a press and a printer within the danger zone, as it were, they owed it to themselves as responsible men to do all that lay within their power to make the printing of reports like theirs in future safe. It is to be regretted that they have not done this and their inaction in this matter has been such as not to encourage press-owners and printers to co-operate with them and other public men in future undertakings of a like character.

—

Experimenting in Education

Recently Prof. William Kilpatrick of Columbia University gave an interesting and instructive talk on "Educational Situation in India and Tagore's School," at International House, New York. One of the things which he dwelt on and tried to explain is why educational experimentation is very difficult in India. Said he :

> Indian boys very largely go to the secondary school and to the university in order that they may be certificated, so that they may then go on to some remunerative post. There is no profession open in India except to graduates of the university. And there are none of these semi-professional positions open, or practically none, except to those who have passed the matriculation examination. So the Indian boy and the Indian father come to think of the school as that particular place where they will become certificated in order to get into a vocation, a semi-professional post.

Now, this prevents experimentation in education in India to a high degree.

I do not know of a country in the world where experimental education has a harder road ahead of it than in India. Egypt is very much the same, but I do not know any other place where it is more difficult, because the experiment must in turn vindicate itself by the students passing the examinations, and you cannot pass the examinations in India, unless you give your whole time to it. And therefore there is no time for experimentation. And if any school does try to experiment and at the same time prepare for examination, the students say to the teachers, "You are wasting time, that is not getting us ready for the examination." And if the boys want to study something on their side the teachers say to them, "You are wasting time. That isn't preparing for the examination."

—

Tagore as Educationist

Professor Kilpatrick then showed what Tagore's school had to do in this situation and what his position is as an educationist.

> Dr. Tagore is more than a poet, or at any rate, he is that kind of poet who takes in a whole civilization, who looks above and beyond any existing civilizations, and looks deeply into life. As he looks at his own country, he has felt that the type of education given does not take the young Indian and build him up into the soul of India, does not build him up through the history of India, to take hold of India and build the India that all Indians wish to see.
>
> Tagore feels this—and feels it with all the depth that his nature is capable of. More than that, he has a very penetrating insight into the very best educational theory. I speak advisedly. One of my Indian students two or three years ago wrote a dissertation to me on Tagore's educational outlook and I had occasion therefore to look into the subject more thoroughly, and I was amazed and delighted to see the depth of insight and clearness of vision with which he, as far as I know through my own private reading alone—I have no other knowledge on the subject—in his private reading and thinking, in his own thought

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had come to take much the same position as the very best thought here has taken on the subject of education, here where many people have been studying the question for quite a long time.

The speaker then went on to describe how Tagore was led to build a school.

Now, sensing that education must be the product of and built upon a civilization, sensing that an education must express the soul of a people, that it must in its form and content arise out of a country, out of the soul of the people.—sensing all of this, Mr. Tagore as he looked at the emptiness for the Indian student in general, said "I must build a school which is truly Indian, which will do for India the thing that an educational system should do." And he set to work to do it. It is not easy for me, a Westerner, to describe to you, mostly Westerners, and in the first place it is difficult for me to sense it adequately and more difficult still to express as much as I could sense so that you can get it. But you must imagine a school in the woods, literally, in the woods; and scenery where the buildings are not, as in this country, the predominant feature, with the trees about them for landscape gardening purpose, but the buildings are put among the trees, because the trees mean India, and the buildings are designed and intended to fit into that situation.

The professor then referred to the various features and activities of Tagore's educational institution, not omitting references to "some people working on an old manuscript that had come from Tibet" and "somebody else working on a Bengali dictionary," which is to be the largest of its kind.

—

The Bose Institute

Incidentally, Professor Kilpatrick had a word to say on the Bose Institute in Calcutta.

You know in India, the Hindu (of course it is the Hindu tradition that I am discussing) you know in India the Hindu has a feeling for nature which we do not have in this country. Everything that is alive is spiritually alive for an Indian. I shall never forget going to that great laboratory in Calcutta and seeing how Dr. J. C. Bose was studying the plants and that near approach to nervous behaviour in plants. No one but an Indian could have felt about the plants and the near approach to nerve life in the plants, no one but an Indian could feel that. I am certain that a Japanese could perhaps feel it next best, but largely because the Japanese got from India the Buddhist religion which is alive with the feeling for nature.

—

The Mahatma on What Women and Children Have done

Speaking at the Queen's Gardens, Delhi, on February 20, Mahatma Gandhi said:

The part played by the women is indescribable. When the history of this movement comes to be written the sacrifices made by the women of India will occupy the foremost place, and just as with women so also with children, their wonderful awakening has fortified me in my faith that God is with us in this struggle. These young folk had never been organized for such a work, never been trained for it. How they came to achieve all these I have not been able to divine, nor has anyone else, whom I have consulted, been able to enlighten me as to who guided them. Only God could have done so.

—

India's Sacrifices

In the course of the same speech, referring to the sacrifices made by large numbers of men, women and children, Gandhiji said:

But remember—that in the sacred battle whatever sacrifices you have made are trifling. Let them not puff you up with pride. What we want for India is "Purna Swaraj," and who can calculate what further sacrifices India will have to make to achieve that goal? I assure you that I am doing as much as is humanly possible to bring about peace, so that the people may not have to go through further suffering and sacrifices. But everything is in God's hands, and if it is not His will that any understanding be arrived at, then I will have to tell the people that they must be ready for further suffering. The sacrifices that we have made are nothing before the sacrifices other nations have made for the sake of freedom.

—

Truth and Non-Violence

Referring to the reasons why our sufferings have been so far comparatively small, he said:

But there is a reason why we have not had to suffer as much as other nations. It is as clear to me as daylight. The reason is that when we pledged ourselves to achieve 'Purna Swaraj' we also took the vow that whatever we do in furtherance of the goal would be in consonance with truth and non-violence, and when I think of the part played by the whole of India, specially by the rural population, I think we have substantially fulfilled the pledge of truth and non-violence. But I cannot deceive myself, nor will I permit you to deceive yourselves. We have followed truth and non-violence, but we have not made them an article of faith. They have been to some a matter of policy. But even if you have accepted it as a policy, you may not act or think in terms of violence so long as you adhere to the policy.

The very thought of untruth or violence is a breach of the pledge. You will remember that at the Ahmedabad Congress this matter was thoroughly thrashed out in the presence of leaders like the late Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari, and after full deliberation it was decided that so long as we adhere to our policy of truth and non-violence, so long are we bound to adhere to truth and non-

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violence in thought and deed. The slightest breach of that pledge means breach of faith. I may tolerate the allegation that Indians are not fit for Swaraj, but I cannot, for a moment, tolerate the allegation, if it were true, that my countrymen were untrue and dishonest. I cannot think of a greater tragedy than that those who believed in God were ungodly and guilty of breach of faith. Such people are not fit for freedom. They are fit for slavery and worse. For this reason I have always laid the greatest stress on the point that it was open to you to abandon the policy and adopt a different one. But so long as you pin your faith to truth and non-violence do not deceive yourself or the world.

—

Alleged Excesses in Picketing

The Mahatma continued :

Therefore, when I heard that there had been excesses on the part of our people in the picketing of foreign cloth, I was deeply pained. I have not been able to investigate the allegations. But you know that in 1921-22 I expiated for the excesses by suspending the movement. That sort of expiation is to-day out of the question. But I must say that wherever these excesses are going on they must stop.

It is better that the dealers in foreign cloth continue to sell in and those addicted to drink continue to do so than that we resort to excesses in picketing. But there is another danger I wish to warn you against. If we take to these excesses we shall be opening the door for self-destruction when we have Swaraj, for there will then be no third power with machine-guns to intervene and restore peace. We shall be fighting one another and fratricidal war will spell destruction. If, therefore, you have the slightest apprehension in your mind that picketing cannot be done without resorting to excesses, you had better be done with it.

No mock humility prevented Mr. Gandhi from claiming authority for his words.

I want you to remember that I am an expert in these matters. I am sure, we have, in the past, done considerable picketing without the slightest resort to violence. Do not be afraid that the moment we eschew the excesses our work will fall through. I would ask you not to worry. Rest assured that the man who is asking you to-day to keep to your moorings, must have some alternatives to suggest. But I shall not dwell on it to-day. I have received letters of complaints and I am making enquiries. It is possible that we have committed mistakes. I will ask all Congress workers to consider these carefully and correct whatever mistakes we may have been guilty of. I appeal to you to eschew all excesses. You may like to know what I mean by excesses. I invite the curious to come to me for the explanation.

Gandhiji to Foreign Cloth Dealers

He addressed the following words to the foreign cloth dealers, which should be borne in mind by the buyers of foreign cloth also :

Do not deceive yourselves or the country by thinking that you have done your duty by refraining from selling foreign cloth for a few months. This foreign cloth trade must stop for ever, because it is only by this means that we can promote the well-being of millions of our country men. I will respectfully submit to the foreign cloth dealers that a complete boycott of foreign cloth is their *dharma* (religion). Sacrifices they will have to make, but what are those sacrifices compared to the greater sacrifices that are being made by other sections of the public ?

—

The Cause and the Man

Mahatmaji told the citizens of Delhi, "I do not flatter myself that you have gathered here in your thousands to do honour to me. You have come to proclaim to the world that you are all determined to achieve *Purna Swaraj*." The cause is undoubtedly greater than the man who stands for the cause. But the protagonist of the cause is also certainly entitled to our homage, particularly as his personality stands for other precious things besides freedom of the country.

—

Talks with Viceroy and the Movement

Gandhiji was positive that there should not be the least slackening of the movement owing to his talks with the Viceroy.

Let not my talks with the Viceroy worry you for a moment. Do not think of them, but go on with your work. Only remember that the result is not in my hands, nor in the hands of Dr. Ansari or Pandit Malaviya, but in your hands. I am but an instrument and am acting only as your ambassador. Everything will depend upon what you do and what you fail to do. May God give you strength to keep the pledge of truth and non-violence.

—

Pandit Motilal Nehru

The death of Pandit Motilal Nehru at this critical juncture is a great loss to the country and to the world at large. To the world at large, because without freedom for India the cause of world-peace cannot prosper. For not only during the present national movement, but throughout the period of British rule, there has been virtually a state of war in India between two parties, one of whom has been throughout armed to the teeth. Unless India is free, there cannot be any real disarmament or even reduction of armaments, and without disarmament, there cannot be peace. As India is the greatest subject country in the world, the cessation of armed rule must begin here in order that that may serve as a precedent for its cessation in smaller subject countries.

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For these reasons India's freedom means so much for the freedom of the world and for world-peace and world-democracy. And Pandit Motilal Nehru died fighting to the last for the cause of India's freedom. He was a great fighter and a clean fighter. The bodily presence of a commander means much to the rank and file. For it is not all who have the vision to perceive that, though the Pandit is not in our midst in the flesh, his spirit endures and may, if we so choose, guide and inspire us all. He has left us not only the legacy of his unconquered spirit, as we said in our tribute transmitted to the "Free Press," but also his whole family to work and suffer for the cause.

He was not a mere fighter. He was distinguished for sage counsel also. There are men whose wisdom takes the form of timid and weak compromise, born of lack of faith in the cause and the people. Pandit Motilal's wisdom was not of that description. Therefore it is that his loss is so keenly felt at this critical juncture.

He has been aptly and correctly described as a great gentleman. Polished in speech and manners, he was the pink of courtesy.

He both earned and spent like a prince. Those who know in what splendour he lived will appreciate what it meant for him to choose the simple life voluntarily. It is well known that Sir Rash Behary Ghosh was a very rich man. His public benefactions alone amounted to not less than 40 lakhs of rupees. And he lived, too. On one occasion when Pandit Motilal was expected to be his guest in Calcutta, Sir Rash Behary said, "Motilal will not be comfortable in my house." Thereupon those who heard him laughed the laugh of incredulity. Sir Rash Behary replied, "You do not know how Motilal lives in Allahabad, and hence you laugh."

Pandit Motilal spent freely, not merely for the comfort and pleasure of himself and family. He wished that others, too, connected with him in any way, should be comfortable. When he was about to start his daily, *The Independent*, he offered its editorship to a certain journalist by letter and telegram. The conditions of service were very easy. The editor was not to slave at his desk—he need not write every day—he was mainly to direct the policy of the paper. Panditji concluded by saying, "Name your own salary."

Many stories may be told to show that Pandit Motilal Nehru had a delightful sense of humour. When he and many younger men were confined in Lucknow jail for the offence of being Congress volunteers and when he found his young comrades taking plenty of food even there, he told them not to do so, as, if they put Government to much expense for their diet, Government would not again send them to jail! After we had to pay Rs. 2,000 as fine in connection with the publication of *India in Bondage*, there was some difference of opinion as to whether we should appeal to the High Court against the sentence, I personally being against appealing. At this time Pandit Motilal came to Calcutta. I was told that he wished me to see him. So, Mr. Nisith Chandra Sen, the well-known barrister, took me to him. When he saw me, he said, "So, you have got it!" I nodded assent. After some further talk, I handed him the Magistrate's judgment, on his wishing to see it. After reading it through attentively, he said: "As a lawyer I would not advise you to appeal," and then added with a smile, "As a politician I should like you to appeal!"

When after the promulgation of the first Press Ordinance, the Congress Working Committee resolved that all Nationalist Indian papers should cease publication, I had some correspondence with the Pandit. He very kindly and patiently considered all that I had to say and sent me a reply. I shall not now say what he wrote, though I remember the important passages in his letter. His last letter did not reach me—it was intercepted and used by his prosecutors to prove his signature. He only smiled when that letter was produced in Court and put to such a use.

He knew that India could not be really free by means of a mere political struggle. The constructive programme outlined in his Congress presidential address in Calcutta in 1928 was substantially a social reform programme. In moving a resolution at the Lahore session of the *Jat-Pat-Torak* (anti-caste) Conference in December, 1929, Pandit Motilal said that he was then 69 and had broken through caste restrictions when he was 18.

During the last stages of his illness which unhappily for us proved fatal, he had expressed a longing to die in a free India. Externally, that was not to be. But he had

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lived to see that the spirit of India had conquered fear and death—had conquered the fear of being accused of cowardice unless violence is resorted to for winning freedom. So he really passed away "in the hour of India's spiritual triumph," as we have said in our tribute to the great departed, sent to the *Free Press*.

—

"Firm Rule" in Burma

Under the Criminal Law Amendment Act 129 Burmese Associations, including the General Council of the Burmese Associations, have been declared unlawful on the alleged ground that they interfere with "law and order," and are a danger to public peace. Some servants of Government are also alleged to interfere with true law and order and to be really a danger to public peace. But far from taking action against them, Government are not inclined even to enquire into these allegations by means of some independent body.

The 'outlawry' of the Burmese associations was the subject of an adjournment motion in the Legislative Assembly, moved by a Burma member. Mr. Tun Aung, the only elected member from Burma present, described the General Council of the Burmese Associations as one of the pioneer political bodies in Burma, which had a status similar to that of the Congress in India, and contended that action had been taken against it because it had opposed the separation of Burma from India, on which the Governor of the Province, a great propagandist, is bent. Many non-officials, like Sir Hari Singh Gour and Sir Abdur Rahim, took part in the debate and generally supported Mr. Aung, holding that there was no justification for the step, which had the effect of gagging those who were opposed to the separation. Against this non-official attack the Government brought forward the lame and trite and unprovable excuse that "if Government had not taken prompt action, situation of incalculable danger would have supervened." It repeated the allegation of the Burma Government that a definite connection had been established between the recent rebellion in Burma and the local branches of the General Council of Burmese Associations. But what then becomes of the more or less official previous statements that the recent rebellion was due to economic causes?

At the conclusion of the debate, when the motion was voted upon, there was a tie and the President giving his casting vote to the official side, the motion was lost. It is reported that the President gave his casting vote to the Government on the principle that a casting vote should be given for the *status quo*. He may have observed the letter of the principle. But the real question at issue was whether the separation of Burma was to be treated as a settled fact by suppressing all opposition. As Burma has not so far been *actually* separated, the *status quo* means the present connection of Burma with India. The President ought, therefore, to have voted for the motion, to signify that he did not consider the separation as a settled fact and that, therefore, he was against all measures which would amount to making it such.

Of the 42 votes for Government only 2 were those of elected members, which shows how widely Mr. Aung's contention is believed that the Burma Government's action had been taken because the General Council of Burmese Associations had opposed the separation of Burma from India.

If separation be practically a settled fact, why were Indian troops used to suppress the recent rebellion in Burma?

—

Spread and Improvement of Education in India

London, Feb. 17

"The organization of primary education so as to provide an educated electorate will constitute one of the greatest tasks confronting new India," declared Sir Philip Hartog in an address before the East India Association. He was of opinion that it would be necessary for the *regime* to overhaul the whole educational agency.

Sir P. Hartog advocated in this connection in the provinces the strengthening of headquarters' staff, one of the most important members of which should be the Directress of Girls' Education, increased Inspectorate and central supervision of the educational work of district boards.

Sir Philip Hartog adhered to the view of his Auxiliary Committee that the Central Government should not be entirely relieved of the responsibility for the attainment of universal primary education. He advocated the re-establishment of the 'Bureau of Education' as the centre of educational information and a means of co-ordinating educational experience of the provinces.

Dr. Paranjpye presiding agreed that the Central Government should have voice in directing and co-ordinating the progress of education but the main responsibility should rest with the provinces. He suggested that it might be possible in the new

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Government of India Act to make progress of education as binding a duty on the Provincial Governments as the maintenance of law and order.

Reuter.

When there is famine in the country, a true friend of the people will not think so much of supplying the hungry with the finest quality of rice as of supplying enough of even ordinary rice to all, provided the grain is not rotten or worm-eaten and does not contain disease germs. He is no true friend who will rather leave some people hungry than supply all with wholesome coarse fare. Neither is he a true friend who thinks first of fat salaried supervisors before thinking of providing a sufficient number of schools and teachers. A top-heavy educational organization is not essentially necessary. But if high officers must needs be multiplied, everyone of them without a single exception, including the Directress of Girls' Education, must be Indian. Indians can be found for all educational posts.

With these observations, we support what Sir P. Hartog and Dr. Paranjpye have said.

—

Tagore on League of Nations

At the reception given to Rabindranath Tagore at the Hyde Park Hotel in London by the All Peoples' Association before he left for India the poet said among other things :

We cannot altogether obliterate national temperamental differences. There must be separateness between peoples. When it is merely on the surface, it doesn't hurt ; but when it becomes selfishness, creates antipathy which causes separateness, then it is not the separateness of national demarcations but darkness and the bottomless abyss.

You have seen the mischief of this and have tried to bring about peace through the agency of the League of Nations, but there the nations are represented not by their dreamers and idealists but by their politicians. I can't think that this is right in any work which is meant to establish peace. It is like organizing a band of robbers into a police department. I have travelled in different countries lately, and everywhere I have seen signs of sufferings caused by these very politicians—how they have bungled their peace conference and to what an end they have brought this great civilization.

—

Tagore on His Institution

The poet concluded by referring to "his attempt to create an atmosphere of mutual sympathy in his own institution at Santiniketan."

He had done his best to keep his work outside political entanglement and turmoil. That was the one institution in India where the students were absolutely natural in their relationship with visitors from the West. He had created this atmosphere with the help of some great scholars from Europe. This work he was trying to carry on in the midst of this great cyclone of political restlessness in India. To counteract the evil of nationalism, there should be other channels of communication where East and West could meet in the pure spirit of sympathy and co-operation. "I have often wished that some great minds from England could come to India not merely as members of the ruling class among our people."

We have every sympathy with the poet's endeavour "to keep his work outside political entanglement and turmoil." We also gladly bear testimony to the fact that the students at Santiniketan do not bear or display antipathy to visitors from the West. As regards his statement that he has created this atmosphere with the help of some great scholars from Europe, we do not know to whom he refers. So far as we are aware, some of the scholarly visitors and workers from the West, whether entitled to be called great scholars or not, have the breadth of understanding and sympathy and the freedom from racial pride and superiority complex necessary to create the atmosphere desired, but some have not. We have no desire to mention names ; but we have had printed and other evidence to show that some of the scholars who have visited and for some time resided at this beautiful institution have not been at all free from the racial superiority complex. Men like the late Mr. Pearson are extremely rare, though he was not a great scholar.

It would indeed be a blessing to India and the world abroad, if idealists and scholars, entirely free from the racial superiority complex, would come to India not only from England but other civilized independent countries as well. Supermen like the poet can extort respect everywhere, and some foreigners may even seek to exploit their acquaintance with him under the cloak of some sort of idealism. But it is only very rare souls from free and independent countries who can truly love and respect the ordinary run of men and women in subject India. Our subject condition hides the fact of our common humanity and even our virtues, talents and attainments from all but the finest spirits hailing from the free West.

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It is difficult for the common run of free men to respect the common run of those who are in bondage. We whole-heartedly support the poet's condemnation of nationalism of the predatory and selfish type—and of the type which stands up for "My country, right or wrong!" But passages can, we believe, be quoted from his writing and utterances to show that the nationalism—by whatever name it may be called—which seeks to make India politically free is necessary for sincere mutual friendship and respect between India and the West.

—

"When Courage is Safer than Prudence"

In his speech on the Irish Free State agreement, Mr. Austen Chamberlain regretted his earlier vote against the South African settlement. He said :

I voted against them (the proposals for conferring Self-government on South Africa). I thought it a rash and wicked thing to do. If we could have seen further into the future, if I could have voted in that division with the knowledge I have today, I should have known that that great act of faith was not, as I thought it, the destruction of our policy, but its completion and fulfilment. That is a vote I would undo if I could undo a vote once given. That great act, that daring act of faith, led directly to the reconciliation of the races in South Africa: it led to the Union of South Africa; it brought South Africa into the war with us; added German East Africa and German South-West Africa to British territory. Now and again, in the affairs of men, there comes a moment when courage is safer than prudence, when some great act of faith, touching the hearts and stiring the emotions of men, achieves the miracle that no arts of statesmanship can compass. Such a moment may be passing before our eyes now as we meet here.

Will there be any Indian settlement and will history repeat itself in the speech of some other M. P., like Mr. Austen Chamberlain ?

—

Bolivar the Liberator

We thank Dr. P. G. Bridge for drawing the attention of the Indian public, through an article in *The Guardian* of Calcutta, to the achievement of Simon Bolivar, the Libertor of South America. Dr. Bridge writes, in part :

The eyes of the Latin races of the continent of Europe have been directed to the sister republics of America for another reason. This time it is not trade, or expanding industry but the sharing of cultural experiences and above all the celebrations organized to honour Latin America's greatest hero, Simon Bolivar, which are responsible, for the fresh interest in the New Continent. In Paris, in Madrid, in Naples and in many other centres functions to commemorate the centenary of the death of the Liberator have been held, rejoicing at the heroic deeds and outstanding achievements of Bolivar.

The life of the Great Liberator is one of the most romantic episodes of modern biography. "Bolivar's life," says a biographer, "presents one of history's most colossal personal canvases of adventure and tragedy, glory and defeat. His activities covered an immense area of untracked wilderness, whose mere crossing with his armies entailed problems that would give pause to the ablest modern General with every facility at his command." Bolivar was officially invested with the title of Liberator by the Congresses of all the countries he set free, Venezuela, Columbia, Ecuador, Panama, Peru and Bolivia. He fought over 200 battles and was Dictator President of the republic which bears his own name Bolivia.

—

"Death Sentences should be Commuted"

His Excellency the Viceroy has been strongly urged in very numerously signed petitions to commute the sentences of death passed on Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukh Dev on the following grounds :

1. That the conspiracy trial was not conducted under the ordinary law of the land ;
2. That the proceedings were carried on *ex-parte* in the absence of the accused ;
3. That the accused were not given an opportunity to appeal to the High Court;
4. That the charges against the accused were not fully and satisfactorily established ;
5. That the accused were not given an opportunity to produce defence, although S. Kishen Singh submitted an application before the Special Tribunal that he would produce documentary and oral evidence to falsify the charge of murder of Mr. Saunders, A. S. P. against the accused ; and that
6. The prisoners are youngsters and to hang them at such a critical juncture of the political situation would not produce a good effect on the public mind.

These grounds seem to us convincing.

—

Jawaharlal's Reply to American Journalist

We take the following from *The Bombay Chronicle* :

"Whether we win to-day or to-morrow, India will be a liability: and not an asset to England," declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, when he was interviewed by the representative of an American paper, the *Hartford Times*, at Anand Bhawan. He said that India had made a resolve to be free. England could not revive its trade in India. It would henceforth spend more and more and earn less and ultimately go bankrupt.

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The representative asked him whether it was not possible for them to achieve their end by constitutional means. Pandit Jawaharlal replied, they had no constitution in India and unless there was a constitution, it was absurd to talk of constitutional means.

The Pandit was asked if he did not believe that with the help of England things would be right in time. Pandit Jawaharlal promptly replied, "We do not want 'in time,' we want now."

Replying to another question Pandit Jawaharlal said, none who had usurped power had returned by mere sweet reason.

"Don't you believe in England's generosity."

"I have studied the whole of English history and have not come across a single instance of generosity in English history." "And we don't want generosity," added the Pandit.

Asked what reply they were going to give to the Premier's statement, Pandit Jawaharlal replied that the Working Committee would decide it during the next two days.—*Hindustan Times.*

—

A Message for Bengal's Youth

It is said that Rabindranath Tagore gave Professor Nripendra Chandra Banerji the following message for the youth of Bengal:

"Tone down your excess of emotionalism and launch forward into activity on a basis of rationalism."

Probably the poet was not asked for a message for those "leaders" of Bengal who exploit the enthusiasm of youth.

—

Moslem Students Against Separate Electorates

New Delhi, Feb. 11.

A debate was held recently in the Anglo-Arabic College, when about 300 students of Aligarh College, Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi and Jamia Millia, Delhi, were present. Professor Abdul Aziz Qari of Aligarh moved that 'in the opinion of this House the retention of separate electorates will be detrimental to the best interests of the Mussalmans.' He was followed by half a dozen speakers on his side and three on the opposite side. Professor Mohamed Habib of the Aligarh University and Mr. Walker of the Arabic College supported the motion. After an interesting debate lasting for three hours the motion was carried without a dissentient voice.—*Associated Press.*

—

Demands of Indian Princes and Separation of Burma

It is always risky to make any definite guess relating to the motives and objects of any political move. But the probable effects of a move may be conjectured.

The separation of Burma from India will make its exploitation by British firms easier. Its administration in an autocratic and bureaucratic manner will also be easier. As Mr. Bernard Houghton, retired I. C. S., who served a good many years in Burma, observes:

"Once separated from the great mass movement in India, the Burmese people will be helpless before the forces of Imperialism. The country will be administered on the same lines as Malay or Kenya.

Mr. Houghton also says that from his knowledge of Burma, where he spent the greater part of his service, he "can guarantee that the General Council of All Burmese Associations speaks the authentic voice of the Burmese people." This body has, however, been declared unlawful by Government. It had declared that the Burmese people were opposed to the separation. Of course, ethnology and Burmese history and culture show that the Burmans are a separate people. But this separateness was disregarded when Burma was conquered and annexed by spending Indian money and spilling Indian blood. And now comes the 'discovery' of Burma's separateness. Haji's coastal navigation bill may have stimulated the 'discovery.'

The bearings of the separation of Burma on the question of an All-India Federation and the Indian Princes' place therein, have also to be discussed.

The area of British India (including Burma) is 1,094,300 square miles, and that of the Indian States is 711,032 square miles. If Burma were separated from India, the area of the former, *viz.*, 233,707, would have to be deducted from that of British India. The area of the latter would then stand at 860,593 square miles. British India would not then be very much larger than the Indian States. The Princes demand equality for their States with British India as regards representation in the proposed Federal Assembly. The separation of Burma would make the grounds for their demand stronger than now.

According to the census of 1921, the population of British India including Burma is 247,003,293 and that of the Indian States 71,939,187. If Burma were separated British India would have a population of 233,791,101, that is, a little more than thrice that of the Indian States.

So from considerations of area and population combined, the demand of the Indian Princes for at least 33 per cent of the seats in the Federal Assembly would be

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irresistible. Let us see what this would mean.

Two-thirds of the total number of seats would remain to be filled up by the British provinces. The Muslim communalists demand one-third of the seats—whether of the whole House or of British India's share, we do not know. Let us accept the lesser figure, and let us suppose they get only one-fourth, not one-third. One-fourth of two-thirds means one-sixth of the whole House. The Princes get one-third and communalist Muslims get one-sixth of the whole House, *i. e.*, one half of the whole House between them. The Princes want that the seats allotted to the States are to be filled by their nominees, not by men elected by the people of the States. If they get what they want, they will get it by favour of the British rulers of India. Therefore, they and their nominess would be supporters of autocracy (in the States) and an autocratic bureaucracy in British India. If communalist Muslims get what they want, they also will get it by favour of the British rulers of India, and therefore the communalist Muslim representatives in the Assembly would naturally support the Anglo-Indian (old style) bureaucracy. In this way, on crucial occasions the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy will be able to command the votes of half the total number of members of the Federal Assembly—omitting the representatives of the Europeans and Eurasians. These facts will enable any one to guess easily what chances there will be for the will of nationalist India to prevail in the Federal Assembly.

It has been said that there is to be responsibility at the Centre. But there is the safe-guard that no ministry can be dismissed unless at least a majority of two-thirds of the members demand such dismissal. But half the votes—at any rate one-third of the votes (belonging to the Indian Princes' nominees)—being in the clutches of the Governor-General, a ministry subservient to the will of the Governor-General would be able to defy the displeasure of nationalist members.

—

Bengal Jail Grant Refused

Last month the Bengal Council, by 56 votes to 55 refused a token grant of Sir P. C. Mitter, Member in charge of jails, for expenditure during 1930-31 on account of new jails and sub-jails in Bengal. The non-official members in opposition took their stand upon the alleged ill-treatment of political prisoners, both inside and outside jails. Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, leader of the nationalist party, led the opposition. He asked the House to refuse the grant unless there was definite assurance given by the Government that civil disobedience prisoners would not be given beating as a preliminary punishment by the police before their arrest and conviction.

Last year when the Council voted a certain sum of money for the construction of a new jail said Mr. Chatterji, they did so under the assumption that the people who were sent to jail were regarded as human beings and that they were entitled to treatment which was due to human beings. But since then they had found that during the picketing, students and young men, who went to persuade the other boys, were mercilessly beaten by the police. They first thought that when a man committed an offence, he would be arrested, put on his trial and, if convicted, would be sent to jail. But what surprised them most was and what they did not then realize was that the first part of the punishment was to be inflicted by the police.

—

"Daily Herald" on Alleged Police Terrorism

London, Feb. 21

Daily Herald in course of an editorial says the Government of India's objection to enquire into the conduct of the police is not tenable, for, in the long run investigation does not weaken but strengthens the authority. It is shrinking from investigation in the apparent fear of disclosures that shakes confidence and prestige. If this objection proves the sole barrier on the road which may lead to peace and settlement, then the barrier must yield.—*Reuter*.

—

Why Java was not Represented at All-Asian Women's Conference

The following letter has been published in *The Tribune* of Lahore :

Sir,—My country Indonesia (Java) was not represented on the All-Asian Women Conference. It is, therefore, my duty to explain the reason why no representative from my country took part in the Conference.

The women of Indonesia (Java) wanted to participate in the deliberations of the Conference. So I made the very long journey of a fortnight to Lahore to represent my sisters of Indonesia here. But I extremely regret it was impossible for me to actually join the Conference because of several reasons. All activities of the national associations in my country are based on the self-help system. And as I have seen that many English ladies are members of the Reception Committee, even more than one, the idea originated with Mrs. Cousins—

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a non-asian lady—I was sorry to retire as a delegate of Indonesia (Java).

Asia and the Asians must give evidence of being capable of organizing such functions without getting any lead or help from Europe or the Europeans.

SUNARYATI

—

Proposed New Central College for Women

Her Excellency Lady Irwin has issued an appeal for 13 lakhs of rupees for a new central college for women in Delhi, for research work in educational methods, for training in home science all over India, for training of teachers, and for a school. The objects are laudable, but efforts should be made for carrying them out entirely under Indian auspices and by Indian agency. We know most big folk in India are not likely to part with their money for such a college unless some high foreign functionary or his wife lends it the weight of his or her name. But it is desirable that Indians of all classes should learn to give simply because of the worthiness of the object in view. Official and semi-official projects have a tendency to act as dampers upon indigenous endeavours and talent.

—

Arrest by Collusion

Lawyers, and laymen also, know that there may sometimes be divorce by collusion. But arrest by collusion is rather a novelty. Sir Charles Tegart, Calcutta's Police Commissioner, holds the patent for it.

It appears that on the occasion of the last Independence Day celebrations it was arranged by him through an intermediary (a journalist) that these "leaders" were to remain under arrest in their own houses (for what offence ?) till night-fall, so that the Independence Day celebrations might not have the honour (?) and the advantage of their participation therein, and might probably be a fiasco. The "leaders" who were parties to this collusion thereby escaped a beating at the hands of the police. But these heroes did not seem to have taken any thought for the rank and file, who bore the brunt of the *lathi* charges. Nor do we know what right or business they had to try secretly to nullify the order which had gone forth from the Central and local Congress executive entrusted with such work. If they wanted that, in spite of such orders, the Independence Day celebrations should not be held, they ought to have openly distributed notices to that effect.

Some people have been racking their brains to find out whether Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose was a party to this collusion. They are taking unnecessary pains. Mr. Bose is now in jail, and nobody ought to say things behind his back, when he can neither ward off wordy blows nor hit back. Moreover, as he led the procession on Independence Day and got assaulted and imprisoned in consequence, it should be presumed either that he had nothing to do with the secret understanding, or, if he had, he has more than expiated for it.

—

Bengal Government's Defence of Independence Day Exploits

It was a very lame defence that the Home Member of the Bengal Government put up of police action on Independence Day in Calcutta. It is unworthy of detailed examination. The personal attack on Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose was unworthy of the position of the Home Member, was unjustified and did not in the least add to the strength of the official arguments.

—

"States Subjects Autonomy"

Along with other journalists, we have urged that, if a Federal Assembly is to be established, the members representing the Indian States should be elected by the people of the States. Even a Tory die-hard like Earl Winterton appears to take the same view. Writes he in an article in the *Fortnightly Review*:

In the case the members from the States . . . at first, at any rate, they would have to be selected or nominated by the ruler acting in consultation, no doubt, with such Executive body as he possesses. That is at least true of the majority of States, though in the case of some of the most advanced, such as Mysore, it might be possible to arrange for indirect election through the agency of the Elected Council, this difficulty is not insurmountable if the Princes as a whole, frankly realize the need of a gradual approach towards internal Self-government for their States—States Subjects Autonomy—as it might be called. If they do not adopt this attitude I must frankly say that I think Parliament may show some hesitation in sanctioning a permanent anomaly. That is to say, the creation of a legislative body whose members have equal statutory powers and

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duties, but who obtain those powers and duties as two-thirds . . . . by indirect election from British India, and as to one-third through selection by the heads of Indian States and their Executive Councillors.

In reply to the municipal address of welcome in his capital, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner said, in part, regarding the demand for a declaration of the fundamental rights of the Indian States subjects :

"We shall know how and when to adjust our system to any changing conditions, but we will do it in our own way, free from external interference."

Now that there is likelihood of even British Tory pressure, the Maharaja of Bikaner and his brother princes should lose no time in *generously* conceding fundamental civic rights to their peoples.

—

Girls' Education in Bengal

According to the Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for the year 1929-30,

A remarkable increase in the number of high schools for Indian girls from 24 to 33 occurred during the year under review, owing to the conversion of 3 middle English schools in Calcutta, the Binapani Purdah School, the Beltola School, and the Sakhawat Memorial School into high schools, and the starting of high schools for girls at Burdwan, Howrah, Midnapore, Berhampore, Dacca and Mymensingh. Of the 33 high schools for girls, 5 were managed by Government, 25 were aided, and 3 unaided. The total number of girls reading in high schools increased from 6,766 in 1928-29 to 9,492 in 1929-30.

This increase in the number of girl pupils is satisfactory so far as it goes. But it is quite inadequate. There are districts in Bengal which do not possess a single high school for girls. That is a disgrace.

We read in the same report that there were in 1929-30 in the post-graduate classes of the Calcutta University 28 women and 17 women in the Arts and Science classes of the Dacca University. This is something. But the number of women students should be very much greater. We believe the post-graduate classes are co-educational.

The same report states :

The scheme for the establishment under departmental control of a Women's Training College at Calcutta is still under discussion. Pending orders on this proposal, women teachers of secondary schools continue to be trained at the training departments attached to the Diocesan College and to the Loreto House, which had 16 and 15 students respectively on the 31st March 1930, as compared with 13 and 9 students in the previous year.

One would like to know the religion of these students. Christian missionary educational enterprise is certainly entitled to engage in all kinds of educational work. But there ought to be much greater undenominational educational enterprise on the part of Government. These remarks apply, *mutatis mutandis* to the following paragraph also :

The number of training schools and classes for training women teachers employed in primary and the lower classes of secondary schools in Bengal remained unchanged at 10, *viz.*, 3 directly managed by Government and 7 under the management of Christian and Brahmo Missions. These schools had altogether 220 pupils on their rolls on the 31st March 1930 as compared with 199 on the corresponding date of 1929. The total cost of maintenance amounted in the year under report to Rs. 95,689, of which Rs. 78,456 was borne by Provincial Revenues, the corresponding figures for the previous year being Rs. 91,276 and Rs. 75,943 respectively. The Hindu and Moslem Women Training Schools, Calcutta, are still located in rented buildings and the Dacca Training School also is reported to be badly accommodated. The training class attached to the High School at Kalimpong had 13 students on the 31st March last.

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Indians States' People's Conference Working Committee's Resolutions

The Working Committee of the Indian States' People's Conference passed several important resolutions at its meeting held on the 6th February last. Some of them are reproduced below.

The Working Committee of the Indian States' People's Conference welcomes the idea of a federation provided that statutory provisions are made in the constitution guaranteeing that the representations of the States in the federal legislature shall be by direct popular elections and on lines analogous units of British Indian Provinces and not by nomination by the Princes.

This Committee further resolves that there should be a declaration of rights for the people of the States embodied in the federal constitution such as the liberty of person, property and conscience, freedom of speech and association, and liberty of the press and that remedies against arbitrary executive acts and violation of fundamental civic rights are duly provided for.

This Working Committee views with serious apprehension the creation in the new constitution of the office of a Viceroy to represent the Crown in relation with the States.

This Committee vehemently condemns the gross abuse of the Foreigners Act of 1864 against a large number of Indian States' subjects who have not only been residents of British India for years but also own landed property and have vested interests and source of their livelihood in British Indian territories.

These resolutions are all worthy of support.

The work of the so-called Round Table

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Conference has not been finished. With or without the co-operation of the Congress, there are bound to be further consultations and deliberations. In all these future deliberations, the people of the Indian States must be invited to participate. The least that they are entitled to demand is that they must be given a hearing. They are sure to urge and urge with justice that representatives of the States to the Federal Assembly must be elected by them, not nominated by the princes. They and their friends have been rightly urging that a declaration of the foundamental rights of the people of the States be made part of the federal constitution and safe-guards be provided against the violation of such rights.

Another point on which the spokesmen of the States people appear to be keen is that the All-India Federation should have the same authority over the States as over the provinces of British India and that the British Crown should not be paramount over the States in any sense different from that in which it is paramount over British India.

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Have Indian States Dominion Status ?

The Maharaja of Alwar stated in the course of a speech on the Round Table Conference at his capital that the States possessed everything which constituted Dominion status. He said :

"We have power over our armies, our finances, our law and order and the police, in addition to our internal autonomy guaranteed to us by our treaties. If we have placed our foreign relations in the hands of the British Government in accordance with our treaties, be it remembered that none of the Dominions who possess their status also possess their right of settling their foreign relations, which are in the hands of His Majesty's Government in England."

His Highness forgot to mention the most important factor, democracy, which obtains in the British Dominions and not in the Indian States. The absence of this factor in the States not only weakens his claim that the States possess Dominion status, but also complicates the All-India Federal scheme in which the States will be members. For how will the autonomous and democratic British provinces and the autonomous and autocratic Indian States work together in a federation ? Will the States' members be elected by the people or nominated by the princes ? Unless and until democratic and responsible governments are established in the States, will not the federal legislature and the federal executive be an incongruous composition ? The States under the new scheme will be placed directly under the Viceroy. The States' members, nominated by the princes, will reflect the opinions of the Viceroy. The position of the autocratic princes *vis-a-vis* the British Government in India, represented by the Viceroy, will remain as weak as before. Their safety and their strength lie in their being constitutional heads of their States. The States will enjoy real Dominion status when the rulers will reflect the will of their people and derive their power from the goodwill and consent of the ruled. The essential element for the success of a federal constitution exists when the Federal Government reflects the will of the component parts of the federation. That essential will be lacking if the democratic states of British India and autocratic states of Indian India reflect two wills instead of one.

By accepting the principle of an All-India Federal Government the princes have accepted the implications for its smooth and successful working, leading to its desired goal without hitch or hindrance. And the most important implication is that the States governments shall be as representative as those of the British provinces. We hope the princes will, on their own initiative, create that essential factor, democracy, in their own States by the establishment of representative and responsible governments there. So that the smooth working of the Federal Government, reflecting one united general will of the people of the two Indias, will ultimately lead to the attainment of the goal which the princes and the British Indian leaders have at heart.

The Maharaja of Alwar is wrong in stating that all foreign relations of the British Dominions are in the hands of the Government of Great Britain. Canada, South Africa and the Irish Free State have already acted independently of Great Britain in some of their foreign relations.

N. N. Gh.

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Complete Financial, Fiscal and Economic Control Required

London, Feb. 14.

A protest against the proposed commercial safe-guards and reservations has been cabled to Mahatma Gandhi by Mr. Erulkar on behalf of the

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Council of Indian Chamber of Commerce in response to Mahatma Gandhi's wish to ascertain Indian commercial opinion.

The Council opposes any restraints on India's liberty to formulate her own economic policy, which will deprive her nationals of the right to adopt protective measures against encroachment by non-nationals particularly in key industries, and considers such restraints calculated to perpetuate the domination of British interests which, it says, have been established under the patronage of a non-national bureaucracy.

The Council says that the suggested reciprocity convention would enable mercantile interests to legalize their present privileged position. It concludes with the statement that anything short of complete financial, fiscal and economic control, including power to discriminate in favour of Indian nationals, will render anything else conceded hardly worth while, since if reservations and safe-guards are accepted, the present drain would continue to impoverish Indians.—*Reuter*.

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Is India a Profitable British Possession ?

Gentle reader, do not think the above question has been put by a lunatic. Mr. Edward Thompson would have us believe that Great Britain derives little pecuniary advantage from her sovereignty over India. Evidently, he would ask the world to take it for granted that Britain rules India either from philanthropic motives, or because, being a slave to use and wont, she goes on governing on account of an acquired habit, though it no longer pays to rule India.

Mr. Thompson is a writer of verse and plays and fiction who has also dabbled in historical disquisitions, politics, literary criticism and the writing of biography. He may, therefore, be expected to admit that Viscount Rothermere, who has been ennobled for success in money-making, understands pecuniary matters better than himself. This millionaire writes in the *Sunday Despatch* :

If we allow ourselves to be flung out of India, Britain will fall into poverty and squalor, just as Portugal did when she lost her overseas Empire. The Indian Nationalists, who will dominate the proposed native Government, have openly proclaimed their intention of repudiating all India's debts to Britain. It is calculated that £1,000,000,000 of British money is invested in that country, much of it held by quite poor people here. Rich or poor, they will lose it all, capital and interest alike.

Lancashire's cotton trade, already reduced to one-half its former volume, will practically disappear. Innumerable other industries will be unable to survive the loss of our Indian market, by reason of the prohibitive tariffs which the Nationalists, in their anti-British vindictiveness, would impose upon all goods coming from this country.

British ships will be excluded from Indian ports. The banks, insurance companies, and merchant houses that do business with India will have to close down. Since eight to twelve millions of British men, women, and children depend, directly or indirectly, upon India for their livelihood, unemployment will reach figures yet undreamt of.

Though the above passage contains some lies, its writer is right in conveying the impression that Britishers derive great pecuniary advantage from the political power which they exercise over India.

The first lie is that Indian Nationalists have openly proclaimed their intention of repudiating all India's debts to Britain. They have done nothing of the kind, and they have no such intention. The second lie is that all British investors in India will lose all their money. The third lie is that British ships will be excluded from Indian ports. Are British ships excluded from any foreign ports ? The fourth lie is that all the British banks, insurance companies and merchant houses that do business with India will have to close down. Do not British banks, insurance companies and merchant houses do business with independent countries ?

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Economic and Financial Relations Between British India and Indian States

We have received a copy of the Report of the special committee, appointed to investigate certain facts relevant to the economic and financial relations between British India and the Indian States. It contains a mass of valuable basic material essential for a settlement of practical details in connection with those relations in the scheme of federal constitution which is looming large in the political horizon of India.

The report proper extends to seventy pages of small print of royal octavo size. This is followed by twenty tables and six appendices, covering more than a hundred pages in addition.

Summarizing the results of their enquiry in a tabular form, the Committee point out that under the head Customs, the total revenue or other figures for the whole of India is Rs. 41,48,50,000. The States' share is (A) import duty Rs. 5,88,97,000. (B) Export duty—Rs 9,98,000.

Under the head Excise (A) (Imperial) Total revenue or other figures for the whole of India from petrol and kerosene Rs. 1,35,45,000 and Rs. 70,27,000 respectively and States' share Rs. 20,02,000 and Rs. 15,46,000 respectively.

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(B) Provincial States' share is Rs. 15,36,000. The head Salt shows Rs. 5,94,25,000 as the total revenue, or other figures for the whole of India and Rs. 1,11,20,000 as States' share.

Under the head tributes Rs. 72,04,000 represents the total amount of those tributes which are paid by the Indian States to the Government of India and which is available for general expenditure.

Army expenditure of States.

(1) Indian States forces is Rs. 2,38,71,000 and

(2) Other Army expenditure Rs. 1,59,71,000.

Credit to the States under the head (1) shows Rs. 2,38,71,000.

The Committee have sifted and collected the mass of very useful information regarding expenditure incurred by the Government of India on items classed as "Imperial Burdens" An extremely important portion of the report is the exposition of the financial position of the N.-W. F. P. and assessment of the extent to which that province's burden falls on the rest of India.

In 1927-28, 1928-29, 1929-30, and 1930-31 (budget), in the settled districts of this province alone there were deficits of 58,86,000, 74,17,000, 84,95,000 and 97,51,000 rupees respectively. In those years the deficits for the tribal area were 1,47,14,000, 1,56,95,000, 1,70,10,000 and 1,72,55,000 rupees respectively. So the deficits have been continually increasing in both the settled districts and the tribal area of the N.-W. Frontier Province. If it be made a "Governor's Province," the deficits, to be met from the revenues of the rest of India, will be still greater.

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British Delegation to Follow Up R. T. C. Work

On the 17th February last *Reuter* cabled as follows from London :

Regarding the despatch of parliamentary delegation to India to continue the work of the Round Table Conference, *Reuter* learns that there is no reason to believe that Government has abandoned the project. It is considering to send a small body of British politicians and officials to India to follow up the work of the Round Table Conference. Many Indian delegates to the Round Table Conference had hoped that that party would include Lord Sankey and Mr. Benn. It is pointed out that special obstacles prevent the Lord Chancellor from leaving the country but it is not improbable that other members of the Government may visit India though decisions have not yet been taken.

If the work of the R. T. C. be continued in India and if the different political parties in India, particularly the Congress, be asked to select their delegates, and if the Congress delegation be given its due weight by making its numerical strength proportionate to its importance, then the arguments which we brought forward in our last August number to show that the London Conference could not be properly called a "Round Table" Conference, would be met to some extent. In that issue we contended, among other things, that the Round Table Conference ought to have been based on the principle of self-determination ; but instead of that it was based on the principle of British-determination, directly and indirectly. In that connection we wrote :

And lastly, the Conference, though it relates to the destinies of India, will be held in London, where the atmosphere created by public opinion would encourage the British representatives and act as a damper on the Indian nominees of the British Government. That a conference, ostensibly relating mainly to India, is to be held in London, shows the inferiority of India's position and the unreality of the expression "*round table* conference." It is not a mere question of sentiment. If the conference had been held in Delhi or in any of the three presidency towns, the Indian representatives of a nationalist turn of mind could have felt strengthened in their demands by the moral support of the public, and the noodles and the toadies might have received their due meed of obloquy even during the progress of the conference.

Should the work of the R. T. C. be really continued in India, it would be a recognition of the force of our contentions.

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Speeches at R. T. C.

The publication at this juncture, by Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co. of Madras, of the speeches at the Round Table Confernce "by the King, the Premier, the British party leaders and the representatives of the Princes and people of India," is very timely. The book brings together in a neat and compact form what could only be found scattered in the columns of various Indian and British newspapers of different dates. All publicists and students of public affairs will thank Messrs. Natesan and Co. for this compilation. The only fault to be found with it is that the "British-Indian" nominees of the British Government are called the representatives of the people of India, which they are not

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The Railway Budget

The railway budget shows a big deficit—bigger probably than what the official statement explicitly mentions. For, in the Assembly

Mr. B. Das held that the present Railway Budget had a deficit of eleven crores, and not of five as shown in the statements presented to the House. The speaker referred to the efforts of the Government of India to take away the control of the

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Assembly from the Railway Department and said that it was fortunate that the Round Table Conference had reversed their calculations. The Government of India should have created a portfolio for transport instead of tagging on the railways to the Commerce Department. Last year they urged the appointment of a retrenchment committee, but were told that the Railway Board itself was doing retrenchment work. Their experience of the Railway Board was quite contrary and he urged the immediate appointment of retrenchment committee which should effect economy all round, especially from the top on a graded scale.

Referring to the deficit in the budget, Mr. Das said that much had been made of the civil disobedience movement in India and the trade depression. But the real fact was that foreign countries were either becoming independent of Indian raw material or were buying elsewhere. It was idle to think that if the civil disobedience movement was called off to-day railway income would at once jump up to the former level. They should face the facts that rice and jute were no longer required by America. The remedy lay in a reduction of the working expenditure.

If the Cabinet Ministers in Great Britain could forgo certain percentage of their salaries, why should the Cabinet Ministers in India insist on the terms of their contracts? If they have the love of this country at heart they should also follow the example of their countrymen in England. Indianization and local production of railway appliances, he said, would lead to real economy.

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Communalism in Railways

In the course of the debate on the railway budget in the Legislative Assembly Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer criticized the Railway Member "for introducing the policy of communalism in the matter of staffing of the Railway Services."

He said that if the Government honestly believed in the policy of representation of minorities, they should extend its benefits to all minority communities and not confine its operations to the Mahomedans. This, he added, was a vicious principle, which the Government had not thought of for the last 150 years, but now when they were preparing (?) to go out bag and baggage, they were trying to leave a mischievous legacy of communalism to them, for which they would be cursed by the generations to come. He made a pointed reference to the preponderance of the Anglo-Indians in the Railway Services, out of all proportion to their population strength.

Mr. Iyer thanked the Railway Member and suggested a ten per cent cut in salaries, excluding only the lowest paid employees. He suggested that the Railway Board should collect information regarding salaries paid in other parts of the world to similar employees, and place it at the disposal of the House. He was not prepared to suggest any cut in the salary of the Railway Member himself, because he was very hard worked and had to perform the triple duties of Leader of the House, Commerce Member and Railway Member.

Mr. Ranga Iyer had so far thought that the Railway Member had only these three faces, but now they found that he had a fourth face, the communalistic face.

Mr. Kabir-ud-din Ahmed and others, who were evidently perturbed by his attack on communalism, tried to interrupt him several times.

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Provincial Budgets

One by one the provincial finance members are presenting deficit budgets to the provincial councils and laying all possible blame on the civil disobedience movement for fall in revenues. But the Government is responsible for the genesis of that movement. And even if it had not been started, the Government's exchange and currency policies and its general apathy and inefficiency as regards the development of truly *Indian* agriculture, industries and commerce, would have resulted in decrease in revenue. British enterprise located in India is not Indian enterprise.

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"Education in India in 1928-29"

Towards the latter end of last month (February) we received the official report on "Education in India in 1928-29." The officiating Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, who has compiled and drawn it up, says that it carries the history of education in India down to March 31, 1929. Therefore, practically the report sees light two years after the last day of the year to which it relates. This does not speak much for the educational department. The preface of the officiating Educational Commissioner is dated, Simla, August 1930. Does it take six months for the Government Press to print a small octavo report of only 74 pages?

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Are the Educational Statistics Accurate?

Though the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India has taken so much time to compile and then to print his report, it is probable that there are errors or misprints in his statistics. Our suspicion has been roused by the statistics of Universities in India. Let us take the four oldest Universities, and quote from the report the number of students in them and of those who graduated in Arts and Science, in 1928-29.

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University	No. in Univ. Depts.	No. in Affld. Colleges.	No. graduated
Calcutta	1,171	2,928	2,384
Bombay	61	11,240	1,087
Madras	131	15,967	1,677
Panjab	19	12,962	1,121

Is it really true that the colleges affiliated to the Calcutta University contain only 2,928 students, and that the other old Universities have each in their affiliated colleges a larger number of students ? If so, how is it that Calcutta turns out a far larger number of graduates than they ?

If the figures on page 7, quoted above, are correct, wherefrom does Bengal get its total of 27,382 University graduates and under-graduates in the same year 1928-29 ? Dacca being a small university could not have swelled the numbers to such an extent.

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India's Educational Backwardness

The total number of scholars in all institutions, both recognized and unrecognized, was over 12 millions in 1928-29, representing about five per cent (4·8) of the total population. This shows how extremely backward India, ruled by Britain for more than a century and a half, is in education.

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Number of Male and Female Scholars

The table given below shows how grievously the education of girls and women has been neglected, specially in the higher stages.

Stages of Instruction	Scholars in Institutions for males	Scholars in Institutions for females
Graduate and Post-Graduate	21,959	296
Intermediate	42,845	781
Secondary	9,87,788	53,843
Primary	88,47,683	12,38,899
Total	99,00,275	12,93,819

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Backwardness of Hindus in Education

The following table shows that the Hindus, taking the whole of India, are more backward in education than other communities.

Community	Percentage of scholars to population
Europeans and Anglo-Indians	18·5
Indian Christians	13·7
Hindus	4·7
Mohammadans	5·2
Buddhists	5·4
Jains	22·7
Sikhs	7·1

Educational Progress in Provinces

The following table shows the percentage of total scholars to population in the different provinces :

Provinces	Percentage of total scholars to population. 1929	1928
Madras	6·6	6·2
Bombay	6·4	6·2
Bengal	5·6	5·3
United Provinces	3·3	3·2
Panjab	5·9	6·0
Burma	5·3	5·1
Bihar and Orissa	3·3	3·4
Central Provinces and Berar	3·1	3·0
Assam	4·4	4·0
N.-W.-F. Province	3·6	3·4
Coorg	6·2	6·7
Delhi	8·0	6·7
Ajmer-Merwara	3·7	3·6
Baluchistan	2·2	2·0
Bangalore	12·6	12·4
Minor Administered Areas	9·0	8·4
Total—British India	4·9	4·8

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Expenditure on Education in 1929

Page 6 of the Report contains a tabular statement of the expenditure on education in 1929. We take from it a few figures relating to the major provinces.

Province	Total Expenditure Rs.	Percentage from Govt. Funds	P. C. from fees	Total cost per scholar Rs.	A.	P.
Madras	5,42,33,333	50·6	17·0	20	3	8
Bombay	3,97,30,411	49·6	18·3	33	3	2
Bengal	4,33,98,109	35·2	41·1	16	14	5
U. P.	3,75,93,161	55·7	15·0	26	5	7
Panjab	3,07,83,644	56·0	20·0	27	9	8

In comparing these figures, it should be borne in mind that the population of Bengal is larger than that of any other province, is more than twice that of Bombay and of the Panjab, and more than those of the Panjab and Bombay combined.

The people of Bengal have to pay for their own education from their own private resources to a far larger extent than the people of any other province. For this reason they have not made as much progress in education as their "education madness" might have resulted in.

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Government Grants to Aligarh and Benares

Moslem Indians sometimes claim, particularly in Bengal, that their educational institutions should have Government subsidies proportionate to their numerical strength but not proportion-

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ate to the revenue they contribute to the public treasury. If that principle were followed, Aligarh University would get much less Government money than Benares University, treating both as provincial institutions. For in the United Provinces the Moslems form about 15 per cent of the population. But in reality both Aligarh and Benares are all-India Universities. Hence, on the communal population basis, which we do not at all support, Aligarh would be entitled to get about one-fourth of what Benares gets from the Government of India, or, which is the same thing, Benares would be entitled to get four times as much as Aligarh gets. For the Moslems form less than one-fourth of the population both of British India and of the whole of India. Nor can it be said that Moslems are on the whole more backward in education in India as a whole. In English education they are more advanced in the United Provinces than the Hindus. From the report on "Education in India in 1928-29," we find that in 1929 Benares University had 2,359 students and Aligarh University had 1,587. So on the basis also of the number of students taught, Benares would be entitled to get more money from the Provincial and the Central Governments than Aligarh.

So it comes to this that, according to the principle of communal distribution of educational funds advocated by many Moslems, if Aligarh gets 3 lakhs a year, Benares ought to get 12 lakhs, if Aligarh gets a block grant of fifteen lakhs, Benares ought to get sixty lakhs.

We repeat that we are against the expenditure of revenue on a communal basis. What we have written is meant to show to communalism-ridden men that more than one party can play at the communal game and that, if the communal principle were logically followed, Muhammadans will not gain all along the line.

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Perfectibility

When judging of the fitness of Indians for self-rule or any other thing, for that matter, our self-constituted judges not unoften adopt an absolute standard of perfection, losing sight of the fact that perfection and progress are relative and must be judged of according to other circumstances and factors. Nevertheless, when *we* judge ourselves we must adopt the highest possible standard. If, like other men, we fall short of that standard, we need not despair. We should bear in mind, as has been observed in *The Aryan Path*, which is a high-class magazine standing in a class by itself in India :

"Perfection in an absolute sense is unattainable in an infinite universe, but it is at man's peril that he rests content with anything short of it. Even when the relative perfection possible in any given stage of manifestation is attained, a dim prescience of the waiting heights in other worlds and times must keep the wise man humble.

"Let our aim, then, be beyond the probabilities of accomplishment, and our gauge the highest we can conceive, if we will rise from mediocrity to the full stature of man !"

—

The Principal of the Sanskrit College

Oxford was once described as the home of lost causes. The same doubtful honour, it seems, has been claimed by some for the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. The majority report of the Committee appointed some time ago on the affairs of that college contained, among others, a resolution that the Principal of the Sanskrit College should always be an orthodox Brahmin. This recommendation, neither reasonable in itself, nor justifiable by precedent, was opposed by a minority of the Committee and, subsequently, by the Government of Bengal, who stated in their resolution :

In regard to paragraph 49 of the report Government note that the majority of the committee consider that the Principal of the Sanskrit college should always be an orthodox Brahmin, Government are unable to agree to any such limitation. The weighty notes of dissent on the subject put in by the President of the Committee and others make it clear that there has never been any such limitation and that non-Brahmins have actually held the post in the past. Such a limitation would be an innovation on past practice and Government therefore must reserve the right which they have hitherto never relaxed of appointing any qualified scholar to the Principalship of the Institution. They endorse the view of the Committee that adequate administrative ability must be insisted upon in the Principal. An equally important desideratum is a high degree of Sanskrit scholarship and it is important that the Principal should have been trained both in the indigenous and western methods of Sanskrit scholarship. It is realized that the combination required will not always be easy to find in future. Government agree that the Principal should be drawn from or on appointment be included in the Indian Educational service or such superior service as they may create in its place.

Both the principles are sound and, we hope, they will not be lost sight of when the question of appointing a principal arises.

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An Indian ndustrial Concern

We have received samples of the biscuits made by The Lily Biscuits Company of Calcutta, and found them very good. This company is a purely Indian concern. Its proprietors Messrs. P. Sett & Co. have set up up-to-date plants and machinery for biscuit making in their factory, and have also specialists trained in Europe to attend to them. The spirit of enterprise shown by this firm is commendable.

—

Mr. Churchill and India

Some time ago, a Danish scholar wrote a book on England to which he gave the name of *Kings, Churchills, and Statesmen*, thereby conveying the subtle suggestion that the statesmen of England were not to be confused with her Churchills. Mr. Winston Churchill seems to be determined to live up to the standard of dangerous originality associated with his name.

His latest revolt against party discipline takes place over the question of Indian constitutional reform. He has put himself at the head of those who would rather have a lost Dominion in India than a Dominion. The conquest of a Churchill is undoubtedly an achievement for the retired Indian civilians and soldiers who have never had a star of such magnitude to back them, but will it be an equal gain for Mr. Churchill? Will not the people of Great Britain reject his statesmanship as decidedly in the future as they rejected his strategy in the past? This seems to be foreshadowed in a letter of Sir Hubert Carr, one of the British delegates to the Round Table Conference, to the *Times*:

"If Mr. Winston Churchill succeeds in his threatened task of marshalling public opinion against the Round Table Conference, writes Sir Hubert Carr, he will do a grave injury to Britain and India, for he will re-establish the devil of mistrust in the Indian consciousness in an almost impregnable position."

Sir Hubert asks what Mr. Churchill expects to gain for the Indian masses or for British trade by his policy and expresses the opinion that British trade with India would be worth little without goodwill, which can be retained only by liberal statesmanship and by creating confidence in India that the country is being governed in the interests of India first and foremost." (*The Statesman*)

Though Mr. Churchill has a certain weakness for the rôle of Don Quixote, he might well give some attention to these straws which show the direction of the wind. At any rate, it would be strange if he did not pay any heed to the saying of his father, who said "Trust the people,' and the warning of his young son, who says. "Once the passing generation shows that its usefulness is exhausted, the choice of these men and methods must be wrested from their hands by youth."

—

Mr. Churchill and Mahatma Gandhi

Mr. Churchill is at his best in invective. The splendid rhetoric which we admired in *The World Crisis* is now turned upon the great Indian leader in his loin-cloth.

"It was alarming and nauseating," Mr. Churchill said, "to see Mr. Gandhi, an Inner Temple lawyer, now a seditious *fakir*, striding half-naked up the steps of the Viceregal Palace to parley on equal terms with the representative of the King-Emperor."

As Mr. Churchill himself has sat at the same table with many famous seditionists, from Louis Botha to Michael Collins, we can only explain his nausea by referring to his objection to insufficient clothing. We should not forget that Mr. Churchill's childhood was spent among the rustle and amplitude of crinolines. It was therefore as much as could be expected from him that he should no more than just tolerate the colossal revolt against clothes which has been proclaimed the feminine generation of his middle age. The loin-cloth of the Mahatma has only come as the last straw which has broken the camel's back.

—

Foreign Cloth Ban by an Indian State

The following news appears in *The Statesman* for February 27, 1931.

His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawangar has issued a strange order prohibiting the sale of foreign cloth in Jamnagar State territories. Explaining the reasons for the order, His Highness says it is the desire of an overwhelming majority of his subjects to see that foreign cloth is not sold within the State limits and that even dealers have agreed to it.

The order, he states, will remain in force for three months and anyone defying it will be punished.

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Peace Talks

As we write this last Note, we are still in ignorance of any definite final information relating to the Gandhi-Irwin pourparlers, and are, therefore, unable to offer any comments.

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Reception given to Rabindranath Tagore at New York
Rabindranath is seen Seated below the flag
at the back of the hall.

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Tagore's Ballads

By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR

"GIVE me the making of the ballads of a nation and I care not who has the making of the laws,"—said Fletcher of Saltoun with the keen mother-wit of a Scot. It is through folk-ballads that the hearts of the people (in the widest sense of the term) can be reached most easily and impressed most deeply. Rabindranath's genius, in ranging over every form of art, has experimented in this branch of poetic expression too, and he has brought to the granary of Bengali poetry a sheaf—alas! too small,—of ballads which stand unapproached in our tongue and which will endure as long as his lyrics and short stories. In one respect, by a marvellous blending of elements not usually found together, Tagore has made his ballads unique of their kind, at least in Indian literature. Rapidity of movement, simplicity of diction, primary emotions of universal appeal, action rather than subtle analysis, broad striking characterization, "thumb-nail sketches" of background, and the sparest use (or rather complete avoidance) of literary artifices,—these are the essential requisites of the true ballad; and they are all present in Rabindranath's ballads. In some places, he illustrates the artistic device which makes the seeming bareness of simplicity produce a better effect than elaboration, as English readers will remember in Scott's—

"The bride kissed the goblet,
the knight took it up,
He quaffed off the wine,
and he threw down the cup."

In the choice of words, Rabindranath's touch here is as unfailing as in his best lyrics, though the task of the ballad-maker is far more difficult on account of the simplicity and shortness of the word-store which the subject enforces on him. But the magic of his art lights up even such a subject and turns the base metal of our daily use into gold every now and then in the vocabulary of his ballads, with the same success (though in a different line) as in the case of the sonorous organ-swell of his lyrics or the pathetic wailing of his elegies. The craftsman's cunning of hand has been here almost hidden by the complete success of his effort.

But these poems are raised above the level of "popular" ballads (in the lowest and most comprehensive sense of the term) by the poet's delicate artistic temperament. He has not always succeeded in keeping himself down to the level of the humblest taste and the simplest understanding. His sense of beauty, his response to the subtlest forces of atmosphere and scenery, the backward glances of a well-stored memory thronging with suggestive pictures and "allusions,"—these break through the strict mould of the simple

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folk-ballad, and every now and then Tagore interrupts for a moment the rush of the action in order to give us vignettes of scenery and character which remain impressed upon the memory for ever like tiny enclosed plots of green and flowers forming islands in the midst of the roaring rush of street traffic. These elevate his ballads to the realm of pure poetry ; and his art has been shown in his unfailing sense of proportion which prevents the action from ever flagging or giving the reader the least sense of irrelevancy. Our minds love to linger over these flower-plots a little longer before the flowing tide of narrative sweeps us on. From this point of view "His Vow" is a typical ballad, while "The Votaress" is a poem of action no doubt, but a poem invested with the glow of romance and retrospective imagination.

The most wonderful thing about these ballads of Tagore, it seems to me, is the way in which his genius has woven such complete pictures of life out of the barest statement of fact in the ancient legends out of which his ballads are taken. The incident of "His Vow" occupies only a line and a half in its source, Tod's *Rajasthan,* and that of "The Votaress" probably as little space in the *Avadan-shatak.* But Tagore's genius has invested these few dry bones with flesh and blood and all the glow and warmth of humah life and human emotion, and placed before us complete moving pictures of actions from their beginning to end. No finer example of the creative power of the poet as a "maker" can be imagined.

I attempt a translation of two of the ballads below, only apologizing to the readers of the Bengali originals for my unwarranted murder,—at least disfiguring assault and battery, upon these delightful idols which we all adore in our memory's shrine.

His Vow

1

"Arm! arm! lo!
The Maratha brigands come,"—
Shouted forth in Ajmer fort
Commandant Dumraj.

2

'Tis noon. The soldiers in their rooms
Are baking their millet cakes.
They run out on hearing
The beat of drum at the fort-gate.
They mount the ramparts
And behold afar off
The southern sky veiled in dust
Raised by Maratha horse-hoofs.
"Burn up, burn up the locust hordes of Maratha land
With your flaming swords ;
Let none, return home"—
Roared out Dumraj.

3

In rides the envoy from Marwar and shouts,—
"Away with all this arming ;
Here's our lord's letter
To you, Dumraj.
Sindhia is coming, with him
His French general.
With honour give up the fort to them.
This is his order to you.
Victory has turned her face
From our lord Bijay Singh ;
And you have to yield Ajmer fort
To the Marathas in peace."
"Ah! lord's behest and hero's duty
Are today clashing together,"—
So sighed forth in deep distress
Commandant Dumraj.

4

The messenger of Marwar bade cry out
"Pile up arms! pile up!"—
Stood like a graven image
Commandant Dumraj.
The day wears on, the landscape simmers in the heat,
The cattle browse in the dim distance,
In the green tree's shade
The herd-boy is playing on his flute.
"When my master gave me Ajmer
I vowed in my heart
Never to give up my lord's fort
To an enemy in life.
Must I break that vow
At master's bidding today ?"
So pondered in deep distress
Commandant Dumraj.

5

The Rajput troops in shame and rage
Flung their arms away.
In silence stood at the fort gateway
Commandant Dumraj.
Dun-robed eventide alighted
On the western horizon,
The Maratha army, trailing dust,
Drew up at the fort gate.

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"Who art thou, lying before the portal?
Get up! get up! open the door."
He heard it not, his lifeless corpse
Gave no reply.
To reconcile master's bidding
With hero's duty, today
At the fort-gate has given up life
Commandant Damraj.

***

THE VOTARESS

1

King Bimbisara
Bowed to the Buddha and begged of him
His toe-nail pairings.
Putting them in earth in his palace park,
He built over them with loving care
A wondrous stone mound,
A marvel of the sculptor's art.
At eventide, clad in white, came there
Princesses and queens,
With flowers heaped up in baskets;
At the foot of the relic mound,
On golden trays they lit
Rows and rows of golden lamps.

2

When Ajatasatru became king
On his father's throne,
His father's faith, in a flood of blood,
He swept away from his palace;
In to the fire of Hindu sacrifice
He flung Buddha's sacred books.
Thus spoke Ajatasatru
To the palace-women all:
"Save Vedas, Brahmans and kings
There's none to worship.
Bear this in mind, of a verity,
Or you will smart for it."

3

The early autumn day is drawing to a close,
Srimati, a palace maid,
Has bathed in cool pure water,
Laid flowers and lamps on her tray,
And comes, standing speechless,
Before the queen, gazing on her feet.
With a shiver of dread the queen spoke:—
"Hast thou forgotten
How Ajatasatru has proclaimed
That whosoever would offer adoration at the mound,
World perish on the stakes
Or in exile?"

4

Thence slowly pacing forth, she turned
To the chamber of Amita, the royal daughter-in-law.
Before a golden mirror
She was braiding her long tresses,
And drawing a line of vermilion
On the parting line of her hair.
One look at Srimati and the princess's hand shook,
The paint went awry.
She cried out, "Fool! how dare you
Bring *Puja* offerings? Away, quick,
Lest some one should see you and cause
Untold mischief."

5

With the setting sun's rays
Coming in through the open window,
King's daughter Shukla sat alone
Buried deep in romance reading.
Starting up at the jingle of anklets,
She glanced at the door,
Saw Srimati there, laid her book down,
Ran to the maid,
And whispered into her ears,
"Who does not know the king's command?
Why are you rushing thus
Into death?"

6

From door to door moved Srimati,
With her tray of offerings.
"Hark, ye palace-women" she cried to all,
"The time is come for the Lord's *puja*",
Hearing which they lay cowering in their rooms
Or cursed her in wrath.

7

The last streak of daylight
Has faded from the house tops,
The streets are lone, draped in dark,
The city's din has died out,
The bell of idol-worship
Rings out in the ancient royal temples.
In the lucid gloom of autumn night
Gleam myriads of stars.
The horn sounds at the palace main-guard,
The singers begin their evening chant,
"The Council is over"
Shouts the chamberlain;
When with a sudden start
The palace watch behold
Amidst the lonely park of the king
In the thick gloom at the foot of the relic mound,
What is that blazing like
Rows and rows of lamps?

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8

Up ran the guardsman with flashing blade
And asked—"Wretch, who art thou,
Making the adoration of lamps for thy
own death ?"
Soft rang the reply, "Srimati
I am, Buddha's servitor."

That day, the pure marble terrace
Was streaked with blood,
That day, in the clear autumn night,
In the silence and solitude of the palace park
At the foot of the relic mound
Died out in an instant
The gleam of the last adoration of lamps.

Indian Youth and Caste

By WALTER BROOKS FOLEY

"All beings I regard alike."
—*Bhagavadgita*

IT was the afternoon of a hot, sultry, Indian March day. The sun poured its heat on the city pavements. Even the auto horns sounded weary. Under the sloping roof of the huge convention tent the whirling fans stirred the heated air in limited circles.

A Bengali voice swept across the ground space and through the amplions. Translated, it said, "The motion before us is : 'Shall those delegates who are non-Brahmin become Brahmin ?' It seemed like a simple sentence, but it expressed the longing of countless ages in a land of mysticism, ritual and religious legality.

I thought of the four great Hindu castes ; the Brahmins priests), the Kshatriyas (warriors), the Vaisysas (the merchants, land-owners), the Sudras (farmers and servants), then the hundreds of sub-castes ; finally the millions of the outcaste community scattered across the fair face of India. But this was no place for panoramic visions. The voice of youth swept clamant through the cluttered traditions.

Here in the Third Annual Meeting of the Hindu Samaj Sammilan the very liberality of the leaders, who had called the delegated assembly together for a discussion of social questions, stirred the heart of youth to go all the way toward social justice. And so, the motion which had been put by a Brahmin youth and seconded by one of his Brahmin friends, "I move, Mr. Chairman, that all the non-Brahmin delegates shall become Brahmins." And in support of his motion, "We have passed a motion against Untouchability. We ought not to permit the curse of caste to divide us. All should be lifted to the highest level of our society."

There was a division among the leaders. The President declined to act further. Another was elected. The discussion was postponed until the Subjects Committee could consider the motion and bring a recommendation before the whole body.

* * * *

Again it was afternoon—the afternoon of the Holi day. (The day marks the beginning of Indian spring.) The assembly was quiet. The boisterousness of the previous day was gone. There was a thrill of quiet determination in the air.

The Brahmins, the sacred, priestly group in Hindu society, the leaders of the mass, the religious masters for centuries, have ruled the caste life of the hundreds of millions of Hindus with an iron grip that nothing could break. It is true there have been a few who have rebelled against the imposed, priestly restrictions. But no one dreamed that the leaven of the West had gone so far.

With practical unanimity the motion was passed. Only a dozen hands were seen in the negative. A breathless silence—then "Bande Mataram" (Hail, O Motherland) arose like a solemn chant. An announcement made it clear that this was no empty passing of a resolution. "Immediately after listening to one of the Poet Tagore's hymns the ceremony of initiation is to take place." Another announcement followed : "A Mohammedan family is to be received into Hinduism."

From here on the proceedings assumed an appearance of unreality for the writer. It was hard to believe, yet his eyes offered the proof. He saw the Moslem family—the father, the mother, the two children. He listened to

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the father and mother repeat the *mantras* of the priest. A sacred fire burned in the centre of the group. The new converts to Hinduism held the holy Ganges water in their hands. The watchers accepted the presence of the American missionary with tolerance and good nature.

We turned a corner. Here was a group of one hundred low castes and outcastes. They sat in a pandal (or tent). Their faces were serious. Three Brahmin priests were present. Before them, blazing up from a hole in the ground, was a small "Juggo" (purification) fire. In a cleared space was a receptacle holding Ganges water. Small bowls of *ghee* were near the fire, and a large, long-handled spoon.

The priests settled down. The initiates quieted into silence. Sanskrit texts from the sacred scriptures were chanted in the irregular Indian fashion. Then a few lines of texts in Bengali (thus putting the scripture into the language of the common people) were recited. One man, under instruction from a priest, dipped up the Ganges water into a little, round, copper cup. As he went among the hundred delegates of the first group he poured a few drops into the cupped right hand of each novice. The novice touched his lips to the water and sprinkled the remainder over his head. There was a solemnity about the process: that was impressive. Again the priest proceeded with the readings from the scriptural ritual.

An old grey-bearded Brahmin joined the other three officiating priests. The reading went on in chant and speaking tone. One man again, representing the the entire group poured *ghee* on the fire as a symbol of purification. The blaze flared. This part of the ceremony ended.

The youngest of the priests reached over to his left and picked up the bundle of long white cotton threads from where they had been placed on the ground. They were like soft necklaces against the green of the banana leaf in which they had been wrapped. Handling them carefully he began to withdraw first one, then another, from the collection. He arose in dramatic fashion and walked over to stand before a candidate for Brahminship.

The candidate bowed his head. The sacred thread was placed around his neck and another his right arm. The deed had been accomplished. It was repeated again and again until a hundred non-Brahmins had become members of the priestly caste.

My Hindu friend and I stepped away from the pandal in silence and thoughtfulness. The haze of unreality did not lift. Even as I write, the scene is vivid in my memory, the fact can scarcely be realized. The impossible was accomplished. That which could not be done *was* done.

Caste is not abolished in India. But another leap upward has been taken. The social reformers in Hindu society have the additional force of this action of a great Hindu Conference at the back of them. They are supported by numbers where before they worked almost alone. Education in the eradication of superficial, crushing superstitions goes forward more rapidly. My friend said, "The following of the resolution with action moved efforts at social reform forward at least thirty years."

The scene was a concrete exampie of the working of Christian idealism which fixes its belief on the worth of human personality. In the great metropolitan city of Calcutta, the men of village and town gathered from the ends of Bengal and set a pace for Indian social progress.

As I listened to the young man who came to me, asking me, as a Christian, to take the sacred thread, I felt, "Almost thou persuadest me." The spirit of the uplifter and the uplifted, as I witnessed it, so approached Christianity that I nearly shouted it in answer. My reply was, "The taking of the thread is but a symbol of equality. We try to practise the ideal without this particular symbol. I do not feel the need to take the sacred thread." He continued, "We are now saying that all nations may become Hindu." My answer, "We have always held that all nations may become Christian."

Christians and Mohammedans have become Hindus before this. But they have only entered into the lower castes. I was invited to assume the sacred thread of a Brahmin.

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India and Imperial Defence

By NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI

I

WITH indications coming from all sides that the Congress intends to make the question of control over the army one of the major planks in its list of constitutional demands, the moment seems to be particularly opportune for an examination of the real nature of the British military stake in India. Indian opinion has of course always been conscious that here we have one of the central facts of the British domination of India. But it has never been free enough from the influence of its own political preoccuptions to take anything but a very restricted Indian view of the matter. For the average educated Indian, the Army in India is an army of occupation, a foreign garrison meant to perpetuate the subjection of India. This idea has been instilled into him by tradition, and has been reinforced by his absorption in the question of Indo-British relations and his natural unfamiliarity with problems of security and foreign policy. Even Indian politicians do not as a rule think about military questions, and when in rare instances they do, they do it neither very concretely nor very constructively. Every budget season brings with it its familiar quota of time-honoured arguments and ancient grievances, and as each budget season wanes, it seems to leave the twin charges of extravagance and distrust a little the worse for further wear and tear.

Now, it cannot of course be denied that there is a certain amount of truth in the popular view about the Army in India. But it is no longer the whole truth, nor, as one might say, a very vital or a very helpful truth. There was a time when it was undoubtedly the principal function of the Army of India to retain India for Great Britain by preventing armed outbreaks on the part of the people of the country and rebellions on the part of the Indian Princes. But that rôle has been long obsolescent and is now entirely out of date. The Army in India is still the mailed fist behind the British civil administration of India, a very valuable factor of its political and financial credit,* and the ultimate sanction of its authority. But with all the growing political difficulties of recent years the holding of India against Indians is no larger a military problem.

Only once between the days of Lord Roberts and the present time, under the influence apparently of the panic created by the new-born political agitation, the maintenance of "internal security" seemed to be on the way to regain its old importance as a military rôle. In 1913 the Nicholson Committee expressed the view that in their opinion Lord Kitchener had been too optimistic in relegating internal security to a position of minor importance. The Committee accordingly recommended that the size of the army allotted to this duty should be increased. The Government of India obviously shared those views, for they starved Mesopotamian expeditionary force of its reinforcements for fear of possible complication within the country itself. This only earned for them the severe strictures of the Mesopotamia Commission which could not pay a tribute to their sense of proportion. Since then the military authorities in India have become stricter observers of the sound principle of economy of force and are careful to make a nicer choice of

* Throughout this article I have refrained from giving reference to authorities. For anyone who takes some interest in the subject it will not be difficult to find out the sources from which I have in places almost textually paraphrased, and for those who do not, references will be of no use at all. There are, however, certain points which I could not very well incorporate in the text. They are dealt with in the foot-notes.

There is a very interesting example of the way in which the army supports the financial credit of the Goverment of India in Sir Frederic Maurice's *Life of Lord Rawlinson.* When Rawlinson was C-in-C it was once proposed to reduce the establishment of the British infantry in India by one battalion. Lord Rawlinson at first threatened resignation and then yielded under protest. But when the proposal reached the Secretary of State he at once telegraphed his disapproval to the Viceroy giving the reason that it would frighten the London money market and jeopardize an Indian loan which was being floated there.

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the means to an end. They realize, as we who pay for the army have still to realize, that the principal function of a modern army is to make war and not carry out police duties and that an army principally devoted to garrison duty has no *raison d'etre.*

Meanwhile, this excessive preoccupation on our part with the purely domestic aspect of the question is putting us on a false scent in another way. It is making us overlook the still more disquieting fact that the Army in India is becoming everyday more and more organically interwoven into the fabric of Imperial defence. Everybody is aware that during the last ten years reforms amounting almost to a revolution have been brought about in the Indian army,—in its equipment, training and organization. In point of efficiency the Army in India stands today where it has perhaps never stood before. This result is not due to a mere abstract regard for efficiency. Any layman who has ever dabbled in questions of army organization knows it as well as any soldier that an army is never organized, so to say, without an eye to the main chance. This "main chance" in the case of the Army in India is certainly not the defence of the North-West frontier of India against an aggressive enemy, nor the maintenance of order and tranquillity within its own borders. The secular ambitions of Russia which made the tangle of mountains and semi-savage tribes to the North-West of India a very live source of danger to the British Empire, have suffered a sea change into something rich and strange and spiritual, and the Afghanistan of King Nadir Shah is more or less innocuous.* The internal situation has its vicissitudes no doubt, but it is, as I have already said, not a problem of military science at all. The definite military contingency in view of which the Army in India is organized today is to be found, therefore, in quite a different place. Its orbit extends much wider than the limits of India, and the object of the Army in India today may without much fear of exaggeration be defined as the maintenance of British interests in the Far and the Middle East. The idea of course, is not new. It has been in the air since the publication of the Esher Report in 1920. In the year following Sir P. Sivaswamy Iyer drew attention to the implications of this document in a brilliant speech in the Assembly, and Sir C. Sankaran Nair has recently reverted to the idea in his memorandum in the Indian Central Committee's Report. But the whole subject has never been examined with anything like the thoroughness it deserves. This article is certainly not an attempt to fill that gap. But in it I shall try as well as I can to set down briefly and concretely the main facts of the whole question.

II

British statesmen, as Sir C. Sankaran Nair has pointed out, have never denied the theoretical possibility of Indian troops being employed outside India for purely Imperial purposes. Even the Nicholson Committee which definitely rejected the idea that it was "the duty of the Government of India to maintain forces out of Indian revenues in readiness for Imperial service outside India, in excess of the forces required for self-defence," went on to observe that, "while the Army in India should not be specifically maintained for the purpose of meeting external obligations of an Imperial character, it should be so organized and equipped as to be capable of affording ready overseas co-operation, when the situation in India allows of it." And the statutory bar which limits the employment of Indian revenues to certain specific Indian requirements, does not forbid the use of the Indian army for Imperial service at the expense of the Imperial authorities. Small contingents of Indian troops therefore have often formed part of Imperial expeditionary forces when they could conveniently do so. But the change which has come over the fundamental conception underlying the organization of the Indian army, in course of recent years, is more revolutionary. While in olden days the Army in India was an autonomous force with an autonomous strategic function of its own, the Army of today has become an integral part of the system of Imperial

* This statement is necessarily qualified by the fluctuations in the diplomatic situation. From the conclusion of the Soviet-Afghan Agreement of February, 1921, to the fall of King Amanulla, Afghanistan was a greater potential menace to British interests than it is now. During all those years Moscow was trying to sponsor a definite anti-British League of Asiatic countries by concluding successive treaties with Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. The Treaty of Paghman (August 31, 1926) must have been a very disagreeable thorn in the sides of the Government of India. It is interesting to note that the provisional war establishments drawn up in 1923 were designed primarily for a force operating beyond the N.-W. frontier of India.

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defence and has been given a rôle which is, to all intents and purposes, identical with that of the British Army. Its co-operation in Imperial defence is no longer limited to the possibility of having to send a few units, as occasion requires or permits, to reinforce some outlying post of the Empire. Its whole organization is based on the assumption that it will have to perform some of the essential functions of an Imperial army.

What this means in practice can only be understood with reference to some of the fundamental principles of Imperial defence. These principles, like the principles of the political organization of the British Empire, are primarily derived from a set of external facts—the geographical distribution of the Empire. The widely scattered character of British territorial and commercial interests in the world has forced upon the Imperial military authorities the necessity of dividing Imperial defence into two parts : (i) local defence, and (ii) Imperial defence. According to this division, the object to be kept in view by each of the constituent parts of the British Empire in providing for its local defence is to maintain, equip and train a force which is sufficient to act as a deterrent to the most probable and feasible form of attack on its own territories and to hold such an attack in check till reinforcements arrive from elsewhere. In direct contrast to this stands the rôle of Imperial defence. This implies the service of the Empire as a whole, the provision of expeditionary forces which, in conjunction with the navy, can proceed to any threatened part of the Empire, the protection of naval bases and safe-guarding of Imperial communications and the protection of the general interests of the Empire.

This conception of the task of Imperial defence as divided into two parts was explained as far back as 1907 before the Colonial Conference of that year by Lord Haldane. It has resulted in the division of the armed forces of the British Empire into two categories of troops—one having defence as its primary function and with no obligation to go over the sea, and the other meant for the defence of the Empire as a whole. In the allocation of these two contrasted duties among the various component parts of the British Empire constitutional rather than strategic considerations have been kept in view. Thus the principal burden of providing for Imperial defence falls on Great Britain, while the great self-governing Dominions are only responsible for their local defence. These Dominions have no doubt assisted the mother country on many occasions in the past, but they were not and still are not under any obligation to do so. In this matter Great Britain has expressly recognized the right of the Dominions to act as they please, and in the event of their wishing to co operate in an Imperial military enterprise, she has left it entirely to their Parliaments and the Governments to decide as to the nature and extent of any action which they might think proper to take. This untrammelled freedom of the Dominions is no doubt modified in actual practice by a very close co-operation between their military authorities and those of Great Britain, as well as by the uniform standards and regulations for equipment and training and also perhaps by some definite agreement as to the strength of the contingents to be furnished by the different communities within the Empire and the circumstances in which they are to be furnished.* Yet when all has been said and done it remains true that the uncertainty as regards the constitutional position and the autonomy in command and organization of the Dominion armies deprives these forces of much of their potential value. Adequate peace-time preparation is a paramount factor in securing a rapid and successful decision in modern warfare. This condition, the constitutional position of the Dominion armies makes it extremely difficult to fulfil. The British military authorities have relied almost exclusively on their own army, therefore, to maintain the general interests of the Empire and to defend it in the face of the greatest military danger.

But they have to do so no longer. As a result of the reforms which have been

* The latest Field Service Regulations envisage some kind of agreement about Imperial co-operation between the British Government and the Government of India also. Does any such agreement exist in actual fact? The co-operation between the General Staff here and the Imperial General Staff is so close that it does not seem to be necessary at all. There are certainly some very definite and concrete plans regarding the co-operation of the Army in India in Imperial defence. But nothing in the nature of an agreement perhaps. Any way, some Indian politician would do well to try to get some elucidation on this point, though, of course, there is very little chance of his getting an answer from the Government of India.

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brought about in the organization and equipment of the Army in India during the last ten years, it is now capable of discharging the same functions in its own geographical sphere as its prototype in England performs for the whole of the British Empire. The Indian army is no longer a force meant for local defence alone, with a specialized (and a rather provincial) strategical rôle of its own. It has become the eastern counterpart of the British Army, performing for the region east of Suez the same duties that are assigned by Imperial strategy to an army allotted for Imperial service.

This far-reaching revolution in the conception of the function of the Army in India has been accompanied by a closer affiliation of its whole organization to the central structures of Imperial defence. Just as the British Empire is an empire without an Imperial government, it is also an empire without an Imperial army. One might search the Regulations in vain for a definition of that term. Only one provisional Regulation introduced the words in the first flush of the enthusiasm generated by the war. But they quickly dropped out in the final edition. The armed forces of the British Empire are therefore an assemblage of autonomous armies and not a unified military force. But here again, a distinction has to be made between theory and practice. Of all the more or less independently controlled armies of the Empire, the Army in India and the British Army stand much closer together than the other armies. In spite of its legal autonomy and the right of the Government of India to control Indian military affairs, the Army in India, so far at any rate as its strategical employment is concerned, is only an appendage of the British Army. The powers exercised over it by purely Indian authorities are not more than has of necessity to be delegated to a subordinate authority owing to the fact of India's great distance from Great Britain. As many recent instances have shown the Government of India have not the slightest power to make even minor departures of policy in army affairs without the consent of the War Office. This is one of the considerations, which even apart from the Imperial rôle of the army in India, places it in a peculiar category of its own.

III

All this, however, should not be taken to mean that defence of the North-West frontier of India and the preservation of order and tranquillity within India itself (a phrase whose real meaning we should have no difficulty in fathoming) are not some of the undoubted functions of the Army in India. The military organization of every part of the British Empire is, as is well known, adapted to a wide range of circumstances, varying from a small expedition against an uncivilized enemy to a world-wide war. Unlike the army of a continental power which is meant to provide against one definite military contingency, the armed forces of the British Empire are not permanently organized in large formations, complete in every respect and adequate to meet the requirements of a great war, but are suited to average rather than to exceptional conditions and are readily capable of modification and expansion to suit special circumstances. The same principles have been followed in the organization of the Army in India also. It is at once an extra police force and a highly efficient army, and is ready to take the field in army corps, divisions and mixed brigades as well as in units or even companies. This lack of uniformity in its war organization is not the result of chance or mere careless decentralization as it might at the first blush appear, but has been brought about in pursuance of a consciously devised system which seeks to provide for as large a number of military contingencies as can be foreseen.

It seems possible to pursue this division of functions into the actual organization of the Army. The familiar classification of the Army in India as comprising three categories of troops, *viz.*, (1) the Covering Force; (2) the Internal Security Troops; and (3) the Field Army, corresponds to the three major rôles which it is designed to play. Conventionally, they are supposed to be: (1) the prevention and suppression of minor border outbreaks and the covering of the frontier; (2) the provision of military aid for civil authorities in times of internal disturbances, such as communal and other riots; (3) and the conduct of a major operation. In their broad outlines these distinctions are of course, quite correct. But a closer examination of the character and the strength of each of these classes reveals certain adjustments and special characteristics which throw a good deal of light on the underlying principles of army organization in India.

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Let us take the case of the Covering Force first. It is a post-war creation rendered necessary, it is said, by the defection of the Border Militias in 1919. Before the reorganization of 1922, troops allotted for the defence of the North-West frontier formed part of the Field Army in India with the exception of three independent brigades which were classed with Internal Security Troops. From the purely technical point of view, the creation of a separate and self-contained war organization for this purpose permits the units and formations of the Field Army to carry on their training for war undisturbed by calls of border policing. But it is significant in other ways also. It marks the definite end of the special associations of the major fighting force of India with the North-West frontier and the passing away of the old doctrine enunciated by Lord Kitchener, that the main function of the Army in India was to defend India against an aggressive enemy in the North-West. It is hardly necessary to add that even after this the Field Army may be employed on the North-West frontier to do any first-rate fighting that may be necessary there.* But at the same time it is no less true that the Field Army of today is more free to carry out an independent rôle than it has ever been in the whole course of the history of the Indian army. Again, the strength of the Covering Force has been so determined that it is powerful enough through its own sources to provide for all the normal contingencies on the frontier.† The frontier of today is not what it was even ten years ago.§ As a British military authority observes: "What was once the most savage part of the frontier is now controlled by the Civil Power. Tribal police guard the roads and scouts patrol the country off the roads. The regular garrisons are there as covering troops in case of external aggression." Perhaps, a more strictly correct description of the functions of the latter would be that they perform for the North-West frontier of India all the duties assigned by Imperial strategy to forces set apart for local defence.

The same solicitude for the freedom of the Field Army to carry out its legitimate rôle and the provision of a force adequate in all respects to perform the duties allotted to it unaided, characterizes the organization and strength of the Internal Security Troops. Official reports and pronouncements assign a singularly benevolent rôle to this force. Its sole duty, according to them, is supposed to be to keep peace among the warring communities and races of India. To quote the same military writer, again, "India has to be defended, not only from external aggression by land and sea but against herself...India is a mosaic of races, religions, and languages, having few points in common. Of these, religion is a fruitful source of internecine strife, so much so that the armed forces of the Government are not infrequently called out in aid of the Civil Power." There is also a very eloquent passage in the first volume of the Simon Report in which this thesis is brought out very clearly. It is, of course, difficult to resist eloquence of any kind. Yet a close examination reveals that the strength of the troops assigned to internal security in India is out of all proportion to the number of troops called out in aid of the Civil Power in any given year. It is also notorious that there have been more than one instance of serious internal disorder in India to suppress which no internal security troops were available at all. Moreover, the Internal Security Troops have as an integral part of their composition both medium and field artillery (at a low scale it is true) for the employment of which no possible internal disturbance can furnish any opportunity. A more plausible account of the function of the Internal Security Troops would, therefore, be that they constitute the garrison of India, which by taking over

* The 9th Jhansi Brigade, for example, was one of the formations employed to suppress the Afridi rising of last year.

† The normal strength of the Covering Force is about 12 infantry brigades with a proportion of other arms. There is also a very strong armed force under civil control, comprising :—(1) the Chitral Scouts* (2) Chitral Levies, (3) Dir Levies (4) Swat Levies, (5) Kurram Militia,* (6) Tochi Scouts,* (7) South Waziristan Scouts,* (8) Zhob Levy Corps,* (9) Chagai Levy Corps, (10) Mekran Levy Corps,* (11) and Frontier Constabulary.* The corps marked with an asterisk have a staff of British officers. There are in addition village Chighas and Khassadars.

§ Throughout this discussion I have kept out of view the abnormal internal and frontier situation of the last year. These conditions are still too recent to have had any permanent repercussions on military policy. Perhaps they would have none. Being essentially political they would probably have mainly political remedies applied to them.

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the specific duty of local defence from the Field Army, leaves it free to operate in any theatre of war, undisturbed by the purely defensive requirements of India.

This impression is heightened when we come to consider that portion of the Army in India which has been organized with a view to offensive action and to which no mere defensive rôle or garrison duty has been assigned. This is the Field Army which is supposed to be India's striking force in a major war. Now, the most important thing to note about this force is its size. As at present constituted, it consists of four divisions and five cavalry brigades, comprising in all some eighty thousand combatants or considerably less than half of the total combatant strength of the Army in India, taking into consideration only the fighting units. That represents a reduction by five divisions and three cavalry brigades of the pre-war strength of the Field Army. This relatively low proportion which the so-called major fighting force at the disposal of the Government of India bears to the total strength of the armed forces maintained by them, is due to the fact that the decisive factor governing the number and strength of the war formations in India is not the size of the army of the possible enemy nor the magnitude of any definite external military contingency, but the requirements of the so-called Internal Security Troops and the Covering Force. It is the practice of all great military Powers, as it was also the practice, with some important reservations, of the Government of India in the days of Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener, to make the strength of the war formations of their armies, that is to say, their offensive power, as closely commensurate with their maximum fighting capacity as they possibly can. Army organization in India seems to proceed on radically opposite lines today. It starves the major fighting force for the sake of the subsidiary categories, and seems to place more emphasis on what may properly be called garrison and line of communication troops than on the army which is to do the fighting. This fact is in itself so unusual that it seems to call for some explanation. It is perhaps to be found in the novel view that the Army in India is not a single homogeneous army with carefully co-ordinated main and secondary rôles but a double army, performing in its two halves two independent functions.

This brings us back to the fundamental distinction between local and Imperial defence, which is the guiding principle of the defensive organization of the British Empire. It seems to have been the idea of those who are responsible for the reorganization of the Indian army after the war to provide for two armies in this country, one strong enough to perform all the duties of local defence for the Indian Empire, and the other capable of proceeding in part or whole to any part of the East as an expeditionary force in response to calls of Imperial service. In order to make the latter free to perform these duties unhampered, all the requirements of the external and internal security of India in normal times had first to be adequately provided for. This explains the importance which the Army authorities in India attach to the Internal Security Troops and to the Covering Force and also accounts for the otherwise puzzling fact that the professedly major fighting force of the Government of India is only the surplus left on the hands of the military authorities after providing for every subsidiary contingency.

IV

But plausible as it may sound the theory is not capable of direct proof. Secrecy is much a soldier's virtue as indiscretion is a politician's failing. And the incorrigible habit of all statesmen and military men to use the language of yesterday when they are thinking the thoughts of tomorrow does not permit one to speak with any confidence on such a subject. Anyone interested in the defensive system of the British Empire might go through all the official publications on the subject, yet be unable to discover a single phrase which makes any legal distinction between the status of the Army in India and the army of the Dominions. The whole argument on this question has therefore to base itself on circumstantial evidence, and one of the most important of these is the whole trend of army policy since 1907.

From the advent of the second Disraeli administration in 1874 to the signing of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, the military policy of the Government of India was dominated almost exclusively by the Russian bogey. So long as the threat of a Russian attack hung over the North-West frontier, there could not be, nor indeed was, any question of India participating in Imperial defence. In the face of the danger from Russia, the

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task of defending the North-Western frontier and Afghanistan was supposed to be as much as the Government of India could undertake with its single-handed resources. And for even this limited objective the armed forces at its disposal were not considered to be enough. Accordingly, the military plans of the Home Government envisaged as within their scope the possibility of having to despatch more British troops to India in the event of a first-class war. At the Colonial Conference of 1907, Lord Haldane laid down the dictum that the defence of India was the common concern of the whole Empire. And two years later in a memorandum "on the proposals for so organizing the military forces of the Empire as to ensure their effective co-operation in the event of war," the Chief of the General Staff at the War Office expressed the view that both Australia and New Zealand were so situated that they might be able to send troops to reinforce India. This was also the summing up of the situation by the Nicholson Committee, which defined the rôle of the Army in India, in the event of a war with a great outside power, as being "able to hold our own pending reinforcement from Home."* And not content with this, the British Government provided a further element of security for India in the Anglo-Japanese Agreement of 1905. In a specific clause of that treaty it was stipulated that as a *quid pro quo* for British recognition of Japanese interests in Korea, the Japanese Government was to send, in certain circumstances, a Japanese expeditionary force to defend India.†

The war and its lessons have undermined the whole basis of this old conception of the functions of the Army in India. But before we can deal with the war and its effects, it would be well to give some attention to the years immediately preceding which were, so to say, the seed-time of the new ideas. In 1907 came the Anglo-Russian Agreement, and with it definite relief on the North-West frontier of India. The immediate result of this treaty was a campaign of economy in the army and a decline in its efficiency. There was, however, present in India, a group of officers who did not consider that the passing away of the Russian menace constituted sufficient justification for a relaxation of India's military efforts. Though they could not prevail against the old school of soldiers and politicians, they were closer than they to the central military thought of the British Empire and better informed regarding the diplomatic situation in Europe. At the head of this group was General Haig, afterwards Lord Haig, the future Commander-in-Chief of the British armies in France, who was at that time the Chief of the General Staff in India. He had been one of the associates of Lord Haldane when the latter was carrying out his reforms at the War Office and he came out to India in 1909 with very decided views about the imperial role of the Army in India. Towards the end of 1911, therefore, when the Agadir crisis made war with Germany appear a very imminent possibility, General Haig and some of his colleagues initiated a discussion with the Imperial General Staff about the co-operation of the Army in India in a war with Germany. The correspondence was carried on in strict secrecy and without the knowledge of the civil authorities, either in India or England. The scheme which was evolved as a result of these discussions was given a code name and no one but the immediate associates of Haig was taken into confidence about it. Yet, somehow or other, some leakage occurred in England and the information reached the ears of the Secretary of State for India that a plan was afoot for the utilization of Indian troops beyond the frontiers of India. The India Office at once telegraphed to the Viceroy, who in his turn issued orders that not only was further work on the scheme to cease but any work completed up to the time was also to be destroyed. These orders were conveyed by Haig to the senior officer concerned. But as was

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* The "great outside power" vaguely referred to here seems to have been Germany, about whose intentions in the East British diplomals and soldiers had begun to grow nervous since the construction of the Baghdad Railway.

† It is, however, doubtful whether the British military authorities set much store by the offer of Japanese help. The British General Staff, at any rate, expressed doubts at the time whether it would be "prudent to place too much reliance on Japan coming to our assistance in the event of our becoming involved in war in defence of our special interests in India." and General Sir James Moncrief Grierson, the Director of Military Operations in the War Office; wrote that, in his opinion, Japan seemed to derive more advantage from the agreement than Britain. This opinion did not however interfere with the course of the Anglo-Japanese negotiations, though Lord Lansdowne expressed his surprise that this extremely important expression of opinion had not been obtained earlier in the day.

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related by that officer later on, when conveying the order "there was a look in Haig's eye which made me realize that he would not regard any deviation from rigid adherence to orders with undue severity."* As a matter of fact, copies of the scheme were carefully preserved and were produced from their hiding place in 1913, when the situation in Europe compelled the War Office to ask the Government of India formally what assistance they could render in a war against Germany.

The first draft of this letter had been prepared by the War Office in December 1912, when the failure of the Haldane Mission to Berlin had made a conflict with Germany almost inevitable. But it was held over in consideration of the work of the Nicholson Committee which was still conducting its investigations. Its report, published early in 1913, as we have already seen, definitely discouraged the idea of India's co-operation in Imperial defence. In spite of this, however, the War Office despatched its letter to the India Office on July 31, 1913, asking "to what extent India would be prepared to co-operate with the Imperial Forces by the despatch and maintenance of reinforcements in the event of a serious war breaking out in Europe." After long and careful consideration, the Government of India replied to this letter on July 30, 1914, saying, that under normal conditions the Army Council could rely on getting two divisions and one cavalry brigade from India which might be increased under abnormal conditions and at some risk to India by another division, but that such increase could not be counted upon with any degree of certainty. When this reply reached the War Office war had broken out in Europe.

India went into this war utterly unprepared. Not only was there no preliminary staff work on any project of Imperial co-operation, but the Indian army, trained and equipped as it was primarily for Indian frontier warfare and the maintenance of "internal security," was not, in the words used by General Sir Beauchamp Duff before the Mesopotamia Commission, "well founded for an expedition overseas." Its equipment was deficient in many respects. The artillery strength of its war formations was very low, so also was its strength in automatic weapons. It had no motor transport, though some had been ordered from England for experimental purposes. It was still partly armed with an old-fashioned rifle. The new Lee-Enfield short rifle had only been issued to the field formations and even this pattern, as used by the Indian army, did not take the British service ammunition. On the arrival of the Indian expeditionary force in France, therefore, all their rifles had to be handed in at the depot at Marseilles and new rifles issued. No less serious were the deficiencies in the medical services of the army and in the arrangements for reinforcing an overseas expedition.

The Indian army, thus suddenly and unexpectedly called upon to participate in a war for which it was not prepared, was handicapped from the very beginning. The hasty improvisations which were made could not make up for the deficiencies of careful peace-time preparation. Breakdowns occurred everywhere and at the top of them all came the miserable disasters of the Mesopotamia campaign. In the enquiry which followed, the blame was laid not so much on this or that person as on the whole system of army organization in India before the war and on the doctrine which assigned too local a rôle to the Army. In its summing up of the causes of the disaster, the Mesopotamia Commission wrote :

"Sir Douglas Haig, when Chief of the Staff, did put forward a memorandum in 1911 suggesting that the Indian military establishment might have to furnish an expeditionary force, armed and equipped to meet a European army. In this paper he contemplated the possibility of a war with Turkey either alone or supported by Germany; but it was stated in the evidence before us that this memorandum did not receive the approval of the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge. It is a matter of common knowledge that after the Agadir incident in 1911 there was such a possibility of war with Germany as to call for military preparations and consideration of plans of action. We know that such plans—and to some extent, preparation—were made in connection both with the Navy and the Army at Home.* But in India until late in 1913 or early in 1914 no steps whatever seem to have been taken to consider what help could be given in such contingencies by the Indian Army. Still less were preparations made so as to equip the Indian army as to put it upon equal conditions with modern European troops. The responsibility

* The whole story is given in General Charteris's life of Lord Haig.

* In 1917, the Mesopotamia Commission did not perhaps know or choose to admit the real extent of this preparedness. The plans made were indeed very thorough. Even the time-tables of mobilization, embarkation and disembarkation had been worked out in consultation with the French General Staff.

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for this omission must rest primarily with the Cabinet. Although the Indian Government is, to some extent, independent of the Cabinet, yet the Cabinet, through the Secretary of State for India, can exercise control and authority over its actions, but the whole influence of the Home Government was thrown in the direction of restriction rather than expansion of military preparation in India."

This was, in fact, the denial of the basic conception of the Nicholson Committee's report upon which the Government of India had proceeded. But it has since then remained the keystone of the military thought in India.

V

The first systematic expression of this re-orientation of Indian military policy is to be found in the report of the Esher Committee of 1919-20. Appointed to enquire into and report, with special reference to post-war conditions, upon the administration and organization of the Army in India including its relation with the War Office and the India Office, it proceeded to base all its recommendations on the assumption that the Army in India was a part of the total armed forces of the British Empire. While not doing away with the formal autonomy of the Indian Army or impairing the control of the Government of India, it proposed that the Imperial General Staff through its Chief should exercise a greater influence on the military policy of the Government of India. Owing to historic and political reasons, it could not recommend that there should be greater unity of administration between the British Army and the Indian Army than in actual fact existed. But it was very strongly of opinion that on broad lines of military policy there should at any rate be unity of conception, and to secure that end there should be very close co-operation between the Imperial General Staff and the Army Headquarters in India. With a view to secure this the Esher Committee recommended that the Commander-in-Chief in India should be appointed by the British Government on the recommendation of the Imperial General Staff and also expressed the opinion :

"That the Commander-in-Chief in India should be more directly in touch with the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, with a view to obtaining increased efficiency as regards the organization, equipment and training of the Army in India, so as to develop the military resources of India in a manner suited to Imperial necessities. We have already stated that, in our view, the Commander-in-Chief in India should have the established right to communicate in peace with the Chief of the Imperial General Staff in London with regard to strategical plans, war organization, training and the selection for commands and senior staff appointments."

The recommendations of the Esher Report raised a storm of protest in India. On 28th March, 1921, Sir P. Sivaswamy Iyer moved a resolution in the Legislative Assembly, which was finally passed, calling upon the Government "to repudiate the assumption underlying the whole report of the Esher Committee (i) that the administration of the Army in India could not be considered otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire, and (ii) that the military resources of India should be developed in a manner suitable to Imperial necessities." In rising to reply to these charges, Sir Godfrey Fell, the Army Secretary, categorically denied the statement that the Esher Committee had proposed to saddle India with burdens necessitated by Imperial policy. He assured the Assembly that the Army in India was maintained for India's own needs and for no other purpose ; "that is to say so much of the Army in India as is paid for out of India's revenues." This was no doubt taking shelter behind a very obvious legal fiction. But so far as the official position was concerned, it made an end of all public discussion of the matter. Though there is reason to conclude that it did not put an end to the matter itself.

The Government of India was ready to be discreet about the Esher Report for many reasons. In the first place, the general scheme of reorganization which they had decided upon after 1920, was much wider in scope than the recommendations of the Esher Committee whose terms of reference had been too limited. Secondly, the Esher Committee had been too near the abnormal conditions bequeathed by the war to take a detached or permanently valuable view of the strategical and political situation. Its summing up of the strategic situation placed too much emphasis on the Middle East which has since settled down as a result of the Treaty of Lausanne. And again, the Esher Committee looked forward to a greater centralization of the foreign and defence policy of the British Empire, while in fact they have both developed towards greater autonomy and greater decentralization. An Imperial General Staff, an Imperial Naval and Imperial Air Staff, an Imperial Foreign Office, controlled and directed by an Imperial Cabinet, which it had vaguely anticipated as a result of the

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co-operation in the war, have not come to be realized. The rights conceded to the Dominions in 1926 would have led to utter anarchy in defence and foreign policy with any nation more logical and less empiric than the British. It is only the assumption of all Imperial responsibilities by Great Britain which makes the British Empire a real great Power and not a mere heterogeneous congerie of States bound only by sentimental ties. Last and not least, the Government of India had no interest in pushing the matter. For they had secured from the resolution condemning the Esher Report itself, an endorsement of its policy of unifying the efforts of the armed forces of the Empire to the extent to which it was profitable and feasible to push it at the time.

The first part of the resolution laid down that the organization, equipment and administration of the Indian army should be thoroughly up-to-date and in accordance with present day standards of efficiency in the British Army, so that when the Army in India has to co-operate with the British Army on any occasion there may be no dissimilarities of organization and equipment which would render such co-operation difficult. Indian politicians could not, of course, very reasonably go against this policy, but by giving their formal approval to it they helped to realize in India one of the cardinal principles of Imperial military organization. The fact was duly emphasized and rubbed in by the Government, and the official publication on *The Army in India and its Evolution* triumphantly observed :

"The real importance of the resolution quoted lay in the claim which it made, as on behalf of Indian political opinion, in the newly established political conditions, that the defence services of India should be as efficient as those of western countries : and also in its acceptance of India's liability to co-operate on future occasions with the British Army."

This, as well as the recent trends of British and Indian military policy, all indicate the direction which India's military efforts are taking.

These trends may be summarized under three heads : (a) the re-equipment of the Indian army ; (b) the present requirements of Imperial strategy ; and (c) the close relations between the British Army and the Army in India. Of these not much need be said about the first. During the last ten years the Army in India has been brought as close to the British Army in equipment as is permitted by the financial condition of the Government of India, and made necessary by the nature of the terrain in which the army will possibly have to operate. The new budget arrangements, by which an annual block grant of 55 crores of rupees is set apart for the army. is only a devise to get round the financial difficulty in the way of re-equipment. Under this new arrangement the military authorities in India have expressed their willingness to start an economy campaign on the distinct assurance that any savings secured would be applied to the improvement of the army in other directions. It is estimated that this economy compaign will produce 2 crores of rupees.*

Coming now to the changed strategic requirements of the British Empire we find that though the fundamental principles of Imperial strategy, consisting in (i) the maintenance of naval supremacy, (ii) local defence and (iii) expeditionary forces,—have remained unaltered, its particular application has almost been revolutionized. Before the war the military and naval policy of Great Britain was dominated by the obsession of the German danger. With the destruction of both the German army and the German navy and the dissolution of the close alliance between France and British interests on the Continent, the strategic centre of gravity of the British Empire has shifted from the North Sea and the Franco-Belgian frontier, and has become, so to say, distributed over its whole length and breadth. Great Britain is now a satiated Power, more concerned with the safety of its existing commercial and territorial interests than desirous of further expanding them. Accordingly, what she wants now is rather greater range and mobility for her naval and military forces than a bigger concentrated army or a bigger fleet of capital ships

The reorganization of the Imperial defensive system in the light of these changed requirements began immediately after the war, though the final apportionment of the responsibilities of the different parts of the Empire in this

* The only difference between the equipment of a British and an Indian infantry battalion today is in the number of Vickers machine-guns and the provision for the former of four anti-tank guns which Indian units do not at present possess. The Lewis gun equipment of Indian units have been recently made equal to that of the British.

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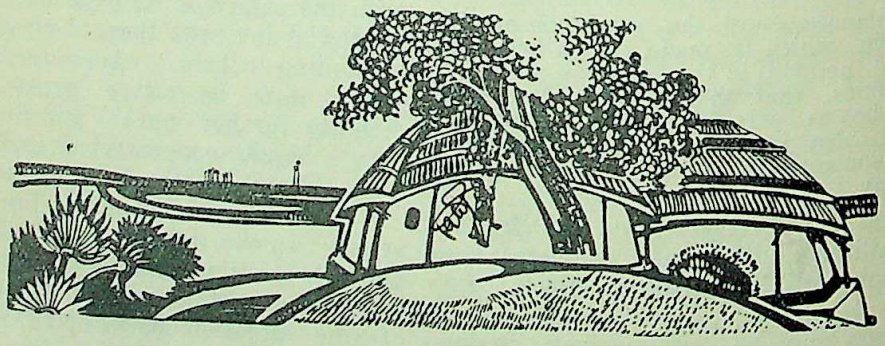
matter was not undertaken till the Imperial Conference of 1923. In naval matters the new policy bore its first fruit in the scheme for a battleship base at Singapore and a greater stress on the construction of ten thousand ton cruisers. In the military sphere it led directly to the re-equipment of the Army in India.

The commercial interests of Great Britain in the East, the practical lapse of the Anglo-Japanese defensive treaty, the re-wakening of China, the growth of the American Power in the Pacific, the exposed military situation of New Zealand and Australia both of which are incapable of defending themselves against a first-class Power without external aid, and perhaps also the loud separationist claims of Boer South Africa, imperatively demand that an efficient and powerful military force, absolutely at the disposal of the Imperial authorities, should be ready in the East to embark at a moment's notice to supplement the efforts of the British Navy. Neither the resources nor the constitutional position of the Dominions of New Zealand and Australia permit their use for this purpose. The only alternative within reach was India, in whose favour it was an additional argument that the cost of the Imperial army will not have to be borne by the British tax-payer.

The Army in India is thus the military analogue of the Singapore naval base. The Government of India is only theoretically its master. The real control over it is exercised by the War Office. This has repeatedly been proved by the shelving by this authority of all proposals to Indianize the Army and is also clearly indicated by the close connection which exists between the high command in India and the supreme command in Great Britain. In the case of the Dominions, the co-operation between their armies and the British Army is secured by the exchange of officers in the two services, their common training in the newly established Imperial Defence College, by representation of the Dominions on the Committee of Imperial Defence, as well as by the activities of the local Councils of Defence. The Army in India is commanded and staffed by officers who acknowledge no practical allegiance to the Government of India. In all matters connected with military policy and organization they are simply the agents in India of the Imperial General Staff, with whose policy and plans of action they keep themselves closely in touch. All of them, even those who belong technically to the "Indian Army" are, to all intents and purposes, members of the close trade union of the officers of the British Army. Through their agency the Army in India is converted, in spite of the constitutional convention which hides it real character, into practically what is a detachment of the British Army.



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Democracy and Communalism in India

By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE, M.A., Ph. D.

Causes of Communal Conflict

One of the chief stumbling-blocks in the path of the evolution of the Indian democracy is the inter-communal cleavage. Such cleavage, as is well known, has increased in the country in recent years due to several factors. The balance of numerical proportions between the Hindu and Muhammadan communities has been upset in certain areas owing to the lower birth-rate among the former. The districts where the Hindus dominate have decayed through natural causes such as the deterioration of the river system in the moribund delta in Bengal or social causes such as the prohibition of widow-marriage and dietary of a low protein value among the Hindus which have kept down their reproductive capacity. Conversion from Hinduism and other religions in Bengal and the Panjab and unrest in tribal areas in the north-west have also contributed to the relatively more rapid growth of the Muhammadans in these areas. As the disparity between the proportions of the Hindus and the Muhammadans increases the losing creed becomes touchy and the gaining creed aggressive especially where conversion and propaganda are carried on. Nor are the causes of economic friction between the two communities absent. In fact, agrarian unsettlement and unrest have been feeding for a long while the ire of communal conflict. Rack-rented and expropriated Muhammadan tenants are more easily deluded by bigoted mullas preaching a gospel of hatred, and the peasant's firm attachment to the homestead and his religious fanaticism have entered into a sinister combination against Hindu landlords and money-lenders. In Bengal, for instance, a feeling of hostility towards the upper and middle classes is evident and is on the increase in the rural areas both amongst the peasants and agricultural labourers, Hindu and Muhammadan alike. The Muhammadans occupy the lower rungs of the economic and educational ladder and any causes which adversely affect the conditions of the masses hit them first and most unfavourably. The friction between the Hindu landlords and money-lenders and the Muhammadan tenant has been chronic. The pressure of population on the soil has increased agrarian discontent and rural unsettlement. On the other hand, the incapacity of the educated Muhammadan literates to hold their own against their Hindu competitors in the various fields of employment and public activity has nourished a feeling of resentment which has filtered downwards to the illiterate masses and fanned the fire of communal enmity. The actual hostility has been worked up by an appeal to religious emotions through the intervention of mullas and religious associations. It has assumed three main overt phases covering almost the whole sphere of Hindu-Muhammadan relationships. Thus there has been social aggression as evidenced by numerous causes of assault and outrage perpetrated against Hindu women and sometimes forcible conversion. Agression in the field of religion is no less frequent than social outrage. Communal outbreaks which have arisen in connection with Hindu processions before mosques or the sacrifice of cows in public are instances of serious discord that has threatened the freedom of worship and religious practices of both communities. The conflict has assumed a less socially objectionable phase in the political rivalry between the two communities which pervades Indian politics, parochial, provincial or imperial. The Montagu-Chelmsford constitution is in one sense an outcome of the religious cleavage in Indian political life. On the other hand, it has served to perpetuate and strengthen the discord. The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms by introducing the principle of communal representation have, indeed, warped the development of Indian politics. Adumbrated by Lord Minto and acquiesced in by Viscount Morley against his real intentions, the communal electorate by placing the creed and the community over the country has nipped in the bud the growing national consciousness of the Muhammadans.

A Social Disease

Educated by political leaders to look to the Khilafat in the West for the solution of

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social and political ills in India, the Muhammadans have developed an attitude of corresponding apathy towards all movements of political and social advance in the country. A dichotomy has thus begun to reign supreme and forward movements in the country came to be labelled and stigmatized as Hindu. But all these prejudices in the air, which may ruin the cause of any nationalism, received not merely formal sanction in many pacts from Lucknow to Calcutta agreements, entered into for the sake of carrying on a more effective constitutional agitation, but these also found a suitable machinery in the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution. Once assimilated into the governmental machinery, communalism has invaded every sphere of life and religious and communal considerations have often usurped the claims of merit in making appointments, high and low, thereby lowering both the tone and efficiency of administration. Communalism has thus become a pathological phenomenon in the Indian body politic It has not so far spread to Indian India because over the masses of Hindu or Muhammadan population rules either a Hindu or Muhammadan sovereign who from his very position can neither be a rank communalist nor needs a policy of 'divide and rule.'

The recrudescence of communal barbarities has been recently witnessed in such cities as Calcutta, Bombay, Dacca and Benares. The solution of the problem of communal outbreaks in the cities stands somewhat apart from the general question of achieving Hindu-Muslim amity as a step towards responsible Government in the first place and as a permanent attitude which alone can make such government stable and strong.

In each case the problem is to adjust the machinery, civic or political, in such manner that both the creeds and communities are disciplined to work in co-operation and place the considerations of village, city and State above those of faith and race.

An Urban Problem

The social idealism that leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sir Ali Imam, Maharajah of Mahmudabad and Dr. Ansari among others have focussed towards the solution of Hindu-Muslim conflict has created an atmosphere of mutual toleration among the young intelligentsia of both communities. But such toleration must filter down to the masses and modify the mass standards of morality characterized so far, in the absence of general education by intense religious feeling. So long as we do not expect a more effective and widespread influence of our political leaders and their organization, we have to look for a solution of the problem in our old and essential social traditions of absolute freedom of religious practice and segregation. Everywhere the minority of population finds its way into and flourishes in towns. Now in Bengal and the Panjab, the Muhammadans form over half of the population. In all the other provinces the Muhammadans form only a small minority of the provincial population and where they are a distinct minority, they are frequently town-dwellers. Thus it is that in the towns communal outbreaks have been more prominent and epidemic. The inverse relation between the regional and urban proportion of the Hindus and Muhammadans is the fruitful social cause of religious riots.

Communal Autonomy

India has already worked out a partial solution of this question by encouraging the autonomy and segregation of the various classes and communities in cities. The cities of India have their separate house groups or quarters called *therus*, *patis*, *bahams*, *deshams* (in the south), *paras* (Bengal), *sahis* (Orissa) and *mahallas* (in the north). The city of Agra is divided into so many as 212 *mahallas*, the names of which are derived either from the caste of the inhabitants or from some well-known building or from a prominent resident of former days. In some of the cities of western India each of these wards is often a separate administrative unit, with its own headman, accountants, servants and husbandmen, whose lands are outside of the city walls.

Communal Segregation

These old divisions must now be utilized as a machinery of preventing communal tensions and generally for civic and municipal purposes, for protection, for education, for the maintenance of mosques and temples, and for worship. In the Indian States, the old quarters of the cities are often used both for police and municipal purposes

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and thus the new administrative circles or wards correspond with old ones, the public institutions in each of them continuing to be the objects of their charity. Thus the time-honoured principle of segregation has been found to be useful and conducive to social harmony and efficiency. The guilds of the Bohras in western and central India and of the Muhammadan blacksmiths in Madura levy fees on the 27th day of Ramzan, and on occasions of marriage, circumcision, etc. and maintain mosques, Arabic schools, orphanages, contributing in no small measure to their prosperity and influences.

The communal Panchayats in the separate *pettis* or *mahallas* will arrange for worship and procession, whether of gods or of sacrificial cows in their own way without degrading the scruples of any other community. Social intercourse between the different communities will be encouraged by such means, the Hindu joining in the worship of a Pir or a sword-play during the Muhurram and the Muhammadans taking a part in the Ramlila pageant, or the Dewali and Holi festivals.

Communal Intercourse

But new means have to be found for combating the exclusive tendencies. In all the Indian cities the cloth, the grain and fruit markets are of all parts of the city most heterogeneous and cosmopolitan. There we have mosques and the temples side by side and the temple bells ring in harmony with the evening *azans*. It is in the public squares or *baghs* near the central marts that the city Panchayats will assemble, comprised of representatives of the different castes and communities of the city. According to local traditions and circumstances, the city Panchayats will lay down rules regarding the time and procedure of a communal procession and chalk out its routes, it may be through *mahallas* inhabited by different communities. The Nager Seths and their assemblies do something like this in some parts of India.

The Lessons of Endurance

The minority problem is usually an urban problem, and it h s been rendered acute in recent years by the break between the new civic and municipal machinery and the traditions of administration and procedure of urban self-government of the past. The modern city is a hybrid, pellmell growth, that has been allowed to expand without any plan or pattern. The new city will have to seek consciously the realization of social ends in its plan of devolopment preventing the causes of communal friction. This can be best effected by following the ancient traditions of Indian city-planning. These are best preserved in the south and in the west where the caste and ward segregation has been the time-honoured remedy of social quarrels amongst people exhibiting great ethnic and cultural disparity. In the modern cities which have come under methods of scientific planning and improvement, the lay-out should recognize as far as practicable the spatial distribution of existing religions, castes and occupations. Representing in its structure the integration of communal centres as *mahallas* and *paras* within the city imply, the city will have to forge connecting links between the different communities, a municipal market or theatre, a town-hall or college, a historical pageant, a national art or a social religion, which alone can work out communalism as a means of social service in ever-extending spheres.

Segregation where leadership is ineffective and religious dogma stands behind social interest, gradually increasing social intercourse as we find evidences of a larger civic feeling, and autonomy in full measure as regards all communal matters,—this is India's only way to work out her social salvation. Undisturbed by sinister interests and cheap shibboleths, she must progress in that path with the tempering and wisdom that she has aquired through failure and long endurance.

Public Opinion *versus* Communal Judgment

Politically in the larger affairs of the communities as represented and considered in provincial and central legislatures as contrasted with city Panchayats, municipal bodies and corporation councils, each creed or community must be taught to subordinate itself to the larger social and economic interests of the nation. A genuine democracy cannot be based on separate communal representation. The scheme of representation by religion in separate electorates breeds sectionalism, and prevents the orientation of parties along broad social and economic issues. In separate representation, the electorates are trained to vote according to religious or sectional motives. They do not exercise their judgment

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on social and economic problems, which may lead to the formulation of party politics and programmes with a universal appeal. Thus parties are formed not based on agrarian, economic or political issues but with appeals to religious and caste prejudices, which perpetuate and accentuate religious and caste divisions in society. A political opinion is engendered which is neither public, nor an opinion because, in the first place, it does not concern an issue in which all are interested, and in the second place, the judgment is formed without any rational consideration of the realities of public life. No democratic institution can function on the basis of such opinions. Besides if an extraneous consideration like faith, or social status is imported into politics, and the country sends representatives to councils and assemblies according to religious or social labels rather than labels which express deep social and economic realities, the belief gains ground that religion and caste and not merit is the chief consideration for making appointments to offices. Such a belief is calculated to sap the roots of administrative efficiency. If responsible government means anything, it means the responsibility of the executive to the majority in the legislative. A majority capturing the council or assembly on the basis of religion, or any other consideration which cannot be a common issue must support a ministry which is similarly narrow in outlook and sectional in its sympathies Thus the loaves and fishes of office which in other countries are prizes for serving parties and programmes tend to be distributed on the grounds of religious belief or caste adherence. Communal representation or reservation of seats for communities or castes thus encourages nepotism and largely frustrates the normal development of high standards of justice and toleration between different social groups and creeds and blocks the way to that sincere and patient co-operation between them which alone can build up a strong national state.

The Minorities Treaties and National Unity

Where the minorities are so much in danger of plunder and persecution as in Central and Eastern Europe, the League of Nations never conceived of affording them the privilege of separate representation on the ground of racial, religious or linguistic differences, because to concede such claims would be to break up the unity of the new States created after the war. The only protection that has been given is to ensure for all nationals, the same civil and political rights, equality of treatment and security in law and in fact particularly in connection with the agrarian reform laws, the right to the use of the minority language and in some extreme cases an equitable share in public funds alloted to educational, religious or charitable purposes. "The Minorities Treaties of the League of Nations," says Mair, "definitely discourage separatism. Their object is to counteract it by making the life of the minority tolerable." We read in the Report of the Aaland Islands: "To concede to minorities, either of language or religion, or to any fractions of a population the right of withdrawing from the community to which they belong, because it is their wish or their good pleasure, would be to destroy order and stability within States and to inaugurate anarchy in international life ; it would be to uphold a theory incompatible with the very idea of the State as a territorial and political unity." While the minorities have equal rights to establish and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion, it has been recognized that the granting of facilities for the use of the minority language in the law-courts and the provision at State expense of instruction in the minority language are privileges going beyond what any civilized Government would be bound to grant. For the existence of such privileges would tend to check the assimilation of the minorities to the nation as a whole.* Lastly, the facilities for the use of the minority language in primary and secondary public education, along with the provision that the teaching of the official language will be obligatory, are given where the minorities form "a considerable proportion," a vague term which is usually taken to imply 20 to 25 per cent of the population. The minimum protection of 20 per cent minority is the lowest that has been suggested for the protection of language. Thus in Czecho-Slovakia where racial minorities number 20 per cent of the population, they may use their own language before judicial and administrative bodies, provided they are citizens of Czecho-Slovakia.

* See Mair: *The Protection of Minorities*, p. 4

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Educational Segregation—A Bar to Nationalism

While in matters of religion, observance of social customs and personal and customary law, communal autonomy and segregation may be deemed desirable in particular areas, the division of Indian culture into water-tight compartments can never be accepted as a social ideal, being antagonistic to the very genius of Indian civilization. Thus the solution of the problem of Indian minorities by the methods adopted by the League of Nations may be found practicable in so far as it segregates the social and cultural issues of the minorities and places the affairs of the State beyond the reach of their infection. Having excluded altogether racial and religious considerations from invading politics by eschewing communal electorate or reservation of seats for minorities, the League of Nations found that social peace could only be assured in the smaller States of Central and Eastern Europe by offering to minorities in areas where they form at least 20 per cent of the population the opportunities of fostering undisturbed their own religion, social customs and institutions. Even in the case of these minorities, the League while acceding the right of "persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities" to protection by the League from oppression, has also emphasized the duty incumbent on the minorities to co-operate as loyal, fellow-citizens with the nation to which they belong.* Central and Eastern Europe has been the historic battle-ground of warring creeds and nationalities. With the creation of the new national States, carved out of the old empires after the great war, the aliens in many countries who were masters have now become subjects and are exposed to social and economic persecution if not brutal outrage and massacre (as in Turkey and Macedonia) and thus the alien minorities need special protection of the kind demanded by the League of Nations not from the old countries of Europe but from the new nations. In India there is no need of such special measures as the Hindus and Muhammadans have been accustomed to the restraints and amenities of British rule.

A Common Cultural Heritage

The League of Nations' principle of racial, linguistic and educational segregation will prevent the gradual assimilation of the Hindus and the Muhammadans into one nation, and is full of grave risks for the future of India. In India the Hindus and Muhammadans are not unoften members of the same race having the same physical and mental characters stamped with the impress of the environment where they have lived together for centuries. In some provinces they have the same language and literature. There are differences in the matter of family law and personal status no doubt but no outstanding differences in social customs and observances can be indicated as true of the Hindus or of the Muhammadans for all parts of India. Large sections of the Muhammadan population, who are converts from Hinduism, practise religious rituals and observances which are deeply coloured by Hinduism and retain caste and participate in Hindu festivals and ceremonies along with those of Islam. Thus the Dudekula sect of the Madras Presidency derives its religious exercises from the Hindu and Muhammadan exemplars and the famous shrine at Nagore attracts Hindus as well as Muhammadans to its annual festival.* This phenomenon is found practically wherever the Hindus and the Muhammadans live side by side. Thus the rigidity, exclusiveness and intolerance of view, which are characteristic features of Islam in its purer forms, are not true of the masses of Muhammadans of India. Both in Bengal and the Panjab the same customary law with reference to land rights applied to Hindu and Muhammadan villages. Further the cultural intercourse between the Hindus and the Muhammadans through and down the centuries has given birth to many a common cult and festival and, in fact, the interpenetration of Hindu and Muhammadan minds has given to the world some of India's richest treasures such as the Indo-Saracenic style of architecture, the Rajput school of Indian painting, the school of Hindustani music or the popular esoteric cult preaching the dignity of manhood. The spirit of Indian civilization can never accept a water-tight division of cultures, Hindu and Muhammadan; for it has been India's social initiative and inspiration to blend the congeries of faiths, creeds and cultures into a complex, synoptic and synthetic whole. Thus while communal representation will be the negation of Indian democracy by establishing the claims of a

* Proceedings of the League Assembly of 1922.

* Marten—The Census Report of India, 1921.

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particular creed or faith over those of common citizenship and sociality and may be the source of bitter and disastrous irredentism, a scheme of water-tight segregation in educational and communal matters is the negation of Indian civilization, dominated as it is by the spirit not of social balance and compromise but of concord and assimilation.

Motilal Nehru

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

By the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru the movement of Indian national freedom has lost its greatest leader, who stood next to Mahatma Gandhi alone. Since the passing of Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das no other national leader filled so large a space in the public eye, or waged so unceasing a struggle for the attainment of the freedom of India. Mahatma Gandhi stands by himself, the supreme embodiment of the soul of a free India, but among his colleagues and co-workers the name of Pandit Motilal Nehru will, for all time, rank as high as that of any one else. The loving reverence in which he was held by all ranks and classes of his countrymen throughout the length and breadth of India was abundantly borne out by the spontaneous and profound mourning into which the whole country was plunged after his death. Tributes of grief and admiration have poured in from all quarters, from his countrymen of all shades of political convictions, from his official opponents in the Indian Legislative Assembly and from many leaders of thought and opinion outside India. Death comes to all and no one can choose the manner and time of death, but it is only to the privileged few that death comes as a crown of glory and an emblem of immortality. Among these privileged few is the assured place of Motilal Nehru.

Allahabad, where the entire career of Motilal Nehru was spent, is not a great centre of commercial or intellectual activity. Its other name is Prayag and it is one of the most famous places of Hindu pilgrimage in India. The sacred confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna rivers at this place has attracted millions of pilgrims from very ancient times. In the month of *Magh* every year a large fair is held on the banks of the Ganges close to the site of the confluence. Every twelve years the great *Kumbh Mela* is held at the same place and fifty to sixty lakhs of people congregate to bathe at the junction of the two rivers. Allahabad is the seat of the Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, but the time of that Government is divided between Allahabad, Lucknow and the hill station of Naini Tal. There is a university at Allahabad and there is also a High Court, but it is a small city compared to Calcutta or Bombay and there is not the same kind of public life as is to be found in the two great cities. Motilal Nehru himself was not a native of the United Provinces. By birth he was a Kashmiri Brahmin and his family had moved to and settled in the United Provinces.

As a lawyer practising in the Allahabad High Court and in the courts of Oudh Motilal Nehru soon distinguished himself, and in the course of time was made an advocate of the High Court. He became one of the leaders of the Bar and had one of the largest incomes earned by any lawyer in India. He became widely known not only as a distinguished lawyer but as a leader of society. He built a palatial house which was named Anand Bhawan and he lived like a prince. His unbounded and lavish hospitality was extended to Indians and Europeans alike. He constantly entertained friends and guests at his table and gave garden parties in his extensive and beautiful grounds. Personally, he was a man of remarkable distinction. A fine upstanding figure, he was a handsome man with keen, intellectual features. His personal charm and unfailing courtesy were characteristic of his culture and fine temperament.

Politics did not attract Motilal Nehru

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early in life. He was over forty years of age when he first attended the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress in 1906 over which Dadabhai Naoroji presided. The first signs of a cleavage in the Congress were noticed that year, the opposition being led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh. A threatened defeat over a division was averted by the solid front presented by the delegates from the United Provinces, two hundred strong, and led by Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Motilal Nehru was at that time a Moderate. He could scarcely be anything else. By nature and training he was a sober thinker and reasoner. The glamour of rhetoric did not appeal to him. He was neither impulsive nor emotional. He never used the language of passion and never lost his balance of an intellectual poise.

In ordinary circumstances Motilal Nehru might have risen to high office in the Government. A judgeship in a High Court would have scarcely been a distinction for him, for such judges are almost as plentiful as blackberries. The Law Membership of the Government of India may be a high office, but it has been held by men of hardly any eminence and of doubtful patriotism. If Motilal Nehru had been an aspirant for such a distinction it would have come to him with ease. Of all the Indians who have been appointed Law Member at different times not one had the same personal popularity among Europeans as Motilal Nehru. Successive Governors of the United Provinces were his personal friends and had partaken of his princely hospitality. There have been Law Members who were unknown and struggling lawyers when Motilal Nehru was at the head of the profession and the height of his fame as a lawyer. But Motilal Nehru had been born for greater and higher things than the trammels of office under a foreign Government.

What satisfactory explanation can be found for the extraordinary and radical change that came over Motilal Nehru's outlook and convictions? There was no abrupt or sudden change, no bitterness due to any disappointment, no inclination whatsoever to pose as a hero and a martyr. If he chose the way to the prison and if he put aside his hard-earned wealth it was a deliberate choice, a calm and careful decision. So far as can be ascertained his final decision was influenced by two considerations: the first was the burning patriotism and the self-abnegation of his only son, Jawaharlal Nehru. Jawaharlal had been sent to England to compete for the Indian Civil Service Examination. He was also keeping terms to qualify as a barrister-at-law. As was to be expected Motilal gave a very liberal allowance to his son, who did not pass the Indian Civil Service examination but continued his studies of law. Early in 1908, shortly after the *contretemps* of the abortive Surat Congress, Mr. Nevinson, the well-known publicist and writer, was a guest of Motilal Nehru at Allahabad. Motilal gave a dinner to a number of friends to meet Mr. Nevinson. I was present. A few days later Motilal invited me alone to have a free exchange of views with Mr. Nevinson. There was also some conversation between Motilal and myself in the absence of Mr Nevinson. Motilal was somewhat perturbed by the political views which his son was developing in England. It was a time when Moderates held the field everywhere. A split had appeared in the Congress, but no one spoke of the independence of India as an attainable goal. The subsequent career of Jawaharlal Nehru, his identification with the national freedom of India, his repeated imprisonment, form an integral part of the struggle now going on in India. Jawaharlal undoubtedly exercised a great influence over his father.

The second cause that finally determined Motilal Nehru's place in public life and in his service to his country was unquestionably the unparalleled example and influence of Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi was also a fairly successful lawyer at one time, though he did not attain the opulence of Motilal Nehru or Chittaranjan Das. Mahatma Gandhi had returned from South Africa rich in sacrifice and richer still in suffering. Almost without an effort he found himself at the head of the national movement in India. With the Non-co-operation movement came the call for sacrifice and suffering. To C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru the Mahatma made a special appeal and they responded without hesitation. Wealth they laid cheerfully aside for poverty, they exchanged the comforts of a luxurious home for the prison.

As we Hindus believe no persuasion and no influence could have brought about the complete self-surrender of Motilal Nehru to the service of his country if he had not been impelled thereto by his *karma*. He

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could have won the reputation of a patriot without any sacrifice or any risk. He could have continued earning large sums of money and appearing on the platform as a patriot. He might have even won such honours as are in the gift of the Government. But his *karma* was behind him and helped to clear his vision. He realized that nothing can be gained in this country by playing at patriotism. India must pay a heavy price for her freedom and he who wishes to serve the cause of the liberation of India must be prepared for the uttermost sacrifice and suffering. It must be a consecration without reserve, a full offering at the altar of liberty. Indians themselves are mainly responsible for the present state of India and they must expiate the sins of their forefathers. There can be no withholding of anything, no partial atonement. It must be either all or nothing. Wealth, personal liberty, life itself must be ungrudgingly surrendered so that India may win back her self-respect and her freedom. Motilal Nehru's *karma* had equipped him fully for this supreme sacrifice and he made his choice without a moment's hesitation.

There are patriots in India who palter with patriotism in the belief that they are doing their duty. Lawyers and others become politicians and patriots in England, and some of them are called statesmen. Why not in India? They scarcely take note of the difference between a free country and another which is subject to another race. They risk nothing, sacrifice nothing, lose nothing and yet they enjoy a high reputation for wisdom and patriotism. They are the wise men of the East, who believe in personal prosperity and safety first, and in everything else afterwards. The wisest of them is not wiser than Motilal Nehru, nor the ablest of them abler than him. Yet they have sought safety whereas Motilal Nehru dared everything. He brought into this incarnation a richer harvest of *karma* than his more cautious and less patriotic countrymen.

In the brief sketches that have appeared in the press of Motilal Nehru's career it has been stated that he was a Moderate when he first took part in politics, but later on became an extremist. The thoughtlessness with which the word 'extremist' is bandied about in this country is exasperating. An extremist is not only beyond the pale of the law, but he is almost outside the bounds of reason. Extremism is obviously the last word in intransigence. As an extremist Motilal Nehru stood for the full freedom of his country. If that is an extreme demand what demand can be more elementary?

Motilal Nehru's ability as a leader, as organizer and as a statesman was displayed at its best in the Indian Legislative Assembly, of which he was the most brilliant and distinguished member. He never held office as he could not do so under the Government as at present constituted. But as Leader of the Opposition he brought into play parliamentary gifts of the highest order. In speech and debate he was a parliamentarian without a rival or an equal in the Assembly. His intellectual acumen, force of argument and political sagacity made him the central figure in the legislature. And at all times and under all conditions he was ever the great gentleman, urbane, courteous, unruffled and full of a great gift of humour. Allied to his extraordinary intellectual gifts was his unbounded moral courage, which was noticeable at every step of his career and which left him wholly undisturbed when he was sent to prison more than once. His pride was the outcome of his fearlessness. When on the last occasion he fell seriously ill in the prison and his release was in contemplation he declared that he did not desire any clemency to be shown to him. He never sought nor accepted any favour; as the architect of his own fortune and his great position it was repugnant to him to be under any obligation to any one, much less to the Government.

Of his generous nature what instance can be more striking than his gift of Anand Bhawan, his palatial residence at Allahabad, to the nation? It has been renamed Swaraj Bhavan and may become a centre of national activities in an emancipated India. Motilal Nehru gave all that was in him to give to the service of his country and his people. He gave up his profession and his large income so that he might serve his country without distraction and without interruption. His intellect and his wisdom and all his thoughts were devoted to his country and he has laid down his life in its service, and he has had his reward in the boundless and undying gratitude, love and reverence of a nation.

At the funeral, at the sacred confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, Mahatma Gandhi in the course of a brief oration narrated that he had told Motilal Nehru that they would get Swaraj after the Pandit's recovery.

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Motilal Nehru replied, "We have already got Swaraj. There is no question of Swaraj." He died with this firm conviction in his mind. Is there any doubt that India has already got Swaraj in the spirit? Motilal Nehru lived to see the unprecedented awakening that has been witnessed in India during the last nine months. He was one of the chief captains in the epic struggle in which there has been no clash and clang of arms but an unparalleled manifestation of the strength of the spirit. The whole of India became another Kurukshetra where the soul faced undaunted the use of physical force. Motilal Nehru lived to see the marvellous awakening of the womanhood of India, an event for which neither history nor tradition holds any precedent. It has been a revival on an extensive scale of the most glorious tradition of medieval Rajasthan. The *Jahar Vrata* was the self-immolation of Rajput women for the preservation of their honour; on the present occasion the flower of Indian womanhood; Hindu, Mussalman, and Parsi, have flung themselves into the struggle and sought imprisonment and suffering for the sake of their country. Motilal Nehru lived to see the younger generation of his countrymen, young men and boys, courting physical suffering and imprisonment in order to win the freedom of the nation. His conviction that the nation had got Swaraj was based upon a solid foundation.

Is it necessary to say anything about his last days? He was a hale man when he was sent to prison. No reflection need be made about the justice or otherwise of the sentence that was passed upon him. He himself never complained and we have no complaint to make. For the cause with which he had identified himself he considered no sacrifice too great. He was willing to lay down his life as he had given up his wealth and property. But the bare fact has to be recorded. In prison he fell ill and had repeated attacks of fever. Then he began spitting blood. A Medical Board was appointed to examine him and it was considered that there was no immediate danger. When he grew worse he was released. He came out of prison a stricken man, stricken unto death. Notwithstanding the best medical advice and treatment and the most loving and devoted care he never recovered. These facts cannot be questioned and no comments are necessary. Neither do we mourn his death, for death comes at its appointed time. The individual passes on but the nation abides. In the funeral oration made by Mahatma Gandhi, to which reference has been made, he truly said that this is not a time for grief but joy—joy that India should have been blessed in the hour of her struggle with so great a son as Motilal Nehru, whose name and life and example will be a perennial inspiration to his countrymen in the ages to come.

Whether India Should Import Artificial Silk Yarn and Piece-goods

By M. P. GANDHI, M. A.

THE question of the desirability or otherwise of imposing a ban on the imports of artificial silk yarn from foreign countries has been engaging the attention of the public for some time past.

I propose to set out in brief in course of this article the reasons against the imports of such yarn and piece-goods in India. A glance at the statistics of the imports of artificial silk yarn during the last three years reveals the fact that about 75 lakhs lbs. of artificial silk yarn were imported into India annually during all these years. The value, however, of the imports has been decreasing steadily. This shows that the price of artificial silk yarn has been falling. During the year 1927-28 the value of the imports amounted to 149 lakhs of rupees and during the year 1928-29 to 135 lakhs of rupees and during the year 1929-30 to 99 lakhs of rupees.

The imports of piece-goods of cotton and

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artificial silk during the year 1929-30 amounted to 56 million yards valued at 315 lakhs of rupees as compared with 49 million yards valued at 330 lakhs of rupees in 1928-29. This also shows that the value of these goods has been falling. It would be of interest to observe that amongst the suppliers of piece-goods or artificial silk and of cotton the country supplying the largest quantity was Japan. Imports from Japan during the year 1929-30 amounted to the enormous figure of 25 million yards or nearly 44 per cent of the total imports, valued at 140 lakhs of rupees as compared with 3 million yards only valued at 30 lakhs of rupees in the year 1928-29. Within the course of a year Japan increased her exports to India of these goods by 800 per cent.

Use of Artificial Silk Yarn in India

We may now consider how these imports of artificial silk yarn are used in India. From the records compiled by several importing firms like Courtaulds, based on information received by them from the hand-loom weaving centres of India, it is estimated that the consumption of artificial silk yarn by the hand-looms is varying from 60 per cent to 80 per cent of the total imports. An official in close touch with the cotton mill industry of Bombay is of the belief that 60 per cent of the quantity of artificial silk and mercerized cotton yarn imported in Bombay and 80 per cent of the quantity imported in India is used by the hand-loom weaving industry. The Collector of Customs, Bombay, put the figure of the consumption of these yarns by the hand-looms as high as 95 per cent. While there may not be any agreement in regard to the exact percentage, it is certain that a very large proportion of the imported mercerized and artificial silk yarn is used by the hand-looms in the production of finer fabrics. Artificial silk yarn has come into general use due largely to the fact that it is possible to impart attractiveness and gloss to the cloth by the use of such yarn, and to the fact that the cloth turned out looks just like silk. The mills also have been using the yarns for turning out cloth which would stand in competition with similar cloth imported from Japan, Italy and other countries.

We may now consider here whether there is any necessity of the imports of artificial silk yarn inside the country. That the tendency to use artificial silk yarn is increasing admits of no doubt. No one will maintain, however, that the use of such artificial silk yarn is necessary in India from the point of view of the climate, etc. It is also certain that if the use of imported artificial silk yarn and of imported piece-goods of cotton and artificial silk is allowed to grow unchecked, it would offer in course of time a fresh obstacle in making India self-sufficient in regard to the requirements of cloth from within the country. The question of the possibility of producing artificial silk yarn in India had been examined once or twice during the last decade and it was found that it was not possible, at least in the near future, for India to produce artificial silk yarn. That being so and there being no artificial silk yarn industry to protect within the country, several persons do not agree with the Indian National Congress that a ban should be placed on the imports of such yarn. The argument is also advanced that it will be doing a great disservice to the hand-loom weavers in India if the import of artificial silk yarn is stopped as it will lead to a dislocation of several of the weavers, who are accustomed to use such yarn in the cloth produced by them. This argument cannot carry much weight, especially in view of the fact that the people in the country have pledged themselves to the use of *Swadeshi* articles and they will not therefore purchase cloth which is made from this artificial silk yarn which is imported from foreign countries. They are pledged to the use of *Swadeshi* cloth, that is, cloth made inside the country from yarn produced inside the country. Unless, therefore, the cloth made from imported artificial silk yarn is to be exported out of India, the use of such yarn will have to be stopped absolutely in the near future both by the hand-looms and by the Indian mills. Several mills in India have not yet accepted the condition of the Congress in regard to the abstention from the use of artificial silk yarn in their products and are therefore on the boycott list of the Congress. These mills do not see any objection to the use of artificial silk yarn in India, on the ground mentioned above, namely, that the use of such yarn does not hinder the progress of a similar industry in India. Those who

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advocate this argument have evidently not considered the question of the sericulture industry of India. If the artificial silk yarn, or piece-goods of artificial silk or of cotton mixed up with artificial silk, are allowed to be imported and no ban placed upon them by the country, there is no doubt that such imports will mount up considerably in quantity, and in the event of this happening, there is no doubt that the Indian sericulture industry will be hard hit. The cheapness of the imported artificial silk yarn has already affected the sericulture industry of India and there is the danger of Indian sericulture industry going almost out of existence if the imports of artificial silk yarn are permitted to be imported by the Congress. I am sure that several responsible persons who do not see any objection in importing artificial silk yarn in India for the production of beautiful cloth, will be converted to the view of the Indian National Congress if they were appointed as the members of a Tariff Board entrusted with the enquiry of considering whether the sericulture industry of India wanted protection Looking at the problem aesthetically, it can be argued that the imports of artificial silk yarn which is capable of producing more beautiful cloth, should not be banned. Considering from the point of view of protection to the Indian sericulture industry, there is no doubt that the import of artificial silk yarn and of piece-goods should be discouraged. Further it is but certain that the imports of artificial silk yarn and of piece-goods will greatly increase in quantity, and substitute the present imports of cotton yarn and piece-goods which are banned. Unless, therefore, the country is prepared to entertain, in course of time, the menace of the imported artificial silk yarn and piece-goods in place of the present menace of the cotton yarn and cotton piece-goods, it ought to put itself on guard beforehand and endorse the action of the Indian National Congress in putting a ban on such imports. I would suggest that in addition to the voluntary resolve of the people not to use cloth made in India from foreign artificial silk yarn and foreign artificial silk piece-goods, the Government should levy a high tariff duty on both of these in order to discourage their importation. The persons interested in the Indian cotton industry have already approached the Government with the suggestion that the duty on imported artificial silk piece-goods should be increased from 15 per cent to 20 per cent or a little more, but that is on another ground. Their contention is that the difference at present between the duty on artificial silk yarn which is 7½ and the duty on artificial silk piece-goods which is 15 per cent does not give sufficient protection to the Indian industry. For the reasons urged above, I would advocate that the duty on both the artificial silk yarn as well as piece-goods, should be increased to a figure which would discourage their importation into India, thus saving the sericulture industry of India from extinction, and averting the menace of the artificial silk yarn and piece-goods in place of the present cotton yarn and cotton piece-goods which the country is trying to eliminate as quickly as possible.

I had the advantage of consulting Mahatma Gandhi on this point only recently and Mahatmaji expressed the opinion that "imports of artificial yarn and piece-goods deserve to be banned." I cherish the hope that in view of the several cogent reasons mentioned here, people will give up the use of cloth made out of artificial silk yarn either on the hand-looms or in our mills and of imported piece-goods of artificial silk or of cotton mixed with it. I also trust that the few mills which have not accepted the condition of the Congress in regard to the abstention from the use of artificial silk yarn in their products, will now comply with it, and thus be classed as Swadeshi mills.

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Rammohun Roy as a Journalist

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

I

THE current biographies of Rajah Rammohun Roy give little or no information about his journalistic activities. I had recently to go through a very large number of old newspapers in order to collect materials for a history of the Vernacular Press in Bengal. While doing so I accidentally came upon some invaluable information on this subject in the pages of the *Calcutta Journal*, then edited by the well-known James Silk Buckingham.*

Manuscript News-Letters

In the days before British rule, manuscript news-letters (called *akhbar* or *akhbarat*) were regularly written by the agents of the nobles and feudatory princes at the Royal Court and sent to their masters. These contained merely the intelligence of the Royal Court and notices of occurrences in the capital and of extraordinary events reported from the provinces. Similar news-letters used to be sent from London to the English counties in the 17th century. But in India such news-letters were sent to the rich only and were not accessible to the educated middle-class public. However, the news contained in them and in the reports sent by the distant agents of the chief Indian merchants, very often trickled out and circulated among the people of the great cities. These news-letters were in no sense political, as they did not contain any comment on news nor any criticism of the Government, and were therefore quite unlike newspapers as we know them.

Early English Newspapers in Bengal and the Censorship

The introduction of the printing-press into India at the end of the 18th century gave a great impetus to the production of all kinds of literature, and, especially, of newspapers. Hickey's *Bengal Gazette*, started at Calcutta on 29th January, 1780, was the first English newspaper printed in India. Others followed close on its heels. Lord Wellesley finding the newspapers (all in English and conducted solely by Europeans) too violent in manner and scurrilous in tone, restricted the liberty of the Indian Press by creating, on 13th May 1799, a censorship, which made it obligatory to submit the proof-sheets of all newspapers to the Chief Secretary to Government for inspection before their publication. The censorship was in force for some seventeen years and was abolished on 19th August, 1818, by the Marquis of Hastings. This abolition was hailed with joy throughout the country and encouraged the publication of several newspapers, English and Vernacular, in Calcutta.

The Sambad Kaumudi

Rammohun Roy had settled in Calcutta in 1815, after his retirement from the Company's service. He was fully alive to the real interests of his countrymen, and realized the importance of newspapers as the best means of enlightening them. The time was opportune, and he now devoted himself to the promotion of 'native' journalism. A prospectus was printed and circulated in in Bengali and English in November 1821, soliciting "the support and patronage of all who feel themselves interested in the intellectual and moral improvement of our countrymen" for the publication of a Bengali weekly, called the *Sambad Kaumudi*, or 'The Moonlight of Intelligence,' which was to be entirely conducted by Indians. It also stated that "Religious, moral, and political matters, domestic occurrences, foreign as well as local intelligence, including original commu-

* The *Calcutta Journal*, or Political, Commercial, and Literary Gazette, was edited admirably by James Silk Buckingham. The prospectus of this journal was published in September, 1818, and the first number came out on 2nd October, 1818. Started as a bi-weekly (Tuesdays and Fridays), it soon became a tri-weekly and finally a daily. Files of this illustrated journal for 1818-1822 (incomplete), as well as those for 1823 (incomplete) can be found in the Imperial Library, Calcutta, and the Uttarparah Public Library respectively.

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cations on various hitherto unpublished interesting local topics, etc., will be published in the *Sambad Kaumudi* on every Tuesday morning." The first number of the paper appeared on 4th December, 1821.* This was virtually the first Bengali newspaper worth the name, published from Calcutta, though a short-lived paper—Gangakishore Bhattacharyya's *Bangla Gazette*, had made its appearance earlier, in 1816.

On 20th December, 1821, the *Calcutta Journal* (p. 519) published an editorial, entitled "Establishment of a Native Newspaper, edited by a Learned Hindoo," followed by a copy of the "Prospectus" and the "Address to the Bengal Public (From No. I, Dec. 4, 1821)." The last, as will be seen, explains the scope and object of the new journal :

For the information of the Literati, under the immediate Province of Bengal, the Conductors of the newly established Bengally Newspaper, entitled Singhaud Cowmuddee, or 'The Moon of Intelligence' respectfully beg leave to state in a brief manner that the object of that Publication is the Public Good. The subjects to be discussed will therefore have that object for a *Guiding-Star* and any Essay bearing upon this primary object will always meet with ready attention. As to minor points, the Prospectus, already published, will afford every information that can be desired ; and as a Newspaper conducted *exclusively* by Natives, in the Native Languages, *is a novelty at least*, if not a *desideratum*, it will of course ever be the study of its Conductors to render their labours as interesting as possible ; for which purpose they hereby solicit the hearty co-operation of the *Literati* and *well-wishers of the Cause* to contribute their aid in bringing this Publication to the highest pitch of perfection which it is capable of attaining. Nothing need be apprehended on this subject, when the state of the Press in India is considered : that it was *hitherto shackled*, and that owing to the liberal and comprehensive mind of our present enlightened and magnanimous Ruler, the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, these shackles have been removed, and the Press declared Free ; and when it is further considered, that many celebrated publications (which are a continual source of delight and instruction to Europeans in this country), first appeared in the *humble* though useful channel of a periodical Newspaper, we need not apprehend but that by due exertions we shall also be able to rescue our names from oblivion, and eventually be held up to future generations as examples for imitation, obtaining by such notice the meed of praise to which all noble minds are ever alive, and which is never withheld from superior merit. It will readily occur from what has been just stated, that it is our intention hereafter to give further currency to the Articles inserted in this Paper, by translating the most interesting parts in the different languages of the East, particularly Persian and Hindoostanee ; but as this will entail considerable expence, the accomplishment of it will of course depend upon the encouragement which we may be able to obtain. The foregoing being an outline of what we are desirous of performing, our countrymen will readily conclude that although the Paper in question be conducted by us, and may consequently be considered our property, yet *virtually* it is the "Paper of the Public," since in it they can at all times have inserted, anything that *tends to the public good*, and by a respectful expression of their grievances, be enabled to get them redressed, if our Countrymen have not already been able to effect that desirable object by publishing them in English.

Rammohun Roy was not only the principal promoter but the *de facto* editor* of this periodical, and articles from his own pen often appeared in it. Bhawani Charan Banerji conducted the *Kaumudi* up to its 13th issue, after which he set up a rival Bengali paper, the *Samachar Chanarika*, or 'Moonlight of Intelligence', which came into existence on 5th March, 1822.† In May 1822 Haribar Dutt was succeeded as editor of the *Kaumudi* by Govinda Chandra Kongar.

Bhawani Charan Banerji imitated the name of the *Kaumudi* and by this artifice succeeded in luring away many of its subscribers. In fact, the *Kaumudi* had very soon to close its career for want of support, as the following passage from an editorial in the *Calcutta Journal* (14 Feb.

* For translations of some of its articles, see *The Calcutta Journal*, 20 Dec. 1821 (pp. 519-20), 26 Feby. 1822 (pp. 586-87), and 27 Feb. 1822 (pp. 598-99).

* That Rammohun was the *de facto* editor of this journal is also borne out by the following passage in the writings of one of his close friends—Rev. W. Adam : "He established and conducted two native papers, one in Persian, and the other in Bengali, and made them the medium of conveying much valuable political information to his countrymen."—*A Lecture on the Life and Labours of Rammohun Roy*, (delivered at Boston), p. 20.

† The following is a translation of an advertisement, which appeared in the *Samachar Durpun*, dated 23 March, 1822 :

"Bhawani Charan Banerji, a resident of the village of Colutola in Calcutta, informs the wise and the considerate that he has published the *Sambad Kaumudi* up to its 13th issue. He is now publishing a paper named the *Samachar Chandrika*, a perusal of which will afford miscellaneous information about various countries. The first issue of this paper came out on Tuesday, 23d Falgun [1228 B. S.], and the second issue on Monday, and it would henceforth appear on every Monday. Subscribers to it will be required to pay Re. 1 a month."

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1823, pp. 618-19) on the "Danger of the Nat ve Press" shows :

"The Paper which was considered so fraught with danger, and like to explode over all India like a spark thrown into a barrel of gunpowder, has long since fallen to the ground for want of support; chiefly we understand because it offended the Native community, by opposing some of their customs, and particularly the Burning of Hindoo Widows... The innocent *Sungbad Cowmuddy*, the object of so much unnecessary alarm, was originally established in the month of December 1821, and relinquished by the original Proprietor for want of encouragement in May 1822, after which it was kept alive by another native till the September following, when about the commencement of the Doorga Pooja Holidays, it first was suspended, and then fell to rise no more.

But the *Sambad Kaumudi* was not yet to die for ever. In April 1823 it re appeared under the editorship of Ananda Chandra Mookerji, its printer and publisher being Govinda Chandra Coaur, a clerk in the Military Board Office.* It became a bi-weekly in January 1830.†

The contents of the first few numbers of the *Sambad Kaumudi* were summarized in English by the *Calcutta Journal*, and the following extracts from them may be of interest to the reader :

No. I :— 2. An appeal to Government for the establishment of a seminary for the gratuitous instruction of the children of poor though respectable Hindoos.

No. II :— 1. A brief address to the natives, enumerating the advantages of reading newspapers. 2. A communication from a correspondent, suggesting the propriety of raising a fund by subscription among the rich natives, for the purpose of wateri g the Ch tpore road, from Loll-Bazar down to Baug-Baz r. 4. A letter from a correspondent pointing out the impolicy and evil consequences of the Hindu law, which entitles a youth of fifteen years and nine months to the succession of hereditary property, and sugg sting the expediency of abolishing it, and substituting the age of twenty-two in lieu of fifteen and nine months. 5. An interesting and satirical account of the rich natives, at whose death and mourning ceremonies considerable sums of money are expended, but who, during their lives, give strict injunctions to the door-keepers of their mansions not to admit any one in who might possibly want anything. 6. An humble address to Government, soliciting the extension of the boon of trial by jury to the Moffussul, Zillah, and Provincial Courts of Judicature.

No. III :— 1. An appeal to Government to relieve the Hindu community from the embarrassment and inconvenience which they daily experience in consequence of there being no more t an one ghaut for the burning of the dead bodies of the Hindus ; whereas an immense s ace of ground has been granted by them for the burial of Christians of all denominations. 2. An humble representation to Government, earnestly soliciting that they would be graciously pleased to direct the adoption of requisite measures for the prevention of the exportation of the greatest part of the produce of rice from Bengal to foreign ports ; an act which would tend very much to the comfort and happiness of British Indian subjects, because it is the chief article of their food. 3. Another appeal to Government, to take into their benevolent consideration the serious privation under which the middle-class of its native subjects labour, from the want of proper medical advice and treatment ; particularly children and women, who cannot with propriety resort to the native hospital, nor would their circumstances enable them to send for European doctors ; and earnestly soliciting them to adopt some such measures, as may enable people of the above description to avail themselves of the benefit of the treatment of European physicians. 4. An appeal to the magistrates of the Calcutta police, to resort to rigorous measures for relieving the Hindoo inhabitants of the metropolis from the serious grievance of Christian gentlemen driving their buggies amongst them, and cutting and lashing them with whips, without distinction of sex or age, whilst they quietly assemble in immense numbers to witness the images of their deities pass in the Chitpore road, when many of them, through terror and consternation, caused by the lashing inflicted on the spectators, fall down into drains, while others are trampled under foot by the crowd.

No. IV :— 1. An exhortation and recommendation to the native physicians to have their children placed as practitioners, under the superintendence of European doctors, that they may, after acquiring a practical knowledge of the English mode of treating diseases, be competent to attend on native families, with credit to themselves and advantage to their patients. 2. An original communication from a correspondent, reprobating the criminal neglect of the Coolin Brahmins in the marriage of their daughters ; and demonstrating such neglect to be the cause of disgrace and great unhappiness, by particularizing an instance of that nature which recently occurred. 3. Another communication condemning the immence expenditure of money by the wealthy pursuits, and reprobating their parsimony in the commendable cause of rational education.

No. V :— 1. Letter from a correspondent, pointing out the immoral and evil tendency of the dramas or plays re ently invented, and performed by a number of young men, and recommending their suppression.

(*Calcutta Journal*, 31 January 1822, p. 321).

No. VI :— 4. An original essay on the inestimable value and innumerable advantages of the cultivation of learning. 8. A correspondent brings to the notice of the public the serious evils which result from the present practice of the poor Hindoos burning the bodies of their

* Affidavit, dated 18 April 1823.—*Public Consultation 8 May 1823, No 42.*

† "Miscellanea.—...The *Sumbad Koumudee*, now appears twice a week.—*Sumachar Durpun*, 30 January 1830.

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deceased relations into the river Ganges, from want of resources to burn them, and under a firm conviction of the unbounded liberality of the higher class of Hindoos, evinced by the expenditure of large sums of money in the celebration of the ceremonies of their parents, and in other numerous laudable acts, strongly appeals to their humanity and benevolence to establish a fund, by subscription, for the purpose of enabling the poor to defray the necessary expenses of the burning their deceased relations. 9. An appeal to the wealthy Hindoos of the metropolis, to take into their benevolent consideration the intolerable misery and distress in which a number of Hindoo widows are involved, in consequence of the destitute situation in which their deceased husbands have left them, and to constitute a society for their relief, as well as for the benefit of future widows under similar circumstances, upon the principles of the Civil and Military Widows' Funds, established by order of Government.

No. VII :— 3. A correspondent, with the view of preventing the frequent losses which originate from people's employing domestic servants without a thorough acquaintance with their previous conduct, suggests the expediency of granting certificates of good behaviour to honest domestics, and of withholding the same from such as may not be found deserving of this favour ; a practice which, says the writer, would enable future employers to distinguish good from evil-disposed servants. 4. An appeal to Government, to take into its favourable consideration the distress and hardships to which the natives have of late been subjected, in consequence of the price of fire-wood being enhanced to three times its former amount.. The dealers in this article, on being questioned as to the cause of this unprecedented rise in its price, invariably declare that they have been induced by indispensable necessity to raise the price, owing to the additional expense incurred by duties and other necessary charges incidental to demurrage, occasioned by the multifarious rules established in the Custom House. 5. An address to the Hindoo community, demonstrating the necessity of having their children instructed in the principles of the grammar of their own languages previous to imposing upon them the study of foreign languages, and ascribing the circumstance of their being found unsuccessful in the acquisition of those languages, to the want of a grammatical knowledge of their own

No. VIII :— 5. A descriptive account of a drama newly invented, and of the characters personated in it. It is denominated the Colly Rajah's Juttra. 6. A philanthropist observing the misery and intolerable distress under which a great majority of Hindoos labour from prejudices of caste, which have so far infatuated them, as to believe that were they to follow any useful branch of mechanics, it would bring disgrace upon the dignity of their caste, strongly impresses upon them the folly and perniciousness of such delusive notions, and recommend them to make themselves familiar with such arts as would tend to their comfort, happiness, and independence, and not to pass their lives solely in drudgery and servitude.

(*Calcutta Journal*, 1 Feb. 1822, pp. 329-30).

No. X :— 7. An Address to the Hindoo Public, recommending them to give their sons a liberal education. 9. An answer to what had been said in the Paper of January 22, 1822, recommending the poor, though respectable Hindoos, to become Tradesmen rather than mere Copyists or Sircars.

(*Calcutta Journal*, 9 Feb. 1822, p. 415)

No. XX :— 3. Hindoostanee Paper, Jam-i-Juhan Nooma. 10. On the folly of the Natives in not mentioning the precise time in their cards of Invitations.

(*Calcutta Journal*, 19 Apr. 1822, p. 545)

No. XXIV :— 1. A Fairwell Address to the readers of this Paper, by Hurrihur Dutt, the former Editor. 2. Addresss of Govindchunder Kongar, the present Editor.

(*Calcutta Journal*, 14 May 1822, p. 193).

The Mirat-ul-Akhbar

Very few of our countrymen could read English in those days, and the Sanskritic Vernaculars were not yet sufficiently developed for the purpose of journalism, while even in British India Persian continued as the language of polished Indian society, of diplomatic correspondence, and of the (civil) law-courts and the reports written by Indian officials, till about 1837. There was the Hindustani (Urdu) language, which—though largely spoken in India, was not suited for high class newspapers ; moreover it was widely employed in colloquial intercourse, but little used in writing. Thus, a body of readers, able and willing to pay, was assured to Persian newspapers published in British India.

Though a Hindustani weekly newspaper—*Jam-i-Jahan-Numa* —was set up in Calcutta on 28 March 1822,* a printed Persian newspaper still remained a desideratum, and Rammohun Roy was the first to publish a weekly journal in that language.†

* The *Jam-i-Jahan-Numa*, from its eighth number (16 May 1822), began to be written both in Hindustani and Persian. See the *Calcutta Journal*, dated 8 May 1822, p. 109 ("Native Press"), and 22 June 1822, p. 739 ("Contents of the *Jam-i-Jahan-Numa*, No VIII"). In the course of a few months—certainly before February 1823—it began to be issued only in Persian.

† A month before the publication of Rammohun's Persian paper, Luckee Naryn Bysak of No. 4 Durponaryan Thakoor's Street, Calcutta, laid before the public a proposal in Persian for publishing a Persian weekly paper named *Emmul-ukhbar*, or 'The Ocean of Intelligence,' to be issued every Tuesday. This, however, never came into being. See the *Calcutta Journal* for 1st April 1822, p. 336 ("Contents of the *Summochar Chundrika*, No. IV" =25 March 1822), also *Ibid.*, 10 April 1822, p. 438.

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The *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* or 'Mirror of News,' made its first appearance on 12th (?) April 1822. It was published from Dhurrumtola every Friday under the editorship of Rammohun Roy, and was intended to cater to an enlightened class of readers. The contents of the first number were summarized in English by the *Calcutta Journal* of 20th April, 1822, p. 561. It is very likely, therefore, that the *Mirat* was first published on 12th April, which was not only a Friday but the first day of the Bengali year 1229 B. S. As the reader might be interested in the contents of the first number, full quotations from Buckingham's paper relating to it are given below :

Contents of the Merat-ool Ukhbar, or 'Mirror of Intelligence,' No. I.

1. The Editor informs the Public that although so many Newspapers have been published in this city to gratify their readers, yet there is none in Persian for the information of those who are well versed in that language, and do not understand English, particularly the people of Upper Hindustan, he has therefore undertaken to publish a Persian Newspaper every week.
2. Government Regulation respecting the period Company's Servants can be absent from their duty on account of their health.
3. Difference with China.
4. Trial of John Hayes, Esq., Judge of Tipperah.
5. Release of Prisoners on the 23d of April : King's Birthday.
6. Shipping Intelligence.
7. Cause of Enmity between Russia and the Sublime Porte.
8. Exploits of Rungeet Singh.
9. Plentiful crop of corn this year in Hindoostan.
10. Pair of Elephants for sale.
11. Price of Indigo and Opium.
12. Proposal sent to the inhabitants of Shajuhanabad, by an officer of the Honourable Company, pointing out the advantages of having an English School instituted in that city, to which however the Natives paid no attention.*

In an editorial, entitled "Native Newspapers," the *Calcutta Journal* welcomed its new contemporary in the following terms :

"...Of all the Papers which have yet appeared, in the Native languages, none has created a more favourable impression on our mind than the MIRAT-OOL-UKHBAR ; and being confident that many of our readers will derive as much gratification from the Prospectus as we have done, we subjoin what we have good reason to believe is an accurate translation. The Editor, we are informed, is a Brahmin of high rank, a man of liberal sentiments, and by no means deficient in loyalty, well versed in the Persian language, and possessing a competent knowledge of English ; intelligent, with a considerable share of general information and an insatiable thirst after knowledge. The Paper is besides under the superintendence of a person whose great experience and extensive acquaintance with the history, learning, and manners of both Europe and Asia, cannot fail to be of great utility to the Editor, and to secure him from those errors to which his inexperience in this new and arduous undertaking would naturally expose him.*

Mr. Buckingham, who was well versed in some oriental languages, was a great friend of Rammohun Roy and appears to have been the man under whose superintendence the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* was published. The prospectus referred to in the foregoing exract is quoted below :

"PROSPECTUS

FROM THE MIRAT-OOL-UKHBAR, NO. I.

Thanks be to God, that in these days the inhabitants of Calcutta enjoy under the Government of the English nation, that freedom and security which is considered by rational and social beings as the grand object of all civil and religious institutions. Numerous measures are adopted for the protection of persons and property : the rules for administering justice and awarding punishment which they have established in this city, agreeable to the Laws of England, have secured the full enjoyment of liberty and prevented licentiousness ; so that the lowest individual in demanding his rights, stands upon an equal footing with the great, nay, even with the high personage at the head of the Government. Every person is entitled to express his own sentiments, and to give an account of the conduct of others in such a manner as not to be injurious to them.

Under these circumstances some Gentlemen of this nation publish in the English language, the news of this and other countries, for the improvement of the Public at large ; and those acquainted with that language profit generally by these Papers, receiving intelligence from all quarters, notwithstanding their particular local situations. But as the English language is not understood in all parts of India, those unacquainted with it must either have recourse to others in their enquiries after information, or remain totally uninformed. On this account, I, the humblest of the

* The *Calcutta Journal*, 20 April 1822, p. 561.

* The *Calcutta Journal*, 24th April 1822, p. 583.

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human race, am desirous of publishing a Weekly Newspaper, written in the Persian language, which is understood by all the respectable part of the Native Community, and am ready to distribute it to all who may be so inclined.

"I solemnly protest that it is not my object to make this Paper the channel of exaggerated praise to the great, or to my own friends, that I may hereby meet with favor and promotion ; nor is it my intention in this my Editorial capacity to permit unmerited blame or reproach to be cast upon others. On the contrary, I shall have a due regard for truth and for the rank of persons in authority, and in composing every sentence, keeping in view the saying of the Poet, that—"The wounds of the spear may be healed, but a wound inflicted by the tongue is incurable"—I shall guard against any expression that might tend to hurt the feelings of any individual.

"In short, in taking upon myself to edit this Paper, my only object is, that I may lay before the Public such articles of Intelligence as may encrease their experience, and tend to their social improvement ; and that to the extent of my abilities, I may communicate to the Rulers a knowledge of the real situation of their subjects, and make the subjects acquainted with the established laws and customs of their Rulers: that the Rulers may the more readily find an opportunity of granting relief to the people ; and the people may be put in possession of the means of obtaining protection and redress from their Rulers."*

The Persian editorials of the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* were mostly written by Rammohun, and the English translations of several of them, printed in the *Calcutta Journal*, were also undoubtedly made by him. The editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, Mr. Silk Buckingham, was a master of colloquial Arabic but did not probably possess a scholar's knowledge of the Persian language. These editorials are, therefore, of inestimable value to us, as revealing Rammohun's deep learning, his thoughts on the current political questions of his time (*c.* 1822), his reflections on the character of the English nation and the English constitution and his strong convictions about the rights of his countrymen. The reader will notice the family likeness between them and Rammohun's publicly acknowledged writings in point of thought and even of style.

In the following extracts Rammohun seeks to explain the cause of the greatness of the English nation. He takes into consideration all the facts of English life, which might have contributed to their greatness—climate, physical strength, personal courage, geographical situation of the country, but does not consider them quite adequate to explain fully the glory of England. And at last he finds that the secret of their power lay in their constitution :

The English Nation

Although in ascertaining the particular causes of different natural phenomena, and in investigating the specific connection between objects, which justifies men in calling one a cause, and the other an effect, there is a great liability to error; yet, as human perfection and social improvement depend on *a posteriori* reasoning, mankind cannot dispense with it while seeking the good things of this world and the blessings of futurity. On this account, he that is possessed of rational faculties and is desirous of improving himself by experience, cannot neglect enquiring into the particular cause of the present greatness of the English Nation, notwithstanding the comparative smallness of the population, and the very limited extent of their Native country—so that Kings and Emperors of great power are anxious to secure their friendship.

Can we attribute their glory to the nature of their climate, or to their physical strength, or to their personal courage ? Certainly not—on mature consideration, none of these things can be supposed adequate to account for it : since the country is an island of Europe in size only equal to a small portion of India ; and in consequence of the frequent falls of rain and snow, the crops are obtained with difficulty at great expence and labour ; and the inhabitants of other countries such as Germany and Russia, consider themselves equal to them in strength and courage ; and the people of France do not allow them any superiority to themselves in the Art of War ; nor did the Dutch confess themselves to be excelled by them in Naval Tactics.

Again, the peculiar situation of England, which renders its invasion difficult, cannot be supposed to be the sole cause of its daily accessions of power and glory ; since in this respect all other islands possess the same advantages with England. Besides, we do not find any change to have taken place in its present and its ancient local position, and its necessary consequences ; yet it was conquered in former days by other nations, even by a Chief of a single province of France.

After the dethronement of Charles I and James II who neglected the rights of their subjects, and since the Constitution has been matured and firmly established on its present basis, so well calculated to preserve the dignity and power of the King, without any encroachment upon the rights of the subjects, (*viz.* a monarchical government limited by the national voice, and

* *Ibid.*

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which I will afterwards particularly describe) the power of the nation has gradually increased. Moreover, the local position of the country (which is inaccessible except by sea), and the union of the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland with England, have contributed to the successful operation of that constitution; as it is well known to all reflecting men that the extent of territories remotely situated, and the separation of states naturally united, equally contribute to the weakness of empires.—If it please God, I will give an account of the English Constitution in the succeeding Numbers.—*Mirat-ool-Ukhbar.**

In the next number of the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* Rammohun gives an exposition of the principles of the English constitution:

MIRAT-OOL UKHBAR, No. II.

Before speaking of the excellent principles of the British Constitution, to which I alluded in the Paper of last week, I insert in this place a few remarks, which are intimately connected with those principles. It is not concealed from rational men, that in order to preserve men's lives and properties from the attacks of their fellow-citizens, and to form friendly relations with neighbouring states, and resist the aggressions of nations who aim at aggrandising themselves on the ruin of others—it is absolutely necessary that every nation should have some kind of government; and accordingly, there are three species of government that may be deduced from reason: *viz.*, First, every individual of a nation may have an actual share in the executive government; or Secondly, the reins of government may be committed to a single person or Thirdly, the affairs of the nation may be entrusted to a portion of the higher class or of the lower class of the people.

But the evils which may arise from the first species of government, are so obvious, that they need not be explained; since a meeting of all the inhabitants of a country for the purpose of managing the public affairs, would be attended with great advantage to their private concerns; moreover, many of these individuals are totally ignorant of the rules and principles of government. Again, the great calamities which are the necessary consequence of the second form of government have been every day witnessed, and are recorded in the annals of history. Heavens! How is it possible that the lives and properties of hundreds of thousands of the sons of Adam, should be made dependent on the will of one man, and ready to be sacrificed to the caprices of a single individual! It is equivalent to bringing upon themselves the nature and condition of brute animals. For the best of men are not supposed to be free from passion, and immoderate desires which very often overcome the dictates of reason; or exempted from those errors and vices which belong to human nature. And, consequently, in the case of an absolute monarchy, from the wrath or mistake of a single individual may proceed the destruction of an extensive country and ruin of great nation.

Again, the unlimited influence of a great body of men out of a people, in the government of a country, produces discontent and degradation in the rest; and occasions disunion in the nation. Therefore, the third species of government, that is, Aristocracy, is calculated to introduce both the evils that may arise from absolute Monarchy and from Democracy. However, as it is absolutely necessary to have some form of government, the executive power should be committed to a single individual, on condition that he do not infringe the laws established by the nation; which has been experienced to be the best of all forms of government; since in this case the subjects have the power of watching the proceedings of the executive government; which is thus obliged to court the good will of its subjects."*

One of these editorials was on the Odes of Hafiz, the occasion for publishing it being explained by the translator as follows:

The Editor of the *Mirat-ool-Ukhbar* has inserted the following, apparently in reply to the objections of a certain learned Critic, who seemed to think English translations altogether superfluous.

Then comes the translation:

"The object of publishing the Ode of Mohummed Hafiz together with an English translation, was that the European Gentlemen who accuse Moosulmans of religious intolerance and the excessive rigor of their laws, might know that in the centre of Moosulman countries, Hafiz, the author of these Odes, notwithstanding his promulgating deistical verses, full of Sufeism, which is directly contrary to their religious tenets, had never been persecuted or molested by Moosulmans or by Moosulman Magistrates."†

In 1822 occurred one of those cases of the alleged murder of an Indian by a European which stir our society to its inmost depths. Mr. John Hayes, Judge of Comilla, was on 8th April tried at the Supreme Court on the charge of having beaten to death Pratap Narayan Das, a zamindar of Tippera. The Judge had ordered the zamindar to live in Comilla town in order to prevent him from going to the villages and exciting disturbances. But in July 1821, during the temporary absence of Mr. Hayes from Comilla, the zamindar went to his village on hearing of his son's illness, and the son having died he came back to Comilla two days before the Judge's return. Mr. Hayes, on hearing of this breach of his internment order, sentenced him to 20 stripes (30 July 1821). The zamindar protested that he would die rather than submit to such dishonour. But the Judge gave him twenty cuts all the same, after which the man was dragged to prison, where he was found dead the third

* The *Calcutta Journal*, 29 April 1822, p. 637.

* The *Calcutta Journal*, 2nd May 1822, p. 31.
† The *Calcutta Journal*, 29th April 1822, p. 637.

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day after, his servants and friends not being permitted to visit him or to burn his corpse. Mr. Hayes was acquitted on producing evidence to the effect that the wound caused by the flogging was slight and had healed on the third day, and that the zamindar's bed clothes showed that he had died of cholera. During these three days Pratap Narayan used to walk outside the jail and take his meals there also.*

In an editorial of his paper Rammohun made the following observations on the trial of Mr. Hayes :

OBSERVATIONS OF THE EDITOR OF THE MIRAT-OOL-UKHBAR

Translated for the Calcutta Journal

After hearing the evidence of the witnesses adduced on both sides, in this case, the Jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. It is not my intention to defend Mr. John Hayes, Judge of Tipperah, if accused of having violated the principles of Justice and the Regulations of Government by inflicting corporeal punishment upon the deceased, without any regular Judicial proceedings or hearing evidence, or receiving his confession ; but I beg of the liberal Public, that before they pronounce their judgment on this subject, they will enquire into the conduct of the late Purtaub Narayun towards his weaker neighbours, which in my opinion was sufficient to rouse the indignation of the Magistrate, who is made answerable before God, and to his fellow-creatures, for oppressions committed against helpless individuals, that are placed under his charge, and enough to excite the compassion of travellers, who happened to be witnesses of that Zumeendar's mode of treating his inferiors. The most the Public can say, after such enquiry, is, that Mr. Hayes acted rashly and under the influence of passion.

It is very difficult for the Executive Government to establish such Rules and Regulations for the Officers of Police, and the people under them, that the former cannot exceed the powers vested in them, nor the latter be deficient in perfect obedience. In case Government should not give any discretionary power to the Magistrate in some particular cases, it is probable that many who are re-trained from tyranny only by the dread of the Magistrate, may be guilty of outrages, and above all, disobedience, and practise oppression upon others. On the contrary, in case Government should entrust their Police Officers with unlimited authority in certain cases when necessity requires, there is a chance of their sometimes deviating from the paths of Justice, from their not being able to distinguish actual necessity from cases where there is no such necessity ; or from irritation of mind, or other considerations. In either case there is a probability of mischief, and of the objects of Government being defeated.

But as in the former case (*i.e.*, of Magistrates not being vested with unlimited power in any circumstances) there would be great depredations, such as theft and robbery, and many other abuses, as well as sometimes the overthrow of Government itself ; therefore, it is necessary that the local Magistrates should be vested with more efficient authority for carrying the orders of Government into execution, and likewise for preventing the powerful from tyrannising over the weak. But there is no remedy whatever for the abuse which is noticed in this case arising from their being invested with such powers, except Government should adopt such measures (after the example of some former just kings) as might enable it to become acquainted with the proceedings of its executive officers without the intervention of favour or partiality to screen them. It is probable that this superintendence of the Government would be a sufficient check upon the Police Officers, and put them upon their guard. Although the mode of establishing Courts of Appeal may be considered as in some degree a substitute for these restraints, yet it fails in some instances to produce the desired effect. For example, after any one has been punished with the rattan, and thrown into jail, and put in irons by order of a local Magistrate he cannot recover from that disgrace (which to a person that has any pretensions to respectability, is as bad as death itself) although the sentence passed upon him by that local Magistrate should be reversed at a subsequent period. If the execution of the sentence passed by a local Magistrate for inflicting corporal punishment upon a person of respectability and putting him in irons were to be deferred, in case the person condemned appealed against the order of the local Magistrate and paid the regular fees, until the order of the Superior Court of Appeal be issued, this might be preventative of excesses on the part of the Police Officers, and might secure the subject from the injurious consequences arising from their passion or error."*

(*To be continued*)

* For full proceedings of the case, see *Asiatic Journal*, December 1822, pp. 598—605.

* The *Calcutta Journal*, 14 May 1822, p. 191.

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America's Economic Influence

HER LEADERSHIP IN COMMERCE AND FINANCE

By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., Ph.D.

WITHIN the short space of a decade America has risen to a position of world leadership in finance and trade unparalleled in the history of commerce. In the sphere of economic activity the United States has certainly set new standards and hastened the pace of economic development of other countries of the world. In fact it is the stupendous economic progress of America that first drew the attention of the world. The present national wealth of America is said to be well in excess of Rs. 960,000,000,000 as against Rs. 558,000,000 000 in 1912. It is also estimated that America's national income has grown from Rs 90,000,000,000 about the end of the pre-war period to about Rs. 270,000,000,000 in 1928, accompanied by a rapid accumulation of national savings, and a steady flow of capital to industry and commerce both in the United States and abroad. In reference to the rapid rise of America as an economic power during the years between 1922 and 1929, the Committee on Economic Changes remarks that during that period there was "an outpouring of energy which piled up skyscrapers in scores of cities, knit the forty-eight States together with 20,000 miles of airways, moved each year over railways and waterways more than 1,500,000,000 tons of freight, thronged the highways with 25,000,000 motor cars, carried electricity to 17,000,000 homes, sent each year 3,750,000 children to high schools and more than 1,000,000 young men and women to college, and fed and clothed, housed and amused 120,000,000 persons who occupy one-twentieth of the habitable area of the earth."

Growth in Commerce and Industry

Such rapid growth of America as an economic power has exerted a direct influence upon conditions in other countries of the world through the channels of international trade. America's participation in world trade has been an important factor in expanding the economic activity of other nations. America's high standard of living and her mass production provide a vast market for the products of the rest of the world. Sufficient proof of the significance of American world trade activity is seen in the fact that the total volume of international trade of the United States was in excess of Rs. 204,000,000,000 in 1928. America's imports from abroad amounted to nearly 15 per cent of the aggregate exports of other countries, and American exports amounted to more than 16 per cent of the total imports of other countries. The trade balance of 1929 is in favour of America to the extent of Rs. 2,523,208,828. The amount of exports reached the enormous figure of Rs. 15,723,786,828 and America's imports during the same period amounted to Rs. 13,200,378,000. The ten leaders in American export trade are : Unmanufactured cotton, automobiles and vehicles, petroleum and products, grains and preparations, industrial machinery, non-ferrous metal, tobacco and tobacco manufactures, agricultural machinery, fruits and nuts, electrical machinery. Other important export commodities are animal oils and edible fats, wood manufactures and saw-mill products, coal and related products, iron and steel manufactures, steel mill products and other advanced manufactures.

The ten leading imports of America are unmanufactured silk, cocoa, coffee and tea, non-ferrous metals, rubber and manufactures, sugar and related products, paper and manufactures, petroleum and products, raw hides and skins, furs and manufactures, and paper base stocks. Other important items on the import list include jute and manufactures, vegetable oils, fruits and nuts, oil-seeds, cotton manufactures, unmanufactured wool, fertilizer and fetilizer materials. Among the countries from which America imports commodities, Brazil does the big coffee business, having sent to America Rs. 535,067,169 worth last year. Columbia and Java stand next in exporting coffee to the United States. From the Philippine Islands alone America buys Rs. 90,000,000 worth of

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coconut oil and also Rs. 39,000,000 worth of copra. America imports from India most of her jute valued to be in excess of Rs. 180,000,000. America gets most of her silk from Japan. The latter sells annually something like Rs. 1,068,000,000 worth of silks; China, Italy and France come next in order. Holland and Belgium supply most of America's demand for cut but unset diamonds, and the annual total from these two small countries exceeds Rs. 105,000,000 in value.

Examination of the consumption of the more common commodities in the United States in comparison with total world production indicates somewhat more specifically what America's purchasing power means not only to industry in the United States but to the rest of the world also. The population of the United States is 7 per cent of the total world population. That 7 per cent consumes approximately 50 per cent of all the tin, about 60 per cent of the crude rubber, more than 70 per cent of all the raw silk and large proportions of the world's production of sugar, coal, pig iron, copper and crude petroleum. The fact that 7 per cent of the world's population living in the United States should supply a market for such large proportion of the world's total production of these commodities is a consideration of the greatest importance to the world's commerce, industry and employment of labour.

In the matter of distribution of American imports, we find that Europe receives Rs. 7,022,110,773; North America Rs. 4,185,697,563; South America Rs. 1,618 031,145; Asia Rs. 1,930,262,361; Oceania Rs 576,068,922; and Africa, Rs. 391,616,074. It is interesting to note that America exported false teeth totalling more than 25,000,000, which brought in a revenue of Rs. 3,809,859. In the machinery and vehicles group the item of nearly Rs. 75,000,000 for oil well drilling apparatus and other oil well and oil refinery machinery, indicates that America is far in the lead of other nations in this field. Sewing machines bring in Rs. 30,000,000 annually and the United Kingdom is America's best customer for sewing machines. The greatest increase registered over 1928 was in aircraft, for in 1929 the value of aircraft exported was more than treble the amount of the preceding year. America exported last year Rs. 23,581,341 worth of phonographs and Rs. 13,007,193 worth of records. It is interesting to note that foreign sales of radio receiving sets amounted to about Rs. 30,000,000.

America's Financial Influence

The financial activities of the United States have also had a very direct bearing upon conditions in other parts of the world. America has experienced an accumulation of savings on a scale which has provided ample capital both for the advancement of American industrialism and for investment in other countries. Just before the great European war broke out, American investments in foreign countries totalled Rs. 7,500,000,000; today American investments abroad are estimated to be somewhere between Rs. 37,500,000,000 and Rs. 43,500,000,000. The United States has furnished an immense reservoir of capital upon which the world has drawn freely for rehabilitation and reconstruction, and this movement of capital to foreign countries has not only been of benefit to others but has played an important part in the development of America's trade itself. Rightly does President observe that "the making of loans to foreign countries for productive purposes not only increases our direct exports but builds up the prosperity of foreign countries and is an economic blessing to both sides of the transaction. Trade grows on prosperity, not on poverty. Trade is a co-operative effort among nations to secure the greatest total output and total consumption." America's financial activities in recent years have been particularly significant in aiding materially the post-war financial readjustments in those countries which suffered a tremendous economic dislocation,

The key to America's distinction as the nation of greatest prosperity not in the vast amount of capital Americans possess but in the way that capital has been circulated. "Our wealth," says Mr. Schwab, "has not been hoarded and reserved. It is constantly going out into railroads and mills, into factories and mines, and in stimulating these industries to greater progress and achievement. The results of this permeation of our national wealth into all phases of activity are everywhere manifest. No optimist is required to sense the continuing forward course of American business." Perhaps the most significant aspect of this forward course is the improved economic position of the wage-earner. Not only has this been characterized by higher wages, better working conditions and greater opportunities, but it has meant

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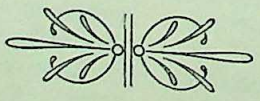
also the increased purchasing power of the American people, the building and furnishing of homes and the widest ownership of things ever known, not only of motor cars and other conveniences but of stocks and bonds and bank balances as well. America, young as she is, has come to realize the true value of money,—money not for its own sake but for what it can bring to people in the way of good things of life. America has come to realize that the influence of money does not stop with the mere promotion and facilitation of business, but that it extends into American homes, into American schools and public institutions and into the moral and spiritual fibre of the country. Through the wise investment of American prosperity, America has laid the road to innumerable and boundless opportunities, leading the way to a greater happiness and achievement and a higher standard of living than the world has yet known.

Some Factors in American Prosperity

The fundamental factors in American prosperity are, of course, the natural resources and the population. America is excellently located on the face of the earth; her marvellous natural endowments in minerals, fertile soil, navigable rivers and lakes, forest ranges and favourable climatic conditions throughout the land; in other words, the United States is highly endowed with such resources as are conducive to productive effort in the manifold activities of man. The direct cause of America's present prosperity lies in what the Americans have built upon the gifts of nature, and all such as have been built on natural endowments have come as a part of American national development, not from any preconceived plan of the American pioneers. Past experience, education, the sustained struggle for improvement which has characterized America's development from the start, the progressive methods, the fields of invention, business management, manufacturing economy, scientific selling and advertising, all these have become year by year and decade after decade, more and more potent in their effects. The force of each of them today is the direct outgrowth of earlier efforts.

Another important element working toward American industrial and commercial progress has been the size and diversity of the domestic market. This great domestic market has been notable not only for its sheer physical bulk and exceptional consuming capacity but, more especially, for the total absence of interior trade barriers. The existing status has permitted the free flow of commerce within the United States. Such an unrestricted market made possible mass production and greatly encouraged research and invention. Research has helped to develop new technique and equipment which have been rapidly applied to the industrial and commercial operations; managerial skill has also effected important economies, both in production and distribution. The resultant increase in efficiency has made it possible to provide many commodities and services at reduced cost or to improve commodities without increasing their cost. These are some of the major factors which account for America's high productivity and her sudden rise as a commercial power. These indicate also the main lines of a pattern in relation to which significant changes are being effected in other nations. The rise of America to such leadership in the world is bound to be of profound significance, not only in its direct effect on world economy but as an ever-widening influence on the thought and life of other nations and on the political and economic systems of the world.



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Equality of Trading Rights

By GAGANVIHARI L. MEHTA, M.A.

WHAT is described as the claim for equality of trading rights between Indian and British interests in India is only the latest phase of the demand for statutory safe-guards against discriminatory legislation of which we heard so much when the Simon Commission was here. It is interesting therefore to trace the origin and history of this agitation in order to comprehend adequately its full implications. The protest of the British commercial community against economic discrimination and their demand for safe-guards against such legislation had their origin in what is known as the Indian Coastal Traffic Bill. It will be remembered that in 1928 the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon issued a memorandum in which they expressed great concern at the tendency shown by Indian politicians to introduce legislation discriminating against British commercial interests in India and urged that the Indian Legislature should not be in a position to discriminate legislatively or financially on racial grounds. Later, the All-Parties Report on the constitutional question, commonly known as the Nehru Report, considered this matter and declared that :

As regards European commerce, we cannot see why men who have put great sums of money into India should at all be nervous. It is inconceivable that there can be any discriminating legislation against any community doing business lawfully in India.

The question was soon after debated in the Legislative Assembly when the motion to refer the Indian Coastal Traffic Bill to a select committee came up in September 1928 when the representatives of the Associated Chambers and Pandit Motilal Nehru and other speakers dealt exhaustively with this subject.

The question was again discussed in the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers in December 1928 but it was in July 1929 that the Associated Chambers addressed a communication which was meant for the Statutory Commission and was widely circulated among members of Parliament and commercial bodies in England. The Associated Chambers reiterated therein the demands for constitutional safe-guards against discriminatory legislation which they had urged before the Statutory Commission and instanced the Coastal Reservation Bill as an illustration of such legislation. Within about two months, in October 1929, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry issued a rejoinder in reply to the statement of the Associated Chambers. Thereafter the agitation for statutory safe-guards persisted and in July 1930 the Associated Chambers again came forward with a circular on the subject of discriminatory legislation. The Statutory Commission definitely ruled out the proposal to prevent discriminatory legislation by attempting to define it in a constitutional instrument. (*Vide* pp. 129-130, Vol II).

Last year when the Round Table Conference was convened, the European commercial bodies modified the form of their demand and suggested that there should be an understanding or trade convention ensuring equality of status between European and Indian commercial communities trading in India. This was insisted on as a condition precedent for the grant of responsibility in the Central Government by the non-official European representatives and the Conservative delegates to the Round Table Conference. The Government of India's despatch on the Statutory Commission's Report also deals with this aspect of the matter and supports the claim for statutory safe-guards against discriminating legislation.

In January last, the Minorities Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference adopted Clause 14 by which the representatives agreed that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community and the rights of Indian-born subjects and a convention to this effect should be agreed to. The controversy that arose in the press and on platform as a

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result of this agreement is too recent to need any detailed reference.

Now what is exactly the nature of this demand? The European commercial community demands that certain statutory safe-guards or guarantees should be provided in the new constitution against discriminatory legislation. It is rather curious that except for citing the instance of the Coastal Reservation Bill, there is no attempt to define precisely the term "discriminatory legislation" or "economic discrimination" nor is there any clear enunciation of the nature of the safe-guards. Obviously much will depend upon how these safe-guards are defined and what their scope and implications are. Even the Statutory Commission, composed as it was entirely of Englishmen and naturally sympathetic to the demands of the European mercantile interests, was unable to devise a formula that could be embodied in the statute for safe-guarding non-Indian interests. They carefully considered the drafts of clauses submitted by the European commercial bodies providing for constitutional safe-guards against legislation which discriminates against certain communities in matters of taxation, trade or commerce. But they ruled out the possibility of securing protection by these means because such statutory protection could not be limited to particular minorities or to discrimination in matters of trade and commerce only. "The statutory provision would therefore," the Commission concluded, "have to be drawn so widely as to be little more than a statement of abstract principle affording no precise guidance to courts." In the final draft that was agreed to by the Minorities Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference, it has been generally agreed at the instance of the British commercial community that "there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community, firms and companies trading in India and the rights of Indian-born subjects." In return for this gracious concession of equality, the Indian delegates agreed to European subjects continuing their existing privileges in regard to criminal trial!

Now let us examine the implications of the agreement. In the first place, not unfair or unwarranted by any sort of discrimination *in the matter of trading rights alone* is ruled out. Racial discrimination *against* Indians in the matter of jury-trial or other privileges or preferential treatment in jails or railways is to continue. Such a safe-guard cannot be limited to commerce or trade only and applied only in the interests of Europeans. Secondly, no sort of discrimination is to be permitted in the sphere of trade even if such discrimination is a means to establishing the paramountcy of Indian interests and is required in national interests. If a State Railway insists on purchase of coal from Indian collieries, would it be discrimination? If the Stores Deparment gives preference to Swadeshi goods even at a sacrifice, will that constitute discrimination? Supposing a Provincial Government wants to buy over a European-owned public utility company but has no objection to an Indian company existing, will that be classed as discrimination? For the definition of what constitutes discrimination will depend on what interpretation we give to the term 'right.' If these rights are themselves privileges based on discrimination against Indians in the past and at present, they have no moral justification; and if those rights are claimed on a basis of equality with Indian fellow-subjects, what is the *raison d'etre* of demanding special prerogatives in criminal trials? You cannot be fellow-citizens in one case and a superior race in the other. Moreover, it is not merely the existing rights of the British community nor the rights of the existing British community that are to be guaranteed but the future rights of the British community for all time to come. This point was strongly insisted upon by Lord Reading and Sir Hubert Carr, and in that mood of generosity which characterized the Indian delegates they agreed to barter away essential conditions of economic freedom for comparatively less important constitutional concessions. Even the demand of some of the Indian delegates that in certain basic and key-industries, the Government must be left the right to discriminate has been ignored.

In the second place, it is noteworthy that the agreement is not restricted to companies or firms registered in India. Whether the company is registered in India or not, and even if it is registered in England or South Africa or if it is a British firm established outside the British Empire but is only trading in India no discrimination is possible against it. There

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are about 821 companies with paid-up capital aggregating £ 568,068,672 which are registered elsewhere than in India but are working in British India. But the Government of India have already acknowledged and acted upon the principle of discrimination in giving State aid to industries such as bounties or similar definite pecuniary assistance where specific restrictions are imposed to safe-guard Indian interests. For instance, Section 5 of the Steel Industry Protection Act of 1924 laid down that in the case of incorporated companies such companies should be registered under the Indian Companies Act of 1913 with rupee capital, that a reasonable proportion of the directorate should be Indian and that facilities for the technical training of apprentices should be provided. Similarly, when the Indian Radio Telegraph Company had to obtain a licence from the Government, the Government laid down in their agreement with the Company that sixty per cent of the new capital should be reserved for Indians. In the matter of subsidizing civil aviation also the Government have approved and adopted the principle of reserving a majority of the share capital and directorate for Indians. The External Capital Commitee, in fact, approved of the imposition of stipulations to safe-guard Indian interests. It is conceivable that all such stipulations and safe-guards would be rendered impossible under the terms of the Round Table Agreement as they might be construed as racial discrimination. This agreement, therefore, constitutes a distinct step backward.

In the third place, it is evident that all measures of protection are in a sense discriminatory because they seek to safe-guard on a basis of differentiation whether the discrimination is practised through the manipulation of tariffs and bounties or through special legislative measures. It is, however, contended that while such protective measures as tariffs are unobjectionable in principle, economic discrimination against non-Indian industries established in this country is obnoxious. But in considering this question, there are several relevant issues which must be emphasized. In the first place, we must investigate the process and methods by which such industries came to be established and to flourish in this country. If it is found that in certain spheres of economic activity, the non-Indian interests have been established through discrimination against Indian interests, then to that extent the claim for perpetuation of such vested rights is weakened. Now there is no doubt that the political domination of India has been the principal cause of the establishment of industries controlled and managed by non-Indians. In oil, tea, coal, shipping and several other spheres, the non-Indian interests have been able to succeed and dominate with the active sympathy and support of the Government of the land. We all know the saying that trade follows the flag and it cannot so follow merely on account of its own merits. It is therefore only an accident that these industries happen to be geographically located in India, because otherwise they are alien in every sense of the term as evinced by the case of the oil industry. After all, in this matter, we must also examine the aim of protective measures. Tariffs are imposed for the promotion of national industries but if it is found that foreign interests taking advantage of a tariff wall come to a country and seek to exterminate national enterprises, is it not the duty of the State to safe-guard them? On this point it is interesting to consider the opinion of Sir William Clark, a Commerce Member of the Government of India, who deprecated the taking of any measure which might mean that "the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your boundaries." The mere constitutional right to impose tariffs does not constitute fiscal autonomy of which it is but an element. The power to legislate and tax so as to promote national industries and to regulate trade, tariff and transport in national interests connotes fiscal autonomy. This would of course include the right to levy differential duties on the industries owned and managed by Indians and non-Indians and to devise and enforce such measures as reservation of coastal or inland waterways to Indians or the right to exclude non-Indians from certain spheres of economic operation like banking and insurance. India is deprived of such autonomy by the Round Table Agreement. Now this is no imaginary danger. Recent experience in India shows that high tariffs by themselves are not an adequate protection: foreign capital by establishing itself within the country competes with Indian-owned

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concerns by unfair means. The match industry is an instance in point and the Government of the country must have power to safe-guard national concerns in such cases. There is no possibility of developing national industries in India if India lies prostrate under the shackles of foreign economic control.

All countries have the right to discriminate or differentiate between nationals and non-nationals and to reserve certain domestic spheres of trade for nationals. It is the policy of nations generally to reserve for their own citizens certain rights and privileges which for one reason or another are not extended to aliens. For example, it has been the policy of the United States for over a century to reserve the coasting trade exclusively for vessels of its own citizens. When, therefore, national treatment is pledged in their commercial treaties in terms sufficiently broad to cover this trade, a provision is introduced expressly excepting coastwise shipping. In addition to coasting trade and national fisheries, discriminatory treatment in favour of a country's own nationals is provided for in commercial treaties with reference to acquisition and possession of the soil, particularly, in agricultural districts, and to the practice of certain professions and trades. France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, Chile, Roumania have all got definite restrictions on the activities of foreign concerns and lay down specific rules for the purpose. In Roumania, it has been provided that "Companies operating in Roumania must have two-thirds of the capital in Roumanian hands, and three-quarters of the directors must be Roumanian nationals." This is in accordance with the general trend of Roumanian legislation which aims at "Roumanianizing" industry. In China, Greece, Chile, etc.. there are laws against granting mineral concessions to foreigners. In 1923 France forbade the acquisition of property by a foreigner. Even in the British Empire, free trade England does not permit a foreigner to be a proprietor in part or whole of a British ship under the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894, which reserves certain rights in regard to British ships for natural-born and naturalized British subjects only. British Columbia forbids registration of a non-national company for the construction and working of railways or for carrying on the business of banking or insurance of any trust within the meaning of the Trust Companies Act. Section 8 of the War Precautions Repeal Act (1921), of Australia provides that no Company in which more than one-third of shares are held by foreigners shall acquire any mine or interest or metallurgical business. Section II of the same Act prohibits any foreigner from acquiring shares without the permission of the Treasurer. The fact is that the British Commonwealth itself provides numerous instances of a discriminatory policy and British Dominions exercise discrimination not only against foreigners but also against other members of the Empire. In the matter of immigration, franchise, trading licence and the right to hold property, British subjects can be and are excluded from a Dominion while State-aid under various bounties and subsidies acts are restricted to the nationals of the Dominions concerned. The imposition of such restrictions on those who have had the unfettered right to exploit hitherto and have taken advantage of the open door policy might involve inconvenience and loss to existing interests but that is inevitable. For instance, the Kuomintang or the Nationalist Party of China declared that "no foreigners will be permitted to own property, open banks or issue bank-notes unless in accordance with Chinese law, custom and usage"; and the national Government has excluded foreign shipping from coastal and inland water-routes within a year of the passage of the measure. Last year, the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs appreciated the efforts for the rendition of Chinese shipping rights and said that the National Government "would exert every effort to take back these rights from foreign merchants."

The political aspect of this demand is not less important. The position of the British commercial community on this question is not quite consistent. Sometimes they claim their rights as a minority community of India—a weak, unprotected, powerless minority as it is. On other occasions, they demand their rights owing to their race and their stake in the land they live in. Still on other occasions, they claim that they are fellow-subjects of the same Empire and must have the same rights. Now it is evident that it is not the rights of a minority that they demand but the continuance of the privileges of a ruling race. No communal minority in India has yet demanded the right to be tried by members of its own race; no minority has attempted to fetter the constitution by

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safe-guards against discrimination. The British demand their rights as nationals of England, not as nationals of India Indeed they are so conscious of their non-national character that when demanding protection for oil industry, they could not characterize it as anything more than an indigenous industry. It is obvious that the special rights enjoyed by Britishers in this country are due not to their being a minority community at all but to their racial affinity with the governing caste who regard this economic garrison as a counterpart of military occupation. To demand equality in the face of the fundamental inequalities that exist between Indians and Europeans is simply preposterous. But it is something to the good that Britishers in this country who have thrived on racial inequalities are constrained to protest vehemently even against the faintest hint of preferential treatment for the children of the soil, when they perceive the possible effects of such a policy on their own interests.

To ask for the continuance of this privileged position and favoured treatment in the shape of statutory guarantee or trade convention is simply to demand capitulations from a self-governing India. It is not necessary to dilate at length on the odious history of these capitulations which were so offensive and humilating that all countries such as Egypt, Persia, China and Turkey where they existed revolted against them with all their strength, and the European countries have had to forgo them. Such judicial, economic and commercial privileges granted to foreigners often at the point of the bayonet are similar to the safe-guards and "equality of status" demanded in this country. In China, for instance, foreign interests were protected by "unequal treaties" whose abolition was demanded to restore equality of conditions; where unequal rights are sought to be perpetuated by a commercial treaty or trade convention. Koumintang's first demand therefore was that "all present treaties not based on the principle of equality between China and any foreign power should be abrogated including those providing for extra-territorial rights of foreign nationals" and promised most-favoured nation treatment to any nation which voluntarily relinquished its special privileges. Similarly in Turkey, the National Pact of 1920 observes:

"It is a fundamental condition of our life and continued existence that we, like every country, should enjoy complete independence and liberty in the matter of assuring the means of our development in order that our national and economic development should be rendered possible and that it should be possible to conduct affairs in the form of a more up-to-date regular administration. For this reason, we are opposed to restrictions, inimical to our development, in political, judicial, financial and other matters."

Safe-guards and guarantees such as are demanded by the British commercial community would like extra-territoriality or capitulations be derogatory to national dignity. Whatever the differences in form between them and capitulations strictly so-called, they would in practice operate as a restriction on the territorial and administrative sovereignty of India and would in some cases throw the economic machinery out of gear: they might further be utilized by foreigners to erect barriers against India's economic independence and development. We want not the substitution of economic bondage for constitutional irresponsibility but the simple and unconditional abolition of all economic and political restrictions in the life of the nation while giving adequate protection to legitimate foreign interests.

What the Europeans in this country are entitled to obtain and will obtain under the new constitution are their legitimate rights like any other non-nationals. If, however, they desire to obtain more, they should be prepared to become the nationals and citizens on terms and conditions to be laid down by the future Parliament of India. Now we are told that "the root of the matter was really whether all subjects of the Empire were to receive the same treatment in India." The reply is twofold. Were such statutory guarantees made a condition precedent before conceding Dominion status or full responsible government to any of the component parts of the British Empire? In no Dominion have such safe-guards been provided against discriminatory measures It is therefore objectionable in principle and detrimental to national interests to fetter the constitution of India and limit the sovereignty of Swaraj Government. But this is not all. As General Smuts pointed out at the Imperial Conference of 1923, "there is no common equal British citizenship in the Empire." Further, he stated that "the composition and character and rights of its people will be the concern of each free and equal State of the Empire." This constitutional position has been authoritatively accepted by the

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representatives of India. Earl Crew speaking at the Imperial Conference of 1911 observed that "Nobody can dispute the right of self-governing Dominions to decide for themselves whom, in each case, they will admit as citizens of their respective Dominions." This view has been subsequently confirmed at the succeeding Imperial Conferences. Prof. A. B. Keith, one of the greatest authorities on Imperial relationship, has acknowledged the power of the Dominions to regulate immigration and their right to treat differentially classes of British subjects. It is not necessary to dwell at length here on the serious disabilities imposed on Indians in the various Dominions and even Kenya, ranging from partial to complete prohibition and restrictions in exercising franchise or holding property which induced Prof. Keith to admit that "the exclusive policy (of the Dominions) is difficult to reconcile with the claims of common citizenship." Such discrimination against Indians includes, as is well known, not only prohibition of immigration but the deprival of the vested rights even of Indians lawfully resident in the Dominions for the sole crime of their colour. Repatriation which is the real aim of the South African Government is discrimination, confiscation and expropriation in the worst sense of all these three terms but imperial fellow-feeling has not prevented it. Even if we admit therefore that there is one imperial nationality, there is a distinct and separate citizenship of the Dominions and the rights and privileges derived from it are different in the various parts of the Empire. As a matter of fact the Dominions are developing their own distinct nationalities. Canada was the first to do so in order to facilitate the operation of her immigration laws and later to have an independent member of the Permanent Court of International Justice. This example was followed by the Union of South Africa in the Union Nationality and Flags Acts of 1927. In both cases Dominion nationality can be lost on acquisition of another Dominion nationality or the nationality of the United Kingdom. But the last instance is that of the Irish Free State which has constituted a distinct Irish citizenship. Article 3 of the Constitution of the Irish Free State lays down the conditions of citizenship and concludes by stating that "the conditions governing the future acquisition and termination of citizenship in the Irish Free State shall be determined by law." The most striking feature about the provisions of Irish citizenship is that no distinction whatsoever is made between British subjects and aliens, neither of which is ever mentioned. The British subjects of the United Kingdom are thus excluded from this citizenship but are eligible on application like other aliens. Political privileges are accorded only to citizens. But the most recent and authoritative exposition of the position is contained in the Report of the Conferenee on the Operation of Dominion Legislation and Merchant Shipping Legislation held in 1929. The Report dwells on the twofold aspects of this problem because, while all members of the Commonwealth have a common nationality in virtue of their being subjects of the British Crown, they are also distinct juristic entities and may be said to have separate nationalities of their own. The Report points out that a common status operative throughout the Commonwealth can only be conferred in pursuance of legislation based upon common agreement and even such common status would not be in any way inconsistent with the recognition within or without the Commonwealth of the distinct nationality possessed by the nationals of the individual States of the British Commonwealth. This marks an important stage in the development of Dominion nationhood. Now India even on official admission has achieved the status of a Dominion in international relations and she has been an original signatory of the Treaty of Versailles as well as an independent member of the League of Nations. There is, therefore, no reason why India should not constitute and establish a distinct nationality of her own. In no Dominion were the rights of citizenship guaranteed as they are sought to be mulcted from India. India must reserve the right to retaliate whenever necessary against those parts of the Empire where discrimination is made against Indians as in South Africa. Their right cannot be sacrificed for the mirage of equality and can only be enforced if there is an independent Indian nationality. It was with that view that the All-Parties National Convention held at Calcutta in December, 1928 adopted the following definition of an Indian citizen.

"The word Citizen wherever it occurs in this constitution means every person

(a) Who was born or whose father was born or naturalized within the territorial

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limits of the Commonwealth and who has been not naturalized in any other country;

(b) who being a subject of an Indian State ordinarily carries on business or resides in the territories of the Commonwealth;

(c) or, who being a subject of the Crown carries on business or resides in the territories of the Commonwealth and fulfils the conditions prescribed by the Commonwealth;

(d) or, who has been naturalized in the Commonwealth under the Law in force for the time being;

Explanation. No person, who is a citizen of a foreign country, can be a citizen of the Commonwealth unless he renounces the citizenship of such foreign country in the manner prescribed by Law."

Essence of Buddhism

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

RELIGIOUS intolerance is a great obstacle in the road towards the realization of Brotherhood of Man or World Unity. During the middle ages and early days of human civilization, most of the wars among nations were fought on the ground of religious differences. Even today, in the enlightened era of the twentieth century, minor religious wars are prevalent in all parts of the world, including the countries where religious liberty seems to prevail. There is no doubt about the fact that much of the existing misunderstanding among the peoples of various lands lies in religious intolerance.

When the Christian sunday schools teach the children that "the heathens cannot enjoy the blessings of salvation." they foster an attitude in the impressionable child mind that all heathens or non-Christians must be bad, ignoble or inferior and there must be something fundamentally wrong in them. This attitude grows; and only a few in their maturity, after great efforts, succeed to free themselves from this prejudice based upon ignorance and false teachings. When Moslem religious teachers condemn the *Kafirs* or non-believers and when the orthodox Hindus place abominable social and religious restrictions on non-Hindus and "untouchables," they also aid in widening the existing breach between the peoples of various religions.

Religious intolerance can be removed only through sincere and sympathetic understanding of the Truth in all religions. All religions are like various streams running towards the same goal of the great ocean. They are the ways which lead men towards God. For more than two thousand and four hundred years, many hundreds of millions of human beings have sought salvation through the teachings of Gautama Buddha; and today Buddhism is the religion of about the half of the human race.

II

Some fifteen years ago, when I was in China, I was once invited by a Christian missionary who was the head of a great educational institution. We got into serious discussions of social and religious problems. This sincere educator told me "Without Christianity, China has no hope." He classed Confucianism as a mere code of morals and therefore it was not a religion. Taoism is a form of "quietism." He thought that Buddhism denied the existence of the soul and was purely negative and agnostic. To him it taught pessimism and fatalism and did not provide any hope for salvation but "complete annihilation." This view of Buddhism on the part of a student of comparative religion and a Christian missionary in a Buddhist land, left a deep impression on my mind. I have become convinced that the view of the missionary is the common view of Buddhism as understood in the West. At the outset I wish to assert that Buddhism does not deny the existence of the soul, it is neither negative nor agnostic; it is far from

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pessimism, fatalism and asceticism and it promises the brightest hope of human salvation through "enlightenment."

(a) In studying Buddhist scriptures one finds that "Buddha denies the existence of '*self*' as it was commonly understood in his time; he does not deny man's mentality, spiritual constitution, the importance of his personality, in a word his soul. But he does deny the mysterious ego-entity, the *atman*, in the sense of a kind of soul-monad which by some schools was supposed to reside behind or within man's bodily and physical activity as a distinct being, a kind of thing-in-itself and metaphysical agent assumed to be the soul..."*

(b) It was through the influence of the great German philosopher Schopenhauer that Buddhism became popularly known among Western scholars. Undoubtedly and unfortunately many Western scholars even think that the Buddhist ideal of Nirvana is about the same as Schopenhauer's "nichts" or nothingness Therefore they claim Buddhism to be pessimism. Let us be explicit that Buddhism does not deny the existence of misery in human life. It is unlike "Christian Science" which tries to impress upon people that actual perception of suffering is mere illusion. Buddhism, of all religions, realistically emphasizes the existence of misery. For instance Gautama Buddha said :

"Birth is attended with pain, decay is painful, disease is painful, death is painful. Union with the unpleasant is painful, painful is the separation from the pleasant and any craving that is unsatisfied, that too is painful. In short, bodily conditions which spring from attachment are painful."

Recognizing the fact that misery exists, and that humanity should strive to overcome misery, Gautama Buddha tried to find the Path which would lead to 'Enlightenment" and end the source of Misery in Man. A religion which preaches the doctrine of "Enlightenment" and overcoming misery, cannot by any stretch of imagination be classed as pessimism.

(c) Buddhism believes in the "Laws of Karma" or the laws of causation and succession. All religious teachers have tried to teach this doctrine in some form or other. Jesus also believed that every work must have its effect and a man must reap the fruit of his work. It is generally argued that if our activities are conditioned by our former actions, then our lives are predestined. But Buddha never recognized this fatalistic view of life. On the contrary he emphasized that by good deeds a man can overcome the effects of evil actions. Buddha refused to accept the doctrine that a man can be saved, redeemed or enlightened through the grace of a teacher or saviour, but he preached that a man must become "*atta-dipa*" or "light-unto-One's-own-self." One must illumine himself through his own activities. It may be well to remember that Gautama Buddha, before his great passing away, when asked by his most favourite disciple, Ananda, for his last message, among other things said :

"Oh, Ananda, be thy own guide, be thy own light, attain thy salvation through thy own efforts and help others to save themselves."

Needless to say that it makes clear that Buddhism does not preach fatalism; it does not preach "salvation through grace."

(d) To some people, who have not the right conception of the teachings of Gautama Buddha, Buddhism is synonymous with asceticism. But in the very first sermon of Buddha, after his enlightenment, delivered at Benares, it was made perfectly clear that the foundation of the kingdom of righteousness lay in the "doctrine of the Middle Path." He spoke to his disciples :

"The Tathagata does not seek salvation in austerities, but neither does he for that indulge in worldly pleasures, nor live in abundance. The Tathagata found the middle path.

"Self-indulgence is unworthy. Self-mortification is painful, useless and unprofitable.

"Neither abstinence from fish or flesh, nor going naked, nor shaving the head, nor wearing matted hair, nor dressing in a rough garment, nor covering oneself with dirt, nor sacrificing to *Agni*, the firegod will cleanse a man who is not free from delusions.

"Reading the Vedas, making offering to priests or sacrifices to the gods, self-mortification by heat or cold and many such penances performed for the sake of immortality ; *these do not cleanse a man who is not free fron delusions.*

"Anger, drunkenness, obstinacy, deception, envy, self-praise, disparaging others, superciliousness and evil intentions constitute uncleanness ; not verily the eating of flesh.

"Let me teach you, oh bhikkus, the middle path, which keeps aloof from both extremes. By suffering, the emaciated devotee produces confusion and sickly thoughts in his mind. Mortification is not conducive even to worldly knowledge how much less to a triumph over the senses.

"How can any one be free from self by leading a wretched life, if he does not succeed in quenching the fires of lust, if he still hankers after either worldly or heavenly pleasures ... To satisfy the necessities of life is not evil. To keep

* Carus, Paul : The Gospel of Buddha. Chicago, The Open Court Publishing Company. 1917.

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the body in good health is a duty, for otherwise we shall not be able to trim the lamp of wisdom, and keep our mind strong and clear."

(e) The Buddhist conception of Nirvana is not 'extinction or annihilation." Nirvana literally means "blowing out of a lamp." It means overcoming one's lower passions and desires. It is the highest goal of "enlightenment" of a man—the state of Buddha-hood. "What is the Buddhist content of enlightenment"? The answer is given in a negative way—in the denial of the phenomenal, of human weakness, illusions and passions, in short, in the teachings of of "non-ego" (*anatta*), extinction (*nirodha*) of pains and well-known Nirvana."

Buddhist conception of the "annihilation of sufferring" can be understood from the following extracts from one of the sermons of Buddha to his disciples :

"It is lust, passion, and the thirst for existence that yarns for pleasure everywhere, leading to continual rebirth ! It is sensuality, desire, selfishness, all these things, O brethren, are the origins of suffering.

"And what is the annihilation of suffering ?

"The radical and total annihilation of this thirst, and the abandonment, the liberation, the deliverance from passion, that, O brethren, is the annihilation of suffering.

"And what, O brethren, is the path that leads to the annihilation of suffering ?

"It is the holy eightfold path that leads to the annihilation of suffering, which consists of right views, right decisions, right speech, right action, right living, right struggling, right thoughts and right meditation.

"In so far, O friends, as a noble youth thus recognizes suffering, and the origin of suffering, as he recognizes the annihilation of suffering, and walks on the path that leads to the annihilation of suffering, radically forsaking passion, subduing wrath, annihilating the vain conceit of the "I am", leaving ignorance, and attaining to enlightenment he will make end of all suffering even in this life."*

Freedom from passion leads to the attainment of Nirvana. It is a stage of human perfection to be realized and not to be talked about ; and to a Buddhist a "*truly enlightened man is like unto the lotus which grows in the water, yet not a drop of water adheres to its petals.*"

The foundations of Buddhist ethics and morality are in the examples of the personal life of Gautama Buddha and in his religious philosophy. Acceptance of the "Laws of Karma" necessarily implies *moral responsibility* of an individual for his actions which concern himself and society. As a man is to attain perfection through his own efforts and attainments, moral actions play a significant part in Buddhist religion.

"Mere knowledge or solitary immersion in mystic contemplation without practical moral actions is not perfection ; and in the same way morality without insight into the depth of truth is baseless. Morality is an integral part of religion, so is ethical action."

The highest conception of Buddhist ethics is characterized as the "religion of kindliness." Gautama Buddha taught :

"Gifts are great, the founding of *viharas* is meritorious, meditations and religious exercises pacify the heart, comprehension of the truth leads to Nirvana, *but greater than all is loving kindliness.* As the light of moon is sixteen times stronger than the light of all the stars, so loving kindness is sixteen times more efficacious in liberating the heart than all other religious accomplishments taken together."

Buddha enjoined his disciples to be kind to animals ; and the first hospitals for animals were established by a Buddhist State in India.

The philosophical basis of the Buddhist ideal of the realization of ethical life, lies in entering into communion with "Buddha-chitta" or "Enlightened mind" of all the Buddhas and saints and through realizing the one-ness and eternity in one's own personality. The teachings of Buddhism and the Upanishads have considerable similarity. Gautama Buddha did not speculate about the origin of sin or evil, but he taught his disciples to avoid ten evils. This teaching may be regarded as the "Ten Commandments of Buddhism" and it has considerable similarity with those of the Bible. Buddha said to his disciples :

"All acts of living creatures become bad by ten things, and by avoiding the ten things they become good. There are three evils of the body, four evils of the tongue, and three evils of the mind.

"The evils of the body are murder, theft and adultery ; of the tongue, lying, slander, abuse and idle talk ; of the mind, covetousness, hatred and error. I exhort you to avoid the ten evils.

"1. Kill not, but have regard for life. 2. Steal not, neither do ye rob ; but help everybody to be master of the fruits of his labour. 3. Abstain from impurity, and lead a life of chastity. 4. Lie not, but be truthful. Speak the truth with discretion, fearlessly and with a loving heart. 5. Invent not evil reports, neither do ye repeat them. Carp not, but look for the good sides of your fellow-beings, so that ye may defend them against their enemies. 6. Swear not, but speak decently and with dignity. 7. Waste not the time with gossip, and speak to the purpose or keep silence. 8. Covet not, nor envy, but rejoice at the fortunes of other people. 9. Cleanse your heart of malice

* *Ibid.*, p. 125.

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and cherish no hatred, not even against your enemies; but embrace all living beings with kindness. 10. Free your mind of ignorance and be anxious to learn the truth, especially in the one thing that is needful, lest you fall prey either to scepticism or to errors. Scepticism will make you indifferent and errors will lead you astray, so that you shall not find the noble path that leads to eternal life."*

Educators of today can learn considerably from the teachings of Buddha—the immense moral value of self control, a very important factor in true education or character building, which is ordinarily ignored under the pretence of developing personality or giving expression to one's individuality.

IV

Buddhist psychology, in many ways, is modern in spirit. Its cardinal point is that we must recognize the *constant change* in life—in destruction as well as in creation. if we can fully appreciate the character of change in the universe as well as in our being, then we are not apt to be overpowered by the "bogey of destruction or so-called annihilation or death, which gives us fear, worry and trouble." Fear is one of the sources of misery; and fear is engendered by our desire and ignorance of the true nature of change. Therefore, through the realization of changefulness of everything including life, man can overcome fear and the sources of misery and weaken the power of conditional things over himself. To a Buddhist, life is not stationary, but it is "in flux" or in constant change and man must not be a victim or slave of the conditions due to change.

VI

Gautama Buddha, as a teacher, led the life of a monk and mendicant and Buddhism of all the modern religions inaugurated the orders of monks and nuns long before Christianity came into existence; therefore it is often regarded that the ideal of Buddhist "Samgha" or communion is in the order of monks and nuns and priests. However Buddhist *Samgha* is made up of four classes of members—monks and nuns, laymen and laywomen. These four are always described as making up one body and as equally praiseworthy, when they are well-disciplined. *The Buddha is credited with having gone so far as to say that no difference existed between a layman and a monk when they realized perfect purity.* It should be noticed that Buddha raised the status of women in general and they were given the place of equality even as preachers. The Jataka stories have many interesting facts on this point. It may be said that although Buddhism is an off-shoot of Hinduism, yet Buddha did not recogoize hereditary caste-system and priestcraft and tried to abolish both from the Buddhist society.

VII

Ultimately the nature of a State is determined by the attitude of society and individuals, on human problems. In a State where individuals try to lead the life of moral responsiblity, practise the religion of loving kindness and the governing body acts with the motive of relieving human misery, it is to be expected that the State will become an agency for the promotion of peace and enlightenment. The ideal of a Buddhist State is not theocracy but human welfare. The reign of Asoka the Great may be regarded as the best example of a Buddhist State in action. It is interesting to note that during his reign several centuries before the birth of Christ, more than 60,000 Buddhist missionaries were sent out to various countries—Greece, Egypt, Central Asia, China, Burma, Ceylon, etc. The rock edicts of Asoka found in various parts of India and other countries give evidence of the spirit of religious toleration and promotion of peace ideal. No Buddhist State at any time carried a religious war or the crusade. Even today in the countries where Buddhist ideals have been practised there is more self-control among ordinary citizens and therefore there is less crime and violence.

VIII

There is a great deal of similarity between the teachings of Buddism and Christianity. It may be safely asserted that Buddhist ideals and rituals have influenced other religions. More than half of the human race has been influenced by the teachings of Buddhism; and their cultural contributions have direct relations with Buddhist thought and mode of life. Cultural value of Buddhism is no less significant than that of Christianity. Buddhism never stood in the way of freedom of thought and thus at no time checked the course of development of science and material progress

* *Ibid.*, Page 126.

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of the world. Indeed some of the greatest scientists of ancient India were Buddhist monks. It is a very well-known fact that Buddhist monks, through their activities as educators, raised the general level of human intelligence. While Buddhism laid special stress on the need of discipline and knowledge, at the same time it stimulated imagination in higher spheres of life and thus fostered art.

IX

All religions have creative aspects and the most important of them is that they rouse our emotion for the appreciation of beauty of form, thought and spiritual existence. It helps to enrich life with something more than material existence. It is a fact that religious faiths have always found their best expression in art; and art in turn has been fostered by religions. No one can grasp the sublime significance of Christianity unless he has been fortunate enough to merge his being in the appreciation of Christian art. Similarly, in the appreciation of Buddhist art, one gets a better understanding of Buddhism.

Life of Jesus is the central pivot of Christian art, similarly the life and personality of Gautama Buddha serves as the fountain head of all inspirations of Buddhistic art. "Buddha like Jesus was an artist who did not paint with brush but felt the intimate touch with the beautiful in universal communion. Christ saw the glory of God in the lilies of the field, and Buddha saw the true spirit of perfection in the lotus."

To a Buddhist the lotus is a symbol of purity and perfection, because it grows out of mud but is not defiled, on the contrary it is full of fragrance and beauty just as Buddha is born into the world but lives above the world; and because its fruits are said to be ripe when the flower blooms just as the truth preached by Buddha bears immediately the fruit of enlightenment.

Because Buddhism places great stress on the quality of mercy, Buddhist art has produced so many types of gods and goddesses of mercy. The representation of the Goddess of Mercy—the Compassionate Mother of All—whom the Japanese call Hibo Kwannon is so magnificent and at the same time so delicate. This Goddess of Mercy carries a tiny branch of willow in her left hand as a sign of meekness and in the right hand a small flask from which falls drop of water—the water of wisdom. This drop of water forms a trasparent globe and within the globe is seen the form of a baby. Knowing that the baby will have to struggle in the world, the Compassionate Mother of All extends her blessings in silence which is so expressive and the baby salutes the All Merciful Mother in adorations.

In Buddhistic art which gives expression to the sublimest ideals of Buddhism we come in closest touch with the spirit of purity, mercy, devotion, contemplation and enlightenment. It produces the sense of serenity, detachment from commotion. It emphasizes the need of tenderness. Furthermore, "perhaps in no other religion are animals and flowers treated with such intimacy as Buddhism in the way of similes, but also in concrete manifestation of tender sympathy."

X

From this brief survey, it will be clear that Buddhism is not a religion of negation, it does not deny the existence of the soul, although it urges a man to overcome individual limitations of "I am"; it is neither atheistic, nor is it pessimistic fatalism full of all kinds of asceticism and superstitions. As a religion, it advocates self-control and personal purity, self-abnegation and mercy, wisdom, enlightenment, individual perfection, contemplation and communion with the Universe. It emphasizes man's social responsibility and deepens one's consciousness for beauty, cosmic and spiritual.

Let me conclude with quoting a passage from the writings of Professor Anesaki, the great Japanese authority on Buddhism:

"Buddism exhorts its follwers to overstep the bonds of 'self' and enter the ideal community of spiritual life. This teaching is to be sure a negation of the bondage of individual limitations; but it is equally an affirmation of a life broader than the individual from the material world, but is also an entrance into the larger world of ideals. It was this breadth of mental vista and depth of sympathy that made Buddhism a universal religion and gave inspiration to artistic genius. The ideal of the Buddhist faith consists in realizing, through spiritual experience and in moral acts, the continuity of life in man and nature and the fellowship of all beings."

True welfare is Dharma
I take refuge in the Buddha
I take refuge in Dharma
I take refuge in the Samgha.

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The Child-welfare System in Vienna

By K. C. CHAUDHURI

SOME two years ago, when I first came to Vienna, I had hardly any idea that it possessed one of the best systems of child-welfare in the world. The system as found today in Vienna is really a creation of the Socialist administration of the Municipality and had grown up during the post-war period. The story of its evolution and organization is particularly interesting and instructive, because new schemes were instituted and reforms carried out at a time when Vienna found itself faced with political chaos and economic crisis. It may, therefore, be a lesson to many a child-welfare worker in India, who have still to overcome similar adverse and unfavourable circumstances to know something about it.

By the courtesy of the Vienna Municipality

Statue symbolic of "Mother-love" seen in all Vienna Welfare Centres (After the statue by Professor Anton Hanak)

The Socialist city fathers of Vienna since their advent to the Rathaus about a decade ago, have been tackling the problem of child-welfare from the view-point of the future of the nation. It is they who realized that child-welfare is anything but a simple problem of individual life and death. It is a problem of social life, system of government and administration. It requires the whole organized social energies to keep a child healthy and alive. With this view in mind, the Municipality introduced very extensive and comprehensive schemes of child-welfare, placed the claim of the welfare organizers as the first charge on the city budget and found the finances by making luxury pay heavy taxes. It is a matter of justifiable pride and gratification for the Viennese that their success within such a short time was remarkable.

The scheme of child-welfare in Vienna comprises all the essentials that are necessary for any scheme to be a success, and the following are its main features :

Pre-Natal Care

1. A centre for emanating knowledge as to who among the population are "fit" to be parents.
2. A means of getting in touch with every and all expectant mothers in the population.
3. Facilities to keep them under observation and hospitalization of such as may need it.

Neo-Natal Care

1. Centres for observing and following the conditions of new-born babies, and instruction of mothers and foster-mothers as to the best way of bringing them up.
2. Provision of crèches, hospitals or homes for such as may require them.

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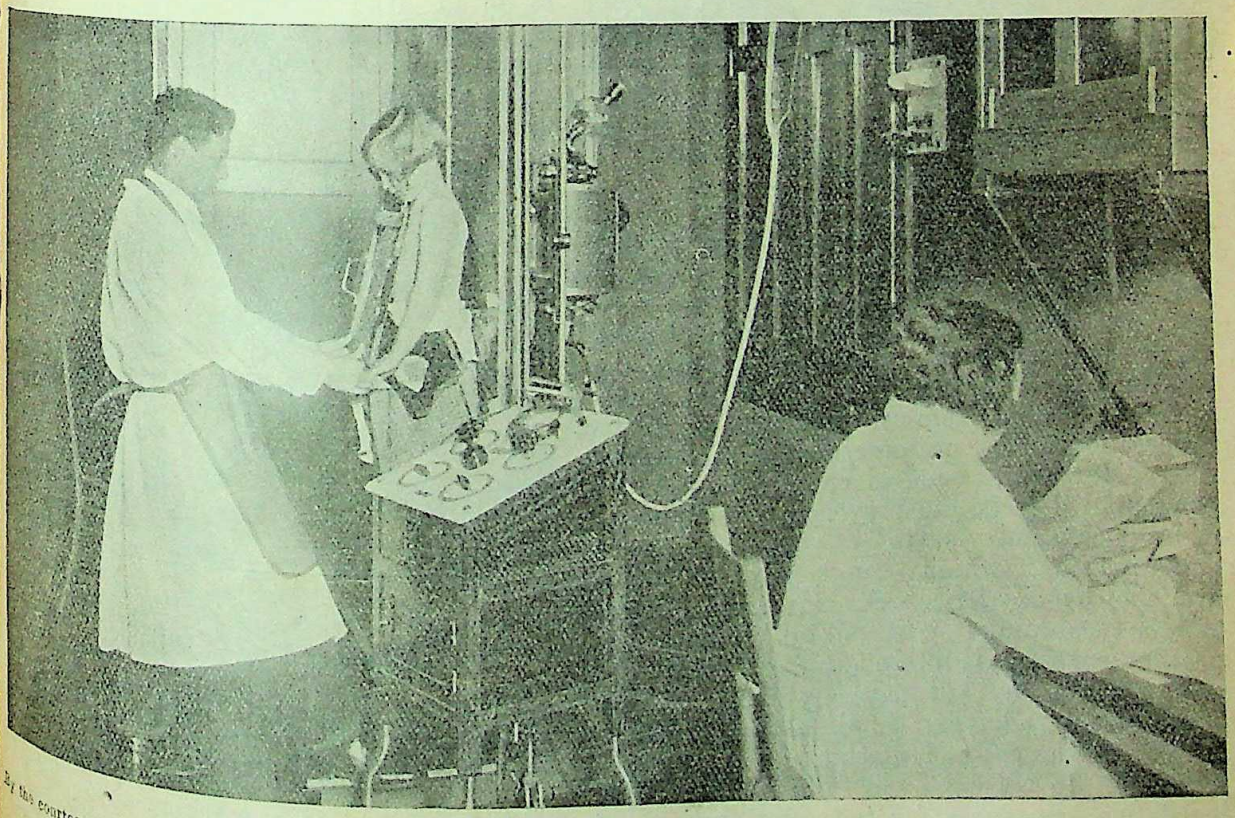
By the courtesy of the Frau Direktorin Heindle

The "Zentral Krippen Verein"—The Babies' Ward
The Directress is standing in the door-way



By the courtesy of the Vienna Municipality

X-ray room in the Tuberculosis Welfare Centre, Vienna XX.

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Post-Natal Care

1. Care of pre-school children in Kindergarten, day homes and the like.
2. Supervision of the physical and mental health of the school-going children.
3. Establishment of play-grounds, baths, recreation-homes, etc., for the children in general.
4. Hospitalization of sick children.

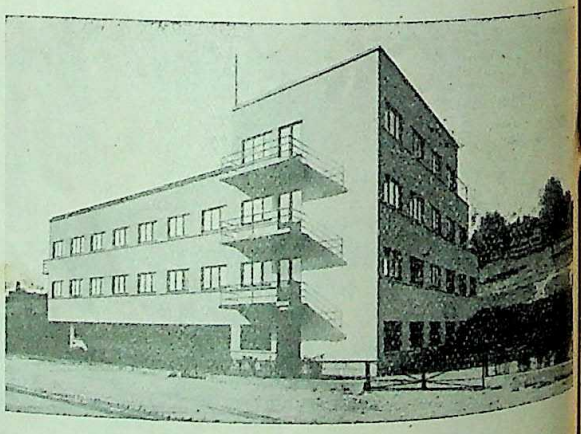
"*Featus sanes in matre sana*"* is naturally the goal of every welfare worker, but in order to realize it in practice, it is not enough to take measures with the conception of the baby but to begin farther back.

Photo by the writer

Babies basking in the sun in a Municipal Children's Hospital

It is well known that the offspring of mental abnormals, idiots, syphilitics, etc., notwithstanding all measures, are born with hereditary taint, and the birth of such children necessarily militates against the fundamental principle of all child-welfare organizations, that is, the procreation and preservation of a healthy race. Moreover, once a child is born with congenital defects, the preventive medicine is of no use, and is to be replaced by a palliative one, which can hardly be made available by any State on a large scale because of the enormous cost. With a view to prevent such possibility, the welfare work should begin by propagating knowledge of eugenics, and advising people as to the health aspect of a most important event in life—marriage. In Vienna in the absence of legislative measures for the sterilization of the "eugenically" unfit, the purpose is served by the Municipal Marriage Advice Bureau, which gives advice to such as may apply for it. This aspect of child-welfare is of special importance in India, because of the custom of almost universal marriage and high population, aggravated by terrible economic crises and tragic lack of any institution to cope with social necessities.

The second stage of the welfare problem, that is to get in touch with each and every mother in the population, is much simpler. The Municipality of Vienna maintains 34 mother welfare centres in different parts of the city, where health visitors are in constant attendance. These centres are simply, but adequately, equipped for medical examination and observation. Every mother, irrespective of her social or financial status, is entitled to apply for expert advice and instruction as regards her condition, and facilities are provided for it. In order to help others who may not be able to apply, the health visitors are required to go out and offer assistance. The Registrar of Birth keeps the welfare centres informed of every child-birth in the city and it is the duty of the health visitors to do so. The magnitude of this work will be evident, if it is remembered that in 1927 supervision of such cases involved 231,000 visits on the part of the health visitors.



By the courtesy of Miss Rappaport

Home for the Young—"Settlement Verein"

Side by side the Municipality has founded numerous lying-in hospitals. In 1924, for example, it acquired and equipped a model maternity home in a working-class district of the city and dedicated specially to "der Muttern des Volkes für ihre schwersten

* Healthy child in a healthy mother.

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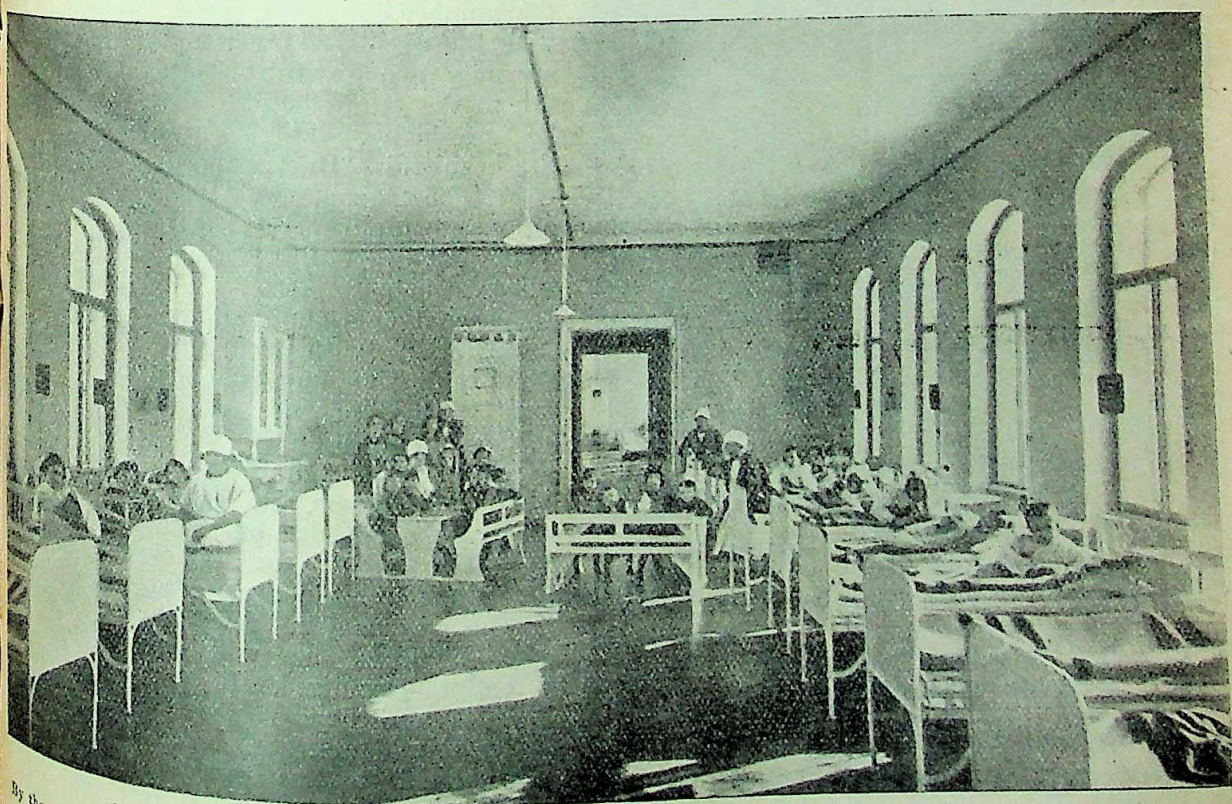
Kindergarten in Municipal Housing Scheme "Pestalozzihof"
Vienna XIX.



By the courtesy of the Vienna Municipality

Children's Home in Badhall for bone tuberculosis.

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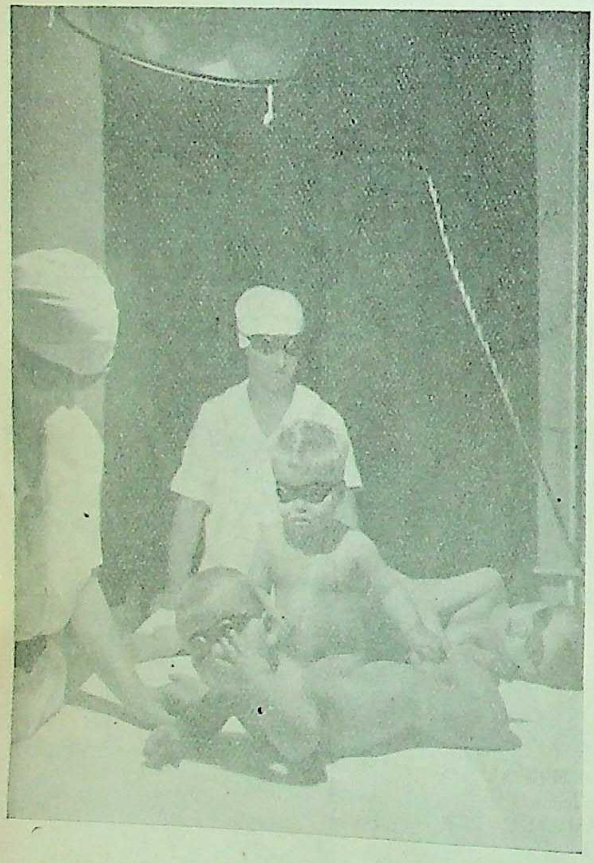
Stunden."* Sufficient accommodation is available in this and other hospitals for mothers who need assistance. It is interesting to note that fully two-fifths of legitimate and half of all illegitimate children in Vienna are born in the city maternity hospitals.

It is obvious that the mere provision of such facilities is not by themselves a sufficient guarantee of health, either of the mother or of the child. The maternity benefit derived by the poor, the confinement allowances and leave rules of women in industries, grant to the unmarried mothers may be such as to make all these facilities useless and nugatory. In fact the legislative measures guiding these matters in India are so primitive that this is really the case. But



By the courtesy of Frau Direktorin Heindle

Babies under artificial Sun

in Vienna very strict legislation is in force to give such benefits to mothers as are necessary. Those who are not entitled to any allowance from insurance funds, get from the Municipality a sum of 10 Austrian Schillings a week for four weeks following the confinement. There are laws in force for giving adequate benefit to the unmarried mothers, compulsory health insurance of all employees, etc.

To come now to the care of the new-born babies, there are several centres, distributed all over the city for their examination and observation. The records of examination are carefully kept for future reference and "follow-up." Regular lectures are also held in these centres on mother craft, hygiene of the home, infant feeding, and the like. In 14 out of the 34 mother welfare centres mentioned above, there are arrangements for holding weekly classes and demonstrations to instruct parents and foster-parents, whose children are backward or otherwise abnormal. There is an interesting feature of a special benefit for the babies which should be mentioned. The City Health Department distributes to all mothers free of cost a complete set of babies' outfit, if claimed within a definite time. In 1928 no less than 11,000 such packets were distributed.

As regards the establishments of crèche, the number could not yet be brought on a par with the necessity for want of funds. There are only two institutions of the kind belonging to the Municipality where babies could be reared up, the "Zentralkinderheim" and the beautiful "Ubernahmestelle" which has been constructed in 1925. But there are quite a number of private institutions which get grants-in-aid from the Municipality, where babies can be looked after. To prevent overlapping they work in close co-operation with the City Health Department and in fact supplement its welfare work. One of the oldest and a pioneer private organization is the "Zentral-Krippen-Verein," which, under the guidance of its talented directress, is catering for years to supply the needs of little ones and it is interesting that an efficient service is maintained in this institute at a minimum of cost.

The mechanism for t king care for the older children, as will presently be seen, is better organized. In every modern State there is a growing necessity for Kinder-garten, day homes, etc., b cause the parents are obliged to go out for work and must have facilities where they can leave their children with security during their absence. This purpo e is served in Vienna by 102 Kindergartens situated in different parts of

*To the mothers in their difficult hours.

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the city. They are open from 7 o'clock in the morning till 6 o'clock in the afternoon. Parents bring the children between 7 and 9 A. M. and take them back between 5 and 6 P. M. Only children between the ages of three and six years are admitted to these Kindergartens. Some of them are run on the Montessori system and others on the Froebel system. The sight of how the little ones are cared for, kept busy and happy, is the most fascinating I have ever seen. For children over 6 years of age, there are full day homes in Vienna. They are equipped with amusements and the like, so as to make them most attractive to children ; they come there by themselves and thereby the somewhat difficult problem of keeping them away from the streets and other temptations of the big city, is comparatively easily solved.

The school hygiene is also specially organized. Physicians and nurses visit the schools regularly every week, and examine the children. During the first school year, every child is submitted to a thorough examination and if the parents permit, a Pirquet reaction for tuberculosis is also done. This examination is repeated from time to time, and all records of examinations are specially kept for future reference. Arrangements are provided in the schools not only for a general examination but also for the examination of eye and teeth. Apart from the "Zentralzahnklinik" there are eleven dental clinics, which were lately brought into the school premises, so that the children may not lose time when such examination is undertaken. They are taken out of the class one by one. There is a "Augenarztliche Zentrale" for examination of the eyes of all school children. Facility for feeding is also provided in the schools. After the war, there was a terrible famine in Austria and an American relief expedition organized free distribution of food to all children. Following the cessation of this relief work, the Municipality took it up and instituted, in 86 schools in Vienna, facilities for feeding at a nominal cost of 3 schillings a week. But 82 per cent of the children get it absolutely free. In addition to these measures the Municipality has 31 play-grounds, 13 skating-rinks and 12 free baths for their use. The most novel thing in this connection is the arrangement for taking out the children for holiday. The Municipality owns 7 recreation homes in the vicinity of Vienna and others in the country, where accommodation is available for 2,000 children. Children are sent out for change of climate during the summer holidays for about 5 weeks at the cost of the Municipality.

I come now to the last point of the welfare system : Hospitalization and other special measures for the sick or otherwise abnormal children. Mention has already been made of the puplic health organization in schools and the provision of dental and eye clinics, etc. The problem of tuberculosis is of great importance in Vienna, because of its widespread incidence, and therefore special methods have been conceived to combat this scourge. The Municipality possesses several hospitals and convalescent homes for tuberculosis patients and also numerous tuberculosis centres in different parts of the city for survey and observation

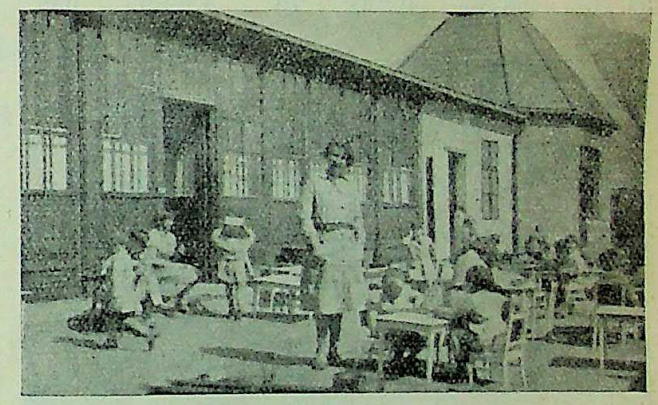

Photo by the writer

Montessori Kindergarten, Vienna X—The Directress is standing in the centre

of such patients. A central tuberculosis office directs the work of this welfare, and decides about the admission or other requirements of the needy. The interesting innovation is the system of segregating children from families where there is a risk of tuberculous infection, to others where no such risk is involved. The Municipality pays for the bringing up of such children. There is also a special home for lupus patients. Of course mere institution treatment is not sufficient to combat this disease. Therefore the Municipality has undertaken extensive building programme to improve the housing conditions and other measures, such as facilities for supplying good food, holiday-trips, etc. with a view to promoting the general health of the community. The effect of these has already been manifested in the lowering of the mortality

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rate from tuberculosis. In 1913 the mortality per 10,000 was 30, while in 1926 it was only 20 which means a reduction of 33 per cent Besides this work there are of course numerous Children's Hospitals, owned by the Municipality for the treatment of all classes of sick children. Mention should be made of the special hospital for children suffering from venereal diseases, and the home for studying psychopathic children. The beneficial effects of these all-embracing measures are demonstrated by a steady drop in the mortality rate during the last years :

Year	Total mortality	Infant mortality
1919	22.3	15.0
1928	13.8	8.8

It is obvious from what has been said above that the system of child-welfare as it exists today in Vienna has

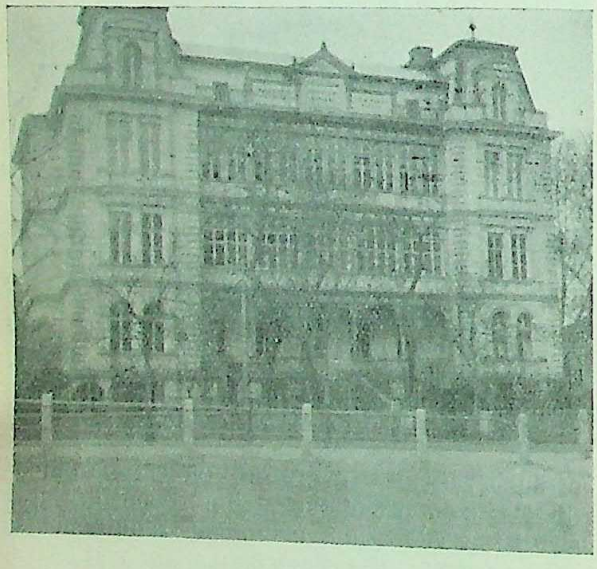

Photo by the writer

A Children's Hospital, Vienna III.

been very highly developed. The Socialist administration, which has organized it, takes a justifiable pride that they have done much more than any other has ever done before. Along with the extensiveness of these measures has arisen the difficult problem of supplying a trained staff to the different departments of this complicated machinery. To solve it the Municipality has established schools for training nurses, teachers and others. A two years' theoretical and practical course is prescribed for each of the above services and special courses are also held for professional foster-parents etc. Still more difficult is the problem of co-ordinating and co-relating the multifarious activities of this big organization. The solution has been found in centralizing the work in a main office—the "Ubernahmstelle" as it is called—while the different departments are self-governing within their specified field of work. The function of this office is to collect and keep the records of all children, who require attention and also of such of the illegitimate children, who are in the legal custody of the City Health Department. This office decides and distributes them to the institutes or families in accordance with the requirements of a particular case. The number of children in its care in 1927 was 23,000 in private families and 3,000 in institutions. Attempts are made, as far as possible, to bring up children in the normal surroundings of the families, to avoid the pernicious effect of unusual environments on the child mind.

In the event of children being put in charge of foster-parents the Municipality pays a sum of 45 Schillings a month for each child. Orphans are also brought up in families and not in institutions. Wards of the Municipality after the 14th year are put in the vocational schools to learn different handicrafts, agriculture, and the like, so that in later life they can earn their livelihood easily. Children, brought up in institutions, are those who because of pedagogic or other reasons could not be placed in the families The Central Office has well-organized system of supervising all the children that are in its charge, and it is regularly done. Since its establishment in 1925, it has worked with marvellous success.

The great and lofty mission of this stupendous organization, to use the words of Professor Julius Tandler, its brilliant and resourceful Director, is "something more than occasional relief-work, a machinery for distribution of help to the needy or a means of doing social good. It is appreciating the psychology, influencing the mentality, imparting a true education and lies primarily in leading people, who may still be trained to the sacred mission of life. Thus, it concerns not, so much the means as such but what lies behind them a spirit, which creates and animates them. It is the spirit of humanity, which stands

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dominantly above all these campaigns to the needs of new present age. Everything else is transitory, and therefore a mere mirage."

I have no doubt these remarkable achievements of new Vienna will ever remain as a monument and permanent glory to the selfless work of its talented city fathers, and will be a guide to many a welfare worker in my motherland and elsewhere, in their attempts to carry on the work of progress to the best advantage of humanity and the highest honour of the ideals.

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Periods of Indian History

BY PROF. UPENDRA NATH GHOSHAL, PH. D.

WITHOUT denying the essential unity of history it is not only possible but desirable to divide it into well-marked chronological periods. In the history of India three periods are often distinguished by the authors of text-books as well as advanced works. These are characterized as Hindu, Muhammadan and British. There is about this scheme of division an air of delusive simplicity which is sufficient to recommend it to the popular acceptance. It seems to imply the three most important elements of the political life of India at the present time as successively ruling the destinies of the country in the past. And yet when it is subjected to a close scrutiny, it is found to be beset with special difficulties which preclude its acceptance for purposes of serious study.

To begin with the so-called Hindu period of Indian History, it is usually taken to extend from the earliest times to the Muhammadan conquest. Unfortunately the term Hindu, owing to the course of historical circumstances, has a somewhat ambiguous connotation. As is well known, this term was not known to the Ancient Indians, but was coined from the river-name Sindhu by the Ancient Iranians from whom it was afterwards adopted by the Greeks as well as the Arabs and Persians.* In this original sense of the word it stands for a people or group of peoples occupying a certain indefinite area and possessing a distinctive type of culture. In popular parlance, however, and even in official nomenclature in modern times Hindu is held to be synonymous with a follower of the Brahmanical religion and is distinguished as such from Buddhists and Jainas, not to speak of the adherents of dissenting faiths of later origin. Now if we make use of the latter and popular sense of the term, it may properly be held to exclude those centuries during which Buddhism was the dominant religion. In fact we should confine its scope only to the subsequent centuries which were marked by the dominance of Brahmanical Hinduism. Such is the view of Mr. C. V. Vaidya who distinguishes† three periods in the early

* Thus Vedic Skt. *Sindhu* > Avestan *Hindu*. Old Persian *Hi(n)du* > Greek *'Indoi*, and Arabic *Hind*. An exact parallel is found in the case of Ancient Greece where this geographical name was given more or less vaguely to the country by the Romans. "It was apparently derived by the Romans from the Illyrians who applied the name of an Epirot tribe (Graeci) to all their southern neighbours" (Encycl. Brit. s. v. Greece).

† *History of Mediaeval India*, Vol. I, Preface, p. 1.

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history of India, *viz.*, 'Aryan' (*c.* 4000 or 2000 B. C.—300 B. C.), 'Aryo-Buddhist' or 'Buddhist' (*c.* 300 B. C.—600 A. C.) and 'Hindu' (*c.* 600—1200 or 1300 A. C.). It is unnecessary to expose the fallacy of this view which seeks to project into the past the narrow and limited connotation associated with the word 'Hindu' in later times. But it may well be taken to illustrate how owing to the ambiguity inherent in the term in question, it is possible to restrict its application to a very limited period of the Ancient History of India.

The difficulty is minimized, but not extinguished, when we understand the term Hindu in its wider original sense. It is a historical truism that the Hindu type of culture like the Hellenic culture in classical antiquity resulted from the fusion of the intrusive Aryan and the primitive non-Aryan elements. In India, naturally enough, owing to the larger size of the country, this blending of the two distinct cultures was a much slower and difficult process than it was in ancient Greece. In so far as the North, the territory between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas was concerned, it must have been largely advanced during the Brahmana period (*c.* 800—600 B. C. ?). Thus while the Rigveda, the oldest literary monument of the Indo-Aryans, takes us scarcely farther eastwards than the Jumna, the Brahmanas conceive Vidarbha (Berar) in the South and Magadha and Anga in the East to be included within the zone of Vedic civilization. In the tract to the south of the Vindhyas the diffusion of the Aryan culture was later by many centuries. Thus the earliest references to the Pandya, Chola and Kerala kingdoms occur in the grammarian Katyayana (*c.* 400 B. C.), while his great predecessor Panini's acquaintance extends only to the Asmakas on the upper course of the Godavari. Allowing a century for the mingling of the Aryan and the non-Aryan cultural elements, we arrive at *c.* 300 B. C. as the approximate date of the extension of Hindu culture in the South. It follows from the above that the "Hindu period" of Indian history, strictly so called, may be traced back at the earliest to *c.* 800 B. C. in the North and *c.* 300 B. C. in the South. This, of course, makes the expression wholly inappropriate for the signification of the Ages, Palaeolithic, Neolithic and Chalcolithic, preceding the advent of the Vedic Aryans.

The above arguments find a striking corroboration in Vincent Smith's standard text-book on the History of India. In this work the author divides the Early History of India into three sections, *viz.* "Ancient India," (from the earliest times to *c.* 322 B. C.), (2) "Hindu India" (*c.* 222 B. C.—647 A. C.), and (3) "Mediaeval Hindu Kingdoms" or "the Hindu period" (*c.* 647—1200 or 1300 A. C.). Here it will be observed there is a frank recognition of the insufficiency of the Hindu period to serve as a label for the Ancient History of India. But no attempt is made to substitute a more suitable title. Incidentally it may be remarked that no sufficient reasons exist for distinguishing the second and the third sub-periods under the title "Hindu India" and the "Hindu period."* If this difference is made to rest on the incorporation of the Rajput ruling houses within the Hindu pale, which is the leading fact of the last sub-period, it may be urged that this was not a new phenomenon but was paralleled in the earlier period by the admission of Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Kushans and others into the orthodox society. Equally unfortunate is the choice of the date of accession of the Maurvas as the dividing-line between Ancient and Hindu India. For whatever might be the significance of the dynastic revolution which substituted the Mauryas for the Nandas, no one will claim for it that it brought for the first time a Hindu Imperial dynasty to the throne or that it was immediately attended with the diffusion of Hindu culture throughout the country.

Let us now turn to the second division of Indian History, the so-called "Muhammadan period." With very few exceptions modern authors have applied the term to the interval of nearly five centuries separating the Muhammadan conquest of Northern India from the downfall of the Mugal Empire. There are, however, strong and weighty reasons against the use of the term in the way suggested. The first difficulty arises from the wide and indefinite connotation of the term Muhammadan which is indifferently applied to Arabs, Turks, and Afghans on the one side and converts from Hinduism on the other. The principal objection, however, is based on the fact that it conveys an altogether

* The designation 'The Hindu period' is also adopted by James Kennedy (*Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Chap. VIII) for the period 650-1200 A. C.

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erroneous impression of the period to which it is applied. It ignores the fact that during the centuries in question there existed side by side with the Muslim States numbers of independent Hindu kingdoms in different parts of the country. Some of the Hindu dynasties attained such importance that they presented a formidable barrier against the advance of the Islamic power and not unoften carried their arms into the enemy's country. Such were the powerful dynasties of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga and the Gajapatis of Orissa who preserved the independence of the eastern coast far down into the middle of the sixteenth century. These kings in the days of their glory carried their raids as far as Gaur, the capital of the Sultans of Bengal and Kanchi in the far south. Such again were the ruling houses of Rajputana, and especially the Guhilots of Mewar whose exploits earned for them the title of *Hindua Suraj, i. e.*, 'the Sun of the Hindus.' Such, lastly, was the empire of Vijayanagar which maintained for nearly 300 years the line of the Tungabhadra and the Krishna against the assaults of the Muhammadan powers of the Deccan. Indeed there were certain parts of the country which, owing to the difficulties of their communication or their remoteness or some other cause, were never completely subdued by the arms of Islam. This was the case with Assam and Nepal in the North, with the forest regions of the modern Central Provinces, Chota Nagpur Plateau and Orissa Feudatory States in the middle, with Travancore and Cochin in the extreme south. Of still greater significance is the fact that the Islamic power in India was not maintained through the centuries at a steady level, but periodically suffered serious setbacks. In truth we may distinguish in the history of this power two great periods of advance alternating with two other periods of decline. The first period opens with the advent of the vigorous Houses of Ghazni and Ghor who won for Islam the dominion over the richest and most extensive parts of Northern India. It reaches its culmination in the reign of Muhammad Tughlak whose empire at its greatest extent (*c.* 1338-39) embraced 24 provinces extending from the Panjab to Mysore and the Coromandal Coast. For more than 200 years after this time the history of Muslim rule in India is on the whole written in decay. The mighty Sultanate of Delhi is broken up into fragments, while the invasion of the fierce Timur sucks the life-blood out of it. Meanwhile the stage is cleared for the revival of the Rajput Power in the North and the rise of the powerful Empire of Vijayanagar in the south. The second wave of Muslim advance breaks upon Northern India with the accession of Akbar, the real founder of the Mughal dynasty, in 1556. The advance thenceforth is on the whole steadily maintained till the latter part of the reign of Aurangzib (*c.* 1700). "Under him the Mughal empire reached its greatest extent and the largest single State ever known to India from the dawn of history to the rise of the British power was formed. From Ghazni to Chatgaon, from Kashmir to the Karnatak the continent of India obeyed one sceptre and beyond this region in far-off Ladak and Malabar the suzerainty of the same ruler was proclaimed from the pulpit."* From the latter part of Aurangzib's reign onwards the Muhammadan power in India is at a low ebb. The empire of the Great Mogul is dissolved into fragments of which only the dominions of the Nizam attain any degree of importance. The devastating invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali not only drain the Mogul dominion of its last resources but rob it of the province of the Panjab. The great province of Bengal, Behar and Orissa succumbs to the rising British Power, while the adjoining State of Oudh is reduced to the position of its dependent ally. The heir of Aurangzib, driven from his capital, becomes for a time the pensionary of the Company. Meanwhile the hardy and active Marathas, roused to a sense of their unity by the genius of Sivaji, break open their provincial barriers and spread their conquering hordes over the greater part of the country. Even the colossal disaster at Panipat fails to cripple them for any length of time, and they remain the most formidable indigenous power till they were outwitted by the diplomacy of Wellesley and thwarted by the arms of Wellington and Lake.

The foregoing arguments will make it clear that neither of the terms Hindu and Muhammadan is fit to serve as the title of the great divisions of Indian History. The same objections do not apply to the term British period for reasons which are sufficiently obvious. It therefore behoves us to consider whether we can profitably

* J. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. I, Introd. p. xi.

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substitute more suitable terms for those which we have been examining so far. Here we may apply the analogy of European History with its well-known divisions into Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern periods. There is a danger indeed in pressing the analogy too far. In Europe because of reasons into which we need not enter here great movements have often modified the life of the people to its very core. But in India owing to the intense conservatism and passivity of the people and their imperviousness to all influences other than religious, even the great historical events (apart from religious movements) have failed till lately to touch the inner springs of their thought and action. Not without reason was invented the old adage of the Unchanging East. Nevertheless from the point of view of the historian of India we can broadly distinguish (as some have already done) the counterparts of the three main divisions of European History. Between Ancient and Mediaeval India the line of division has sometimes been drawn at the death of Harsa (*c.* 647 A. C.).* No sufficient reason exists for adopting this view, for the changes which followed the death of the great Emperor—not excluding the rise of the Rajput dynasties and the re-grouping of the States—were not different in kind from the events of the earlier times. Equally inconclusive is the view† which makes the division between Ancient and Mediaeval India coincide with the rise of the Guptas. For the Gupta period, however eminent a *role* it might play in the development of art and literature, cannot justly be regarded as the border-line between two great periods of Indian History. In truth like the Periclean Age of Athenian History to which it has been aptly compared, its function was not to open a new epoch but to bring to a completion the influences that had been maturing during the preceding centuries. Nor can we subscribe to the view, supported as it is by high authority§ which seeks in the establishment of the Kushan dynasty the much-sought for division between Ancient and Mediaeval India. For the Kushan Empire in Northern India, however inspired by foreign influences did not differ in its essential features from the preceding Indian Empires. Indeed, it seems to us to be most convenient to draw the dividing line between the two periods in the last years of the 12th and the early years of the 13th centuries in Northern India, and almost exactly a century later in the South. Then was formed for the first time an extensive Muhammadan Empire in the country. Of the contrast between these two periods—the one preceding and the other following the Muhammadan conquest—it is easy to form an exaggerated opinion. For it must be remembered that the new rulers, owing to the paucity of their numbers and their lack of administrative capacity, left the work of civil administration for long to the Hindu chieftains owning a more or less illusory allegiance to the paramount power. It must also be admitted that the famous system of administration which was built up later by the genius of Sher Shah and Akbar was anticipated in all its leading features by the best Hindu sovereigns of earlier times. Even the growth of vernacular literature, which has been acclaimed by a distinguished historian* as one of "the gifts of the Muslim Age to India," was not an innovation, as it was paralleled earlier by the development of the Pali literature of the Buddhists and the Ardha-Magadhi and Apabhramsa canonical works of the Jainas. Nevertheless the Muslim conquest, because of the new influences which it introduced into the country, may fitly be called the harbinger of a new Age. With it came not only a new and fiercely monotheistic faith but also new ideas of government, new schools of jurisprudence, new languages and literatures with their canons of literary taste and models of style, new styles of architecture, a new code of social manners and new modes and fashions of living. These influences in course of time left a profound stamp upon the upper and educated classes of the Hindu population. Above all, the Muhammadan conquest brought a new factor into the complex mass of Indian

* *Cf.* Iswari Prasad, *History of Mediaeval India*, (Allahabad, 1925). Mr. James Kennedy (*Imperial Gazetter of India*, Vol. II, Ch. VIII) gives the period 650–1200 A. C. the alternative title of the Mediaeval History of Northern India.

† *Cf.* Sir John Marshall, (*Guide to Sanchi*, p. 7), F. J. Richards (*Indian Antiquary*, February, 1930).

§ *Cf.* Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 147. This view is implicitly embodied in the scheme of chronological division adopted in the *Cambridge History of India* which gives its first volume comprising the period "from the earliest times to about the middle of the first century A. D." the significant title of *Ancient India*.

* J. N. Sarkar: *India through the Ages*, pp. 77-81.

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humanity, a factor which owing to the inflexibility of its religious creed has remained to this day very largely an exotic on the Indian soil.

We have selected the conquest of Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghori as a convenient landmark of the transition from Ancient to Mediaeval India. Like all great historical movements, however, this was a slow process which was spread through several centuries. Its beginnings may be traced to the conquest of Sindh (711—712 A. C) by the Arabs, which drove a wedge of Muhammadan dominion into the country. Then came in succession the fall of the outworks of Indian defence and the outposts of Hindu civilization in the Afghan highlands, the conquest of Peshawar by the Amir Sabuktigin, and the destructive inroads of his famous son Sultan Mahmud. Other signs of the coming change were the corruption of Buddhism, the growing rigidity of caste, the neglect of the art of warfare and the advance of monasticism. The victories of Shihabuddin carried forward, but did not complete, the transition from the Ancient to the Middle Ages.

Turning to the Modern period, we think we can most conveniently trace it from the administration of the Marquis of Wellesley* (1798-1804). The transition from Mediæval to Modern India, like that from the Ancient to the Middle Ages, extends over a long period of time. Its beginnings may be carried back to the discovery of the Cape route in 1498, which for the first time brought a West-European power into direct contact with India. Among further steps leading to this movement may be mentioned the transfer of command of the Indian Ocean from the Arabs to the Portuguese, the elimination of the French from the Indian stage in the Carnatic wars, the conquest of Bengal by Clive, and the wars and alliances of Warren Hastings. It was, however, left to Wellesley to plan and carry out those feats of diplomacy and warfare that made the British the paramount power in India except the Panjab. In trying to discover the specific features of the Modern period we must, again, beware of the risk of exaggeration. Thus the system of administrative organization which is one of the crowning triumphs of the British, however enriched and perfected by the lessons of modern wisdom and experience, follows in the main the lines of the best administrations in the past, though we have in recent constitutional developments the promise of a more glorious future. And yet we must admit that the advent of British rule has introduced a number of momentous changes which make it the herald of a new Age—the Modern period of Indian History. It has broken down the isolation of the country to an extent undreamt of before. "India has now been switched on to the main currents of the great moving world outside, and made to vibrate with every economic or cultural change there."* Within the limits of the country itself the Railway, the Telegraph and the printing-press combined with the influences of a common administration and system of education have helped to break down provincial barriers and created for the first time a truly national consciousness. Above all the net-work of schools and colleges, which is one of the principal gifts of British rule, has helped to sow the seeds of Western ideas broadcast among the keenest and most intelligent section of the people. These ideas have fructified in the intellectual Renaissance which has not only opened to India the stores of Western learning and restored to her much of her l st cultural heritage, but has quickened into a new activity almost every branch of the national life.

* In his paper 'Periods in Indian History' (*Indian Antiquary*, February 1930) to which reference has been made above, Mr. F. J. Richards suggests 1500 A. C. when "the Sultanates gave place to the Mughals" as marking the transition from Mediaeval to Modern India. It is, however, difficult to accept this view, since the advent of the Mughals did not bring in its train such fundamental changes as to make it the starting-point of a new Age.

* J. N. Sarkar: *India through the Ages*, p. 94

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[*Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.*—Editor, *M. R.*]

ENGLISH

After Two Thousand Years: *A Dialogue between Plato and a Modern Young Man: By G. Lowes Dickinson. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street. Pages 213. price 6s. nett.*

The plan of a book like this is a novel one at any rate in modern times, and the author should be congratulated for the novelty of the idea. Besides, the execution of the plan is perfect. Not only does Mr Dickinson show a thorough acquaintance with Platonic thought but he adapts it most cleverly to modern conditions and requirements. The book, as the author says in his Prefatory Note, forms a continuous whole and in order to maintain the continuity of the dialogue, no attempt has been made to divide it into chapters. Still two main parts are clearly marked; the first deals with political and social institutions which are regarded as means; the second with ends and ideals. Property, forms of Government, Socialism, the control of the population, war, education are separately considered. The ideals discussed are Truth, Art, Love, and the conclusion is finally reached that real goods glimmer down from some higher world, which is the destiny of spirits. "For the whole universe groans and travails together to accomplish a purpose more august than you divine; and of that, your guesses at Good and Evil are but wavering symbols. Yet dark though your nigh be and stumbling your steps, your hand is upon the clue. Nourish then your imagination, strengthen your will and purify your love. For what imagination anticipates shall be achieved, what will pursues shall be done, and what love seeks shall be rewarded' (Page 213).

Striking imagery pervades the dialogue, thus maintaining a vivid interest throughout. The examination of the problem of property leads by easy steps in typical Platonic fashion to certain principles. When the end is reached Plato wonders that such society as ours does not crumble down. To explain his wonder he uses a "curious image." "I see," he says, "a pyramid standing on its point. The tiny class of the very rich. Above it, rise the other ranks increasing in breadth as they diminish in income, till at the top, spreading out far beyond the rest, stretch the huge armies of the poor. And what puzzles me is that this pyramid should be able to balance at all." "Call it rather a top," answers Philalethes, "driven by the whips of greed and need. The harder they smite the faster is the pace, and the greater the stability. But if they slacken, the top begins to oscillate and is in peril of crashing to the ground." "But does it not crash in fact," Plato questions. This is a typical example of the frankness with which modern issues are faced.

Our Altruistic Individualism: *A critical study of the social order by Charles Elton Blanchard, M. D.; Medical Success Press, Ohio, U. S. A. Pages 251. Price $.3.00.*

There is enough and to spare in our present social system to supply material for criticism to the intelligent student. Dr. Blanchard has probed into our modern life with the skill of a surgeon and has come to the conclusion that nothing short of a complete change of outlook will bring remedy to an organism corroded by the canker of selfishness. To give one out of many instances showing that profit and not service is the dominating idea of our industrial system, he mentions the establishment of American factories in various foreign countries. "It is said by good authority that more than one billion American dollars at this time are at work in plants abroad. As foreign governments raise their reprisal tariff walls against American goods this development will continue. No doubt when it is realized that such factories can be secured in this manner the reprisal legislation will be hastened. Canada is now making such plans." (Page 115). The baneful effect of this "expatriation of capital" is clear. "Every item of manufacture in these foreign plants means that much less work for American labour and that much less market for raw materials that can be had in the country where each factory is located." Capital does not however take into consideration these adverse results. "Capital knows no citizenship."

He proceeds after finding the main urge of commercial and industrial enterprise to examine the question "where does all this lead us to? Does the profit-seeking system of industry hold within itself the elements of its own ruin?" "We are fully convinced that a time will soon arrive in our national life when the unequal distribution of wealth in spite of our altruism, philanthropy and charity, will cause a revolution. "We are now resolved to change this order and make it the altruistic dictatorship of the fit, and establish for the first time in human history a social order in which justice and liberty reaches every individual of the nation." What are the

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main provisions to secure this result? "Industry will be carried on for the end of service rather than profit. We shall seek to increase our consuming power at home and foreign markets will become only incidental." "Since all our productive powers are now directed toward the end of service and not profit, industry will afford a larger and larger return to the workers, thus increasing their consuming power. The surplus value can when expedient be sold abroad in exchange for things we do not produce. Instead of taking the profits of industry for public use, we have means to carry out our many needed public improvements and betterments as fast as science prepares the way. No public service can be commercialized. This will supply to all the uses of applied power Hydro-electric plants will be built at all needed sites, and the whole nation will receive electric service at cost. The transport system will be integrated and correlated. Vast improvements in our highways will be carried out. Aviation both for its commercial and military purposes will be actively developed."

These altruistic injunctions will be applied to all realms of life, to the political machinery, to the medical profession, to the educators of the young, to inventors and scientists.

Such is the vision of the new order of social life. The author is not sanguine about its acceptance Most nations, he fears, will rather prefer tinkering and patching up the present system. "The Goddess Justice is still blindfolded to human selfishness, and the God Profit smiles from his throne in all the financial centres of the world."

P. G. BRIDGE

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REGULATION OF BANKS IN INDIA : *M. L. Tannan, M. Com. (Birm.), I. E. S., Principal, Sydenham College, Bombay. Price Re. 1., Publishers : D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.*

The author intends in this little monograph to suggest such legislation for the banks in India as would ensure their maximum efficiency with as few restrictions as possible, so that the new law may help to improve the position of banking in the country and not to retard its progress. The suggestions made are meant mainly for the Indian joint-stock commercial banks, and the Imperial Bank of India is left to be governed by its special Act.

The suggestions of Professor Tannan fall under the following heads, namely, (1) proper organization, (2) efficient management, (3) reasonable supervision, (4) protection of banks against dishonest misrepresentation of the officers of a bank, (5) Regulation of foreign banks doing business in India.

On each of these points the author has brought the experience of other countries to bear on the problems of future legislation in India, and although from the very nature of things the suggestions cannot be entirely beyond controversy, Professor Tannan's suggestions are both illuminating and thought-provoking. The Indian Banking Enquiry Committee before which professor Tannan submitted his views must have profited immensely by the author's keen perception.

We, on this side of India, however, feel that the author, in his anxiety to be brief, has not taken proper account of the needs of different parts of India with regard to their respective banking development. The problems, for example, of industrial banks, land-mortgaged banks, commercial banks have not been properly examined. We like, however, the author's suggestions regarding the regulations of foreign banks including the issue of licences, publication of statements showing details of working, the maintenance of cash resources and provision for employment of Indians to superior posts.

Professor Tannan deserves unqualified congratulations for having crystallized many of our views on the regulation of banks in India.

INDIA, GANDHI AND WORLD-PEACE : *By Reginald A. Reynolds. Published by the Friends of India, 46, Lancaster Gate, London, W. 2. Price 2d.*

In every age and clime there are born some men, though few, who are radicals in the true sense of the term, sick of the inequalities of the present social, political, economic structure of human life, and who, unlike the pessimist that shuts himself up in disgust, make every effort to translate their culture into action by putting up a brave fight—almost like a rebel—against existing conceptions and conventions.

Mr. Reginald Reynolds came out to India as such a few months ago, but unlike his predecessors, Colonel Wedgwood and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, he took upon himself, when he returned to England, the stupendous task of driving home to the people of Great Britain the sense of their serious responsibility in the maladministration of India and in the emasculation of more than 320 millions of people.

This little pamphlet constitutes an appeal to the English people to understand the real implications of the Civil Disobedience movement in India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The greatest contribution of Mahatma Gandhi towards the cause of world-peace is explained and Mr. Reynolds rightly points out that much lies with the Britishers who, through their selfishness or arrogance, might prevent India from being free through peaceful methods and might thereby give an inevitable accession of strength to revolutionary violence.

The moral of the book lies in the preaching that whether Gandhi fails or succeeds he will have established his right to be regarded as a greater revolutionary than Lenin,—one who sought, not simply to change the structure of society, but its basis also, replacing the domination of race or class by a living and conscious democracy, and substituting non-violence for violence as the fundamental source of power.

We are simply charmed with the beauty of this little book that gives almost in a nutshell the whole philosophy of the Indian Mahatma—the greatest man of the age.

THE INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY OF INDIA : *By Dr. Rajani Kanta Das. M. Sc., Ph. D., of the International Labour Office. Geneva. Published by P. S. King & Son, Ltd. Price 8s-6d. pp. 206.*

The acuteness of India's poverty is almost proverbial and both from historical and from analytical points of view the causes and the

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remedies of this poverty have been examined by various scholars. The classical theory brought to light out of these studies regarding the causes of India's poverty, was that at the root of all the evils in India lay over-population and foreign exploitation.

Dr. Rajani Kanta Das controverts, or rather supplements this theory by suggesting that the fundamental cause of India's poverty is her industrial inefficiency, or inability of the people to make the best use of her potential resources for productive purposes.

This book on the industrial efficiency of India thus deals with an entirely new field from what one usually expects to be taken to in the study of the subject. The industrial efficiency of a nation, says Dr. Das, is determined by several factors,—

(1) Utilization and conservation of arable land, forests, fisheries and mines in the light of modern science.

(2) Encouragement to savings, transformation of the savings into productive instruments of the latest discoveries and inventions, and utilization of these instruments or capital goods to the fullest extent.

(3) The development of the physical, intellectual and moral qualities of the people for productive purposes.

(4) Preservation of national standards among other advanced nations.

(5) Cultivation of the moral and intellectual aspects of life for the welfare of society. In short, the industrial efficiency of a nation is its ability to conserve and utilize, in the light of the latest progress in science and art, all its natural, human and capital resources for both the absolute and relative wealth and welfare of its people.

Judged from the above standards India fails and fails miserably in her industrial efficiency. The general economic condition of the country, the absence of technique and of up-to-date machinery, the wastage of human and natural capital resources are all the direct result and at the same time the cumulative factor in the increase of this inefficiency.

The author further analyses the causes of inefficiency and examines the influence of the following factors,—

(1) Racial characteristics, (2) Physical environment, (3) Poverty and Disease, (4) Illiteracy and inexperience, (5) Religious inadaptability, (6) Social maladjustment, (7) Political subjugation, (8) Industrial backwardness.

Dr. Das thereafter examines the problems of industrial reconstruction including industrialization of production, nationalization of industry, development of enterprise, conservation of resources, organization of capital, administration of labour.

In conclusion, the author suggests a scheme for the improvement of industrial efficiency in India. The most important question in this connection is, in the opinion of the author, how to create a new national consciousness as to the necessity of industrial efficiency and to devise means for its realization. With this end in view what India needs is a national organization, a Board of Efficiency, to mobilize all the social, industrial and political resources of the country, so that she might be efficient to utilize to the fullest extent, all her natural and human capital resources for the wealth and welfare of her people. The author has not forgotten the financial aspect of the problem and shows that the nationalization of the Government and the extension and development of her industries by industrialization, rationalization and protection would bring India at least Rs. 250 crores a year for the inauguration of the schemes for the advancement of national efficiency. Dr. Das must be congratulated for this brilliant piece of work and although the figures and statistics he relies upon are not always above question, the general conclusions drawn therefrom appear to us to be quite in consonance with facts. At any rate, however much one may find fault with a few of the arguments of the author, undoubtedly he has drawn attention to an important aspect of the problem of India's poverty.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

—

ISLAM, THE RELIGION OF HUMANITY: *By Syed Abdur Razzaque (Theosophical Public House, Madras.) Pp. xii+114.*

This is a short and pleasantly written popular exposition of the best aspects of Islam, emphasizing its lessons of humanity, peace, tolerance, benevolence and spirituality. The illustrative texts are given from the English version of the *Quran* by M. Muhammad Ali. The author has gone to some known authorities like Arnold, the Bombay Gazetteer and Amir Ali. Chapter V, on the spread Islam, will be interesting to general readers.

S.

AGASTYA IN THE TAMIL LAND: *By M. K. Sivaraja Pillai, B.A., University of Madras. Re. 1.*

The Agastya tradition is universal in the Tamil country where Agastya is regarded as a patron saint. Places sacred to him abound in South India. But Tamil classical literature is almost silent about him. *Paripadal*, a Sangam poem of the sixth century, makes no direct or indirect mention of him. Neither do Pattupaṭṭu on the ten Idylls and Tolkappiyam refer to Agastya or his civilizing activity. Very late commentators like Nacchinārakkiniyar tried to popularize the Agastya cult by twisting lines.

The author has tried to prove that Agastya is not included among the Prajapatis. He has critically studied myths about his birth. He has shown parallelism between the earlier group, Aryan group and the later or Dravidian group. In so far as his life is concerned, he has very successfully dealt with the fine strata of traditions, *viz.*,—(1) his residence near Nasik, marrying Lopāmudra and meeting Rama while here; (2) his residence at Malakūṭa, east of Badami where took place the destruction of Vatapi and Ilvala; his residence at Pothiyal in the Pandya country where he founded the first Tamil Academy and wrote the first Tamil grammar; (4) his visits to Indonesian Islands, and (5) his travels to Siam and Cambodia and his marrying Yasomati. His treatment and examination and setting of traditions are very careful and scientific. The author thinks that Agastya tradition virtually rose after the fourth century. Agastya tradition in the testimony of the later Tamil literature like *Pannirupatalam*, Purapporulvenbāmālai, Agapporulvilakkam, Divākaram of which the present writer has quoted stanzas cannot for historical purposes be accepted. The writer aims at showing that Aryanization of the various parts of South India must not be

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ascribed to a single period of time, nor to single individuals. Right is the author in ascribing national migrations to social forces. Agastya is a mere historic or rather allegorical character and his exploits testify to the Aryanization of South India. The work is decidedly meritorious. The three appendices are very critical.

THE YOGA SUTRAS OF PATANJALI: *By M. N. Dvivedi. Theosophical Publishing House, 1930.*

We hail the second edition with admiration. The Theosophical Society published some time ago the translation of the *Yoga Sutras* by Govindadeva Sastri. But his pedantic literal method was not suited to the purposes of the general reader. There has been an American revision of it but to no purpose. Dr. Rajendralala's translation published from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, though based on the original, was only restricted to Bhoja. But the present work differs both from its predecessors in its scope and method of treatment. We are glad to find all abstruse questions put aside as out of place in a handy work addressed to the general reader. Only the most salient points, which admitted of popular treatment, have been selected, and they have been so cleverly and aptly dealt with as to give a bird's-eye view of the outlines of the whole system. The exposition is as simple and interesting as possible, avoiding subtle discussions like those of Vijñanabhikshu's *Yoga-vartika*. Mr. Divedi has given a literal translation of the sutras and added explanatory notes to each. These notes have been based on the *bhashya* ascribed to Vyasa, the commentaries of Vachaspatimisra, Bhoja and Jñanananda Sarasvati, and the *Yoga-vartika* of Vijñanabhikshu. The book is all the more useful in that it contains in its exposition the *paribhasas* or techniques, with due explanation where necessary. The little book is carefully written and deserves praise.

AMULYA CHARAN VIDYABHUSHAN

—

SPIRITUAL EXERCISE: *By Ananda. Advaita Ashrama; Pp. 169; Re. 1-8as.*

It is difficult to review a book which professes to give a history of personal struggles with doubts. But although its absolute value may not be very great it may have a considerable psychological value. The writer, who apparently belongs to the Ramkrishna Mission, has some good things to say here and there, but on the whole the work under review is designed to uphold the practices of Indian Sannyasis or, to speak more strictly, of his own order. Even admitting the good points in those practices, it would be difficult to pass such specimens of logical thinking as the following:—"How do we know that it is our duty to maintain God's creation? Did God ever say that?" "The question is often asked: 'Shall I renounce?' Yes, renunciation is the most natural course. We are born alone, we die alone. We must also live alone. That is really unnatural." "Once, however, we have accepted him as our *Guru*, even if we subsequently discover any defects in him, we must never pay attention to them. We must know him as God himself and give him our whole-hearted allegiance." The author has curious notions about the nature and function of nerves and does not apparently know the distinction between 'pseudo' and 'crypto' which he uses interchangeably (p. 75, 1. 1). But "the writer wishes it to be clearly understood that in all that he has said in the following pages, he lays no claim to infallibility" (Introduction, p. 5). After that it would be uncharitable to find faults.

TEXT-BOOK OF LOGIC: *By A. Wolf, M. A., D. Lit.; George Allen and Unwin Ltd; Pp. 407; 10s net.*

Dr. Wolf can be heartily congratulated on his present work which has been designed to meet the needs of beginners in Logic. The whole subject of Logic, as taught to Intermediate students of Indian Universities, has been presented within the compass of a handy volume and elucidated with copious illustrations from diverse fields of knowledge—a feature so sadly missed in works on Logic by Indians. Dr. Wolf draws a useful distinction between principal and derivative eductions, expounds the various types of relation lying at the basis of our mediate inferences, adds two useful chapters on Evolutionary and Statistical Methods, and distributes the space at his disposal in an admirable manner among the various topics. The addition of a large number of exercises, chapter by chapter, at the end enhances the value of the book.

As an introduction to the subject Dr. Wolf's book will take its place along with those of Carveth Read and Welton and Monahan as it is written in a pleasant style and is not overburdened with unnecessary matters. But if it be not widely used, it will be because the symbolic treatment of immediate inferences is likely to prove a stumbling-block to beginners and also because the whole subject of fallacies has been inadequately treated and distributed throughout the book instead of being dealt with in one place—a method which is probably more scientific but less helpful to students for purposes of revision. An appendix on fallacies with copious exercises is likely to make the book more attractive to students.

The printing and general get-up are excellent.

H. D. BHATTACHARYYA

—

INDIRA DEVI: *A Romance of Political India. By S. Subrahmanyam, Advocate. Ganesh and Co., Madras.*

An outline of the year 1951 is given in this story. It states in the end: "When the Viceroy in tune steps aside from the Supreme Council, it may become the Dominion Parliament of the Princes and peoples of India." So that those who want Purna Swaraj forthwith may note that even twenty years hence the Viceroy will remain intact. Good news for Simla.

CRITIC

—

BOMBAY TODAY AND TOMORROW: *Edited by Clifford Manshardt, with an introduction by H. E. Sir Frederick Sykes, Governor of Bombay. Published by Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Hornby Road, Bambay; pp. X+104; price Rs. 4.*

The book under review is a collection in the 'Building a Better City' series of lectures delivered at the Nagapada Neighbourhood House during

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the cold weather season of 1929-30. These lectures were organized, the editor says, "with the purpose of revealing the strength and weakness of our common life, with the hope that practical suggestions might be made for properly capitalizing the potential elements of strength, and reconstructing, or in some cases completely eradicating the elements of weakness. It was also hoped that by bringing together speakers representing different cross sections of Bombay life, it would be possible to promote mutual understanding—an understanding which might lead to increased co-operation, without which no city can attain to greatness" The purpose is good and therefore the publication of these lectures which aimed to serve that purpose is welcome, and we hope it will do at least some good. The problem of Bombay is also the problem, more or less, of other cities, whose citizens and city fathers may read the book with profit and interest. There are in all eight lectures and among the speakers are some well-known persons as M. R. Jayakar, K. Natarajan, and S. C. Joshi. We congratulate the editor Mr. Clifford Manshardt who presumably organized these lectures and carefully edited them, and the publishers Messrs. Taraporevala Sons and Co. on faultless printing and excellent get-up.

NAGENDRA NATH GHOSH

—

REPORT OF THE INDIAN TARIFF BOARD ON THE SUGAR INDUSTRY IN INDIA: *Government of India. Price Re. 1.*

This report was released to the Press on the 13th March 1931, and summary of the recommendations have already been published in various dailies. Apart from these the report contains much valuable information on the Indian sugar industry, the cost of production and selling price of different grades of sugar and the world position today.

X

MARATHI

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA DAFTER: *No. 3 (Shahu's Campaign against the Siddis of Janjira, 1733-1736: pp. vi+173)—No. 4 (Reports about Anandibai, September 1786—October 1788: pp. iv+91)—No 5 (The League of the Barbhais, 1773-1778: pp. iv+89) No. 6 (Ramraja's Struggle for Power). Government Central Press, Bombay. Price Rs. 2-1. Re 1, Re 1, and Rs. 2. 2 as.*

With the last of these volumes the actual publication of the Marathi historical records in the Peshwas' Daftar, Puna, reaches 800 pages,—a very creditable performance on the part of the Bombay Government during less than one year. And when the financial stringency and harassing political troubles through which the Western Presidency is passing are remembered, students of Maratha history will have nothing but the highest praise for the Bombay Government's regard for scholarship and earnestness of purpose in promoting research. The printing and editing of these documents maintain the admirable standard of the earlier volumes, and we trust that the universities of India and the scholarly world outside will appreciate this service by utilizing these primary sources of Maratha history.

The campaign against the Siddis of Janjira (1733-1736) here illustrated by over 200 letters was a failure; the Marathas merely took Raigarh, Anjanvel and a few small places inland, but nothing else, not even Gowalkot which remained in the enemy's hands as a constant menace to the saint Brahmendra Swami's favourite shrine at Parashuram (near Chiplun). Shekhoji Angria had early given the Peshwa the soundest advice in warfare: "Unless the entire charge of the campaign is given to one single commander with full control you will be unsuccessful. You must take the full responsibility on yourself." But the Maratha cause was marred by "utter confusion and mismanagement due to lack of organization. Shahu failed to send in supplies of money, men and ammunition in time. He never trusted his generals. The Pratinidhi and Baji Rao were constantly at variance and mutually whispered in Shahu's ear accusations against one another..."

Quite apart from these causes, the cardinal fact remained that the mastery of the Konkan coast districts, even as far inland as one day's riding distance of landing parties from ships, could belong only to the owner of an invincible navy in the Indian Ocean, and this the Marathas never had. Shahu's reign merely repeated the frightful waste of men and money in futile attacks on Janjira that the great Shivaji and, even more, Shambhaji had committed in spite of their "unity of command."

The fifth volume relates to the "League of the Bara-bhais" as it is called in Maratha history, and the difficult but ultimately successful attempt of the Puna ministers to set aside the succession to the Peshwa-ship of Raghunath Rao (the younger brother of Balaji Baji Rao) who was charged with the murder of his nephew, the boy-Peshwa Narayan Rao (30th August 1773.) Here a junta defeated all the efforts of the *de facto* (and, up to the birth of the posthumous Madhav Rao Narayan II, the *de jure* also) Peshwa, with all his advantages of possession, the military prestige gained in his campaigns in Northern India up to Panipat, and the assistance of the English of Bombay. The credit of this victory of the Maratha legitimists is proved by the documents in this volume (98 in number) to have been due to the ability, integrity, diplomatic skill and persistence of Sakharam Bapu, "a very old and experienced statesman" while his worthy a-social Trimbak-rao Pethe died very early in the course of the contest. "Nana Fadnis played only a secondary part and Moraba was vacillating and half-hearted, intent rather upon selfish end than the success of the national cause." This is a new discovery from the records.

Anandi Bai, the wife of Raghunath Rao Peshwa and mother of Baji Rao II, had long been known as the Lady Macbeth of Maratha history,—a bold bad woman whose guilty ambition drove a humane and reluctant husband into the crime of regicide. But in the present century an attempt has been made by the Puna School to absolve her from complicity in the murder by propounding the ingenious theory that in the letter ordering the arrest of the unlucky Peshwa the word *dharave* (seize him) was changed by another into *marave* (kill him),—this being a well-known device in Oriental stories. The learned editor of these State-papers (Mr. Govind Sakharam Sardesai) sums up

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character thus: "She was shrewd and wise, honest and outspoken, and always anxious to preserve the dignity and prestige of the Peshwas. If she had been wedded to a better husband, there seems no doubt that she would have figured as one of the most patriotic members of the Peshwas' family."

Her son Baji Rao II appears in these letters as a young ne'er-do-weel, "unruly fanciful, licentious, given to ostentatious piety, disobedient and faithless. At the early age of thirteen he was infected with an immoral disease (p. 47)! These original documents completely disprove the character popularly ascribed to Baji Rao at his accession,—"His bodily and mental accomplishments were equally excelled. He was deeply read in the Shastras, and of his age, no pandit so learned had been known in Maharashtra" (Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrathas*, ii. ch. xiv.)

The letters in vol. 5 form an intensely human document. We see here the galling nature of the confinement of Anandi Bai and her sons, though that imperious woman did not make things easy for her jailor. We also see fully illustrated the suspicious character and littleness of mind of Nana Fadnis. Every little taunt, every sigh of the helpless captive had to be reported to him regularly day by day! How could such a man have had time to look after the real affairs of a State that aimed at contesting the empire of India with the English and had a most powerful enemy close at hand in the Nizam? Every minute detail or a rupee's expenditure must be reported to him and his order taken on it; his local agent was given no initiative. There is no surer means of ruining an empire.

• *Ibid. No. 6. Ramraja's Struggle for Power*, pp. vi+59 -792, with one map. Rs. 2-2.

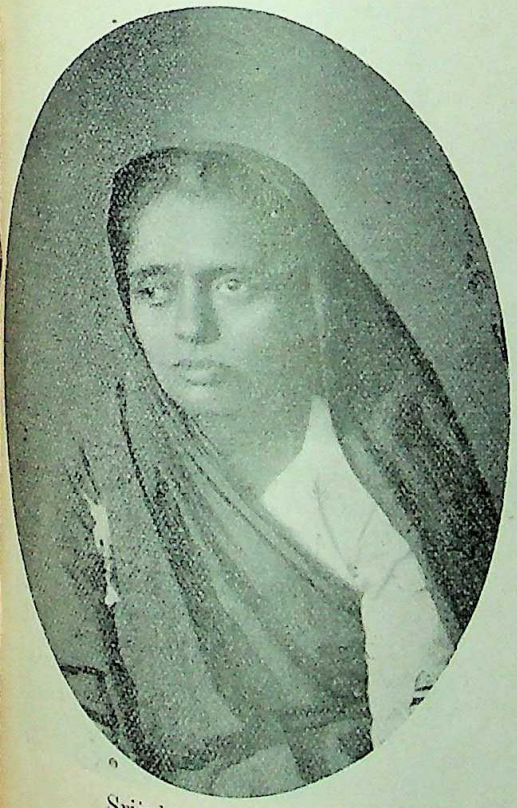
These letters light up an obscure corner of th internal history of the Maratha State, particularly the intrigues of the old widowed queen Tara Bai, who bore a relentless animosity to the Peshwas, and those of certain other influential persons (*circa* 1750), the civil war between the Gaikwad and the Peshwa, and so on.

As the exploration of the vast mass of Marathi records in Government hands in Puna advances, we look forward to other periods and personages of Maratha history being illuminated with copious new light from the abundantly detailed and fresh information of which the six volumes already issued have given us such striking examples. The rewriting of Grant Duff's History will then be rendered possible.

JADUNATH SARKAR

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

WOMAN SATYAGRAHIS OF CALCUTTA



Srijukta Mithu Behn

Miss Puspavati

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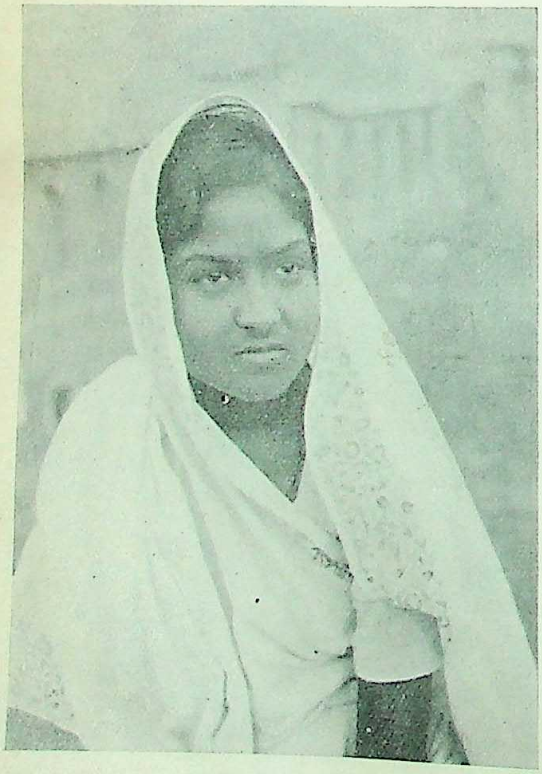
Srijukta Mungla Behn

Srijukta Yasoda Devi



Miss Srimati Devi

Srijukta Chameli Devi

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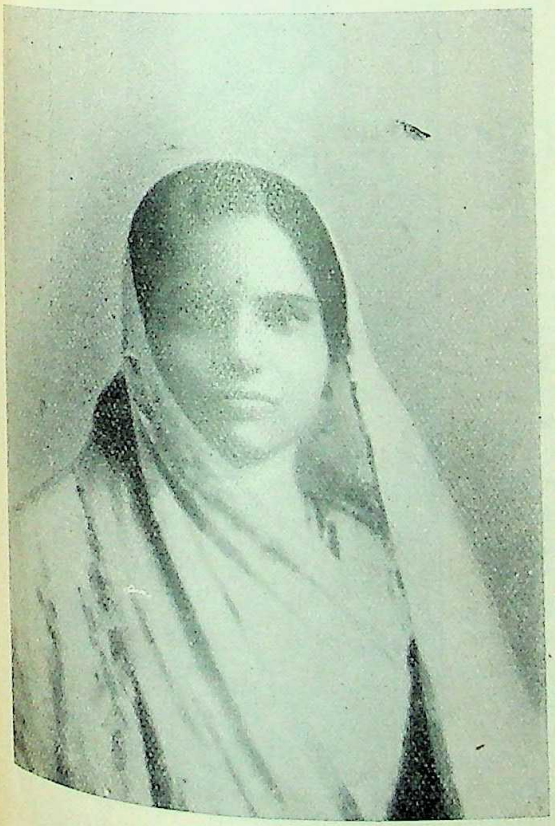
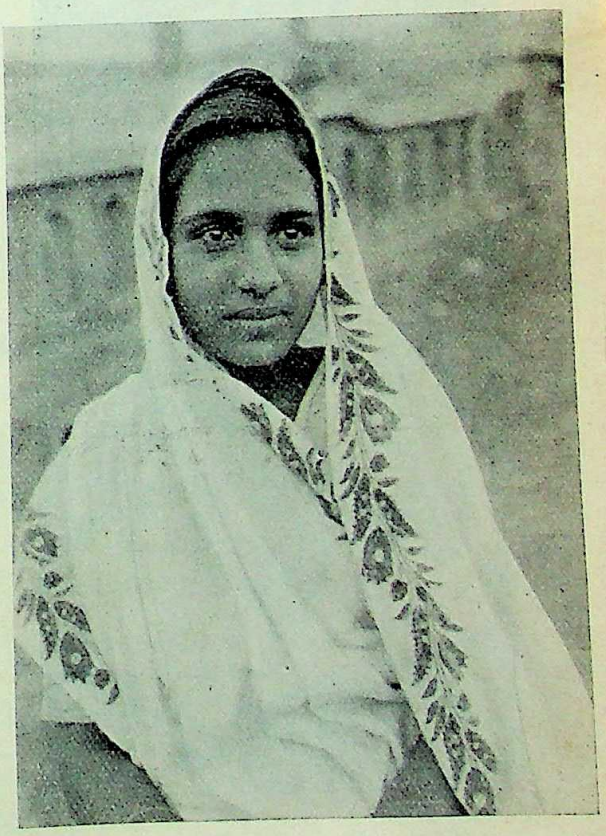
Srijukta Amrit Behn

Srijukta Bachu Behn



Srijukta Ujjam Behn



Miss Saraswati Devi

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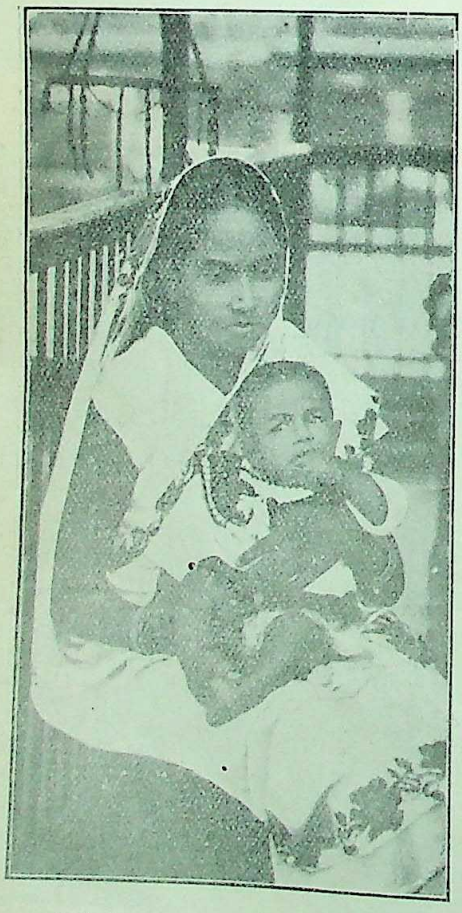
Miss Lilavati Kapur



Srijukta Bhagavati Devi

Srijukta Sajjan Devi

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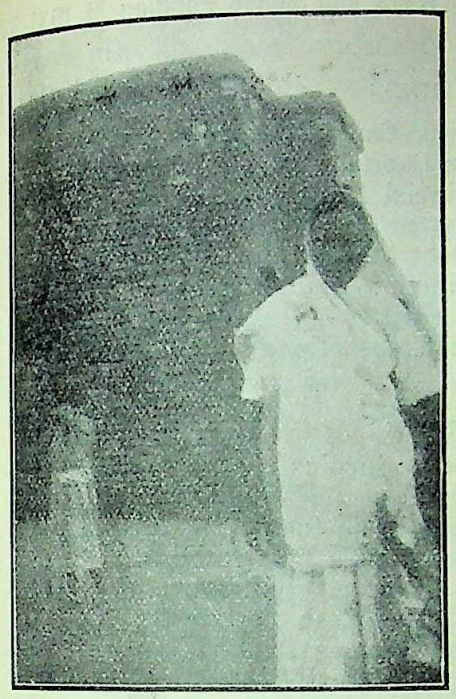

Srijukta Kapuri Devi Sarama

Srijukta Luxmibai Upadhyaya

FINANCIAL NOTES

The Government of India Budget

Although it is a bit late to make any observations on the Budget of the Government of India which was presented to the Central Legislature on the 28th of February last, the financial notes of any journal cannot be complete without some pertinent reference to the financial position of the country as revealed through the Budget. The revised estimates of the current year 1930-31 worked up to a deficit of more than 13·5 crores of which Rs. 12·68 crores remained uncovered. The total likely deficit in the coming year 1931-32, on the basis of present expenditure will amount to Rs. 17.24 crores. The position, to say the least, is one of exceptional gravity.

Our contemporary *Indian Finance* gives the following synopsis of the Central Budget from which the situation can be viewed at a glance:

Deterioration in Budget Estimates for 1930-31 (as revealed through the revised estimates).

	Lakhs Rs.
Important Revenue Heads, namely, Customs, Taxes on Income, Salt, and Opium	12,10
Posts and Telegraphs	89
Finance Headings	1,38
Other Heads	5
Total	14,42
Less Estimated Surplus	86
Deficit for 1930-31 as per Revised Estimates	13,56
Deduct Revenue from increased duties in March and from additional duties on galvanized pipes, etc. from December, 1930	88
Net Total Deficit	12,68

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Gap to fill in 1931-32

Tax Revenues	13,16
Commercial undertakings	1,18
Finance Headings	3,76
Total	18,10
Less Estimated Surplus for current year	86
Net deficit on present basis for 1931-32	17,24

Cuts in Expenditure

Military Expenditure	1,75
Civil Administration, etc.	98
Total	2,73
Deficit after Retrenchment	14,51

Tax Yield Expected

Customs duties	9,82
Income Tax	5,00
Total	14,82
Estimated Surplus for 1931-32	31

The Proposals for Enhanced Taxation Include the following

	Increase
Duty on beer, etc.	66 p. c.
Duty on wines and spirits	30 to 40 "
Duty on silver	As. 2 per ounce
Duty on betel-nuts, spices, exposed Cinematograph films	25 p. c.
Duty on goods on the 10 p. c. Schedule	2½ "
Duty on goods on the 15 p. c. Schedule	5 "
Duty on goods on the 30 p. c. Schedule	10 "
Duty on Sugar of all grades	Rs. 1¼ per cwt.
Tax per Rupee on incomes up to Rs. 4,999 a year	4 pies
Tax per Rupee on incomes on higher grades up to Rs. 39,999 a year	5 pies
Tax per Rupee on incomes from Rs. 40,000 up to Rs. 99,999 a year	6 pies
Tax per Rupee on incomes over Rs. 1 lakhs (absolute)	26 pies
Reduction in the deduction allowable for computation of Super-tax in cases other than Hindu Joint families and Companies.	Rs. 20,000

Ways and Means Position in 1931-32

(In crores of Rs.)

	Revised 1930-31	Budget 1931-32
LIABILITIES :		
Railway Capital outlay	14.50	11.45
Other Capital outlay	3.53	1.93
Provincial Drawings	11.50	9.50
Discharge of Permanent Debt (net)	18.88	29.54
Contraction against Rupee Securities	28.92	
Other Transactions	.76	—.18
Total	86,09	52,24
RESOURCES :		
Revenue Surplus	—12.68	.31
Rupee Loan (net)	29.71	15.00
Sterling Loan (net)	35.64	24.76
Treasury Bills with Public	8.96	
Loan from Imperial Bank	5.40	—5.40
Post Office Cash Certificates and Savings Bank	2.46	4.06
Other Refunded Debt	2.46	5.64
Appropriation for Deduction, etc. of debt	5.00	6.17
Depreciation and Reserve Funds	—5.92	.98
Reduction of Cash Balances	15.06	.72
Total	86.09	52.24

It will be seen from the above that the Finance Member grew almost desperate and took rather drastic steps in increasing the revenue to balance the budget. If we have to assume that new taxation is unavoidable under the circumstances Sir George Schuster may well be left without adverse criticism for having chosen customs and Income Tax as the most paying sources of additional revenue, but the acid test of the unavoidable character of additional taxation lies in our opinion in the steps that Government proposed to take in the matter of retrenchment in expenditure, particularly, the army budget and emoluments for superior services. In spite of all the polemics and platitudinous talks of the Finance Member, we fail to see anything substantial being done in the direction of reduction of expenditure. Unless and until that is done it will be difficult for the country to acquiesce in any proposal, however apparently reasonable, for raising additional revenues. Even a year ago Sir W. T. Layton, Financial Assessor to the Simon Commission, strongly criticized the inordinately heavy military expenses borne by India, and pointed out how the

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expenditure on defence in India have actually been on a much higher scale than in any other country in the world. The civil administration also was not spared and the Inchcape Retrenchment Committee exposed the many directions in which economy was called for. We cannot, therefore, find any justification in the statement of Sir George Schuster, "that the administration in India has hitherto been carried out at a very low cost, and that no country has ever had more devoted and self-sacrificing workers, or, to descend to material grounds, better value for her money, than India has had from her Civil Services."

Judging from his speech, the Finance Member had placed foremost in his mind his duty by the future generation in this country and his immediate successors in particular. As a matter of fact, however, these are just the considerations that appear to have been missed in the Budget proposals. In the first place, there is the current deficit of Rs. twelve crores left uncovered. Secondly, the Railway Reserve Fund slowly built up during past years is going to be nearly wiped out within a short period of two years. And on the top of these, insuperable losses have been sustained by, and burdens thrown on the shoulders of, the present generation and the future, through the ruinous exchange, currency, and loans policy of the Government of India. It is a grossly mistaken policy, if not a positive dereliction of duty to follow a patchwork procedure in meeting the difficulties that are likely to be more long period in character than is estimated. To us the one and only one remedy that appeals is to cut our coat according to our cloth, that is to say, to bring about drastic and effective retrenchments in every possible direction.

Sir George Schuster has, indeed, appreciated this necessity and has made a concession to public demand by proposing to institute a Retrenchment Committee. We leave him at that for the present.

The Bengal Budget

The results of 1929-30 proved to be slightly better, by about Rs. 7½ lacs than what was anticipated. The actual opening balance for 1930-31 was Rs. 1,87 lacs. The estimated closing balance for this year was Rs. 100 lacs, but on account of losses incurred during this year this estimate had to be revised and the opening balance for the year 1931-32 is brought down to a little less than Rs. 45 lacs. By the end of 1931-32 there will be no balance left at all.

The increases in expenditure and the deficit in income were due largely to the Civil Disobedience Movement and world-wide trade depression. The former is estimated to have cost the province nearly Rs. 28.5 lacs in expenses, exclusive of losses in the non-realization of revenues to the extent of nearly Rs. 94 lacs.

The total estimated receipts for 1931-32 on revenue account are Rs. 10,57 lacs, and on capital nearly Rs. 60 lacs. The total estimated expenditure on revenue account is Rs. 11,56 lacs and on capital account Rs. 70 lacs, *i.e.*, Rs. 12,26 lacs in all. The deficit in the budget thus amounts to Rs. 109 lacs. Adding to this Rs. 31 lacs for famine Insurance and other funds and Rs. 5½ lacs in possible increased demands for police and education, the total deficit for 1931-32 would amount to nearly Rs. 140 lacs. It is proposed to meet this deficit mainly by appropriation from the balance and by loans.

Calcutta Port Administration

We are often told that the management of commercial and semi-commercial activities of public bodies can best be undertaken by independent bodies or Boards that lie above the influence of party politics. But unfortunately the experience of our country generally goes otherwise. For apart from the railway administration if we examine the working of the various Port Trusts in India, we can hardly find worse cases of maladministration and careless handling of affairs.

The Port of Calcutta, the administration of which is supposed to be vested in the Commissioners representing various interests, affords yet another glaring example of the creation of an *imperium in imperio* that hardly cares for public opinion or the best interests of India, protected as it is behind so-called principles of independent scientific management.

The administration of the Port is vested under an almost mediaeval Act of 1870 in a body of Commissioners that in the very nature of things is permeated with a thoroughly anti-national bias. This will be seen from the present composition of the body which is as follows,—

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A. Appointed by Government

As whole-time-paid officers,—

1. Chairman.
2. Deputy Chairman.

B. Elected

Bengal Chamber of Commerce	6
Calcutta Trades Association	1
Corporation of Calcutta	1
Bengal National Chamber of Commerce	3
Indian Chamber of Commerce	1
Total Elected	12

C. Ex-officio

Agent, E. I. Railway.
Agent, B. N. Railway.
Agent, E. B. Railway.
Collector of Customs.
Principal Officer, Mercantile Marine Department.

Grand Total 19

It will thus be seen that the proportion of Indian to European members can at most be five to fourteen. Moreover, while European commercial interests have a statutory recognition, Indian interests have no such rights, but have to depend upon the pleasure of the Government which can select the bodies they deem representative of Indian interests. European interests are thoroughly out of proportion to their importance and Indian commissioners are in an absolute and permanent minority on all questions that involve a conflict between national and non-national interests.

An immediate effect of this over-weightage of European interests is a singularly exclusive policy maintained by the Port Trust with regard to their superior appointments. No Indian is considered to be qualified enough to occupy the post of the Chairman or the Vice-Chairman of the Port Trust, nor of the many highly paid officers in the administration. The plea that trained Indians are not available for the work cannot be brought forward in this connection because the Europeans that have hitherto been occupying these posts can hardly claim to have any special technical education or qualification other than belonging to the ruling race.

Out of 188 officers drawing a monthly salary of Rs. 1,82,000 there were in 1928 only eight Indians drawing an aggregate salary of Rs. 5,000. In the superior services, that is, posts carrying a maximum pay of Rs. 5[illegible] and upwards, out of about 300 posts hardly twenty are held by Indians. The position today remains almost the same and while other departments of the State have recognized the claims of Indianization of services the Calcutta Port Trust makes hardly any effort to carry out that policy. Further, in spite of constant suggestions and repeated agitation in the central and local Legislatures no arrangement has as yet been made for systematic training of young Indians in the various technical branches of the administration of the Port.

A second instance of the anti-national bias in the handling of the affairs of the Port is obtained in its financial administration. We have pointed out a few months ago how the loan operations of the Port Trust are manipulated to the exclusion of Indian investors or at any rate Indian underwriters. In the matter of banking the Port had for long time kept out all Indian-managed banks and although only recently through the insistence of the Commissioner representing the Indian Chamber of Commerce the Central Bank of India has been placed on its list of approved banks, it is yet to be seen how far this Indian bank is practically patronized.

Thirdly, complaints are heard about the exclusiveness in favour of Europeans maintained in the supply of stores as well as in the giving out of various contracts for construction and labour supply. Open tenders giving full opportunity to all to quote and to compete are, we are told, hardly resorted to and it is difficult to estimate how much of public money is wasted or frittered away through the avoidance of the policy of fair field and no favour.

The worst case of negligence of the best interests of the country is provided by the recent proposal of the Port Commissioners to increase the charges levied upon goods exported from and imported into Calcutta. The Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce emphatically objected to these increased levies and pointed out that during the present period of trade depression a reduction in the various charges rather than any increase in these was desirable. The Committee pointed out that the deficit in the Port Commissioners' Budget was due more to the following reasons than to trade depression, namely :

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1. The construction of the King George's Docks involving heavy expenditure ;
2. The maintenance of programmes of expenditure out of all proportion to the revenue of the Port ;
3. The top-heavy and far too costly administration of the Port with almost ridiculously highly paid European staff in the higher services ;
4. The possible diversion of traffic from Calcutta to cheaper ports like Chittagong, Coconada and Vizagapattam and from sea-route to railway-route, consequent upon the exorbitant port-charges at Calcutta.

All these go to prove how essential it has become that the Calcutta Port Act should be thoroughly revised and brought in line with the adoption of a national economic policy.

The New Salt Duty

It is rather unfortunate that provincial interests should be placed against one another at a time when we are anxious to see the establishment of justice aud good will, and yet curiously the measures that Government seem to favour today are all directed to create a cleavage in the ranks of Indian nationalists along this new line. We have had enough of the difference between Hindus and Muhammadans, Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, British India and the Indian States being played upon by an interested third party and from the happenings of recent months it is becoming more or less clear that while the former differences are being bridged, some agency is cleverly fanning the difference in economic interests as between different parts of our vast country. Our Anglo-Indian contemporaries have been vehement enough in cautioning Bengal and Northern India against the financiers of Bombay, while the Government is readily responding to certain demands for sectional economic relief. While recognizing the necessity for securing fairness to everybody concerned, we request our countrymen to exercise adequate tolerance and determination to resist any move by provincial or sectional interests to prevail over the interests of the largest number in India as a whole.

The protection to the salt industry involves problems that are extremely delicate and complicated, and the Tariff Board itself came to certain conclusions that left us sceptical about the success and justice of any measures for protective duty on salt. A special committee of the Legislative Assembly examined the recommendations of the Tariff Board and by a majority declared itself in favour of an immediate imposition of an additional duty of annas four and six pies per maund on all salt, Indian or foreign, imported by sea into British India and proposed a system of rebate equal to the additional duty on imported Indian salt Aden is to be included in British India and the executive should have power to increase the duty from time to time up to a total of one anna per maund if at any time the price of the foreign imported salt should fall below its present level. The Government has lost no time in rushing a proposal through the Assembly for this increase of duty, and the whole of Bengal has been thrown into indignation. The Bengal National Chamber of Commerce has rightly pointed out that this protective measure with an additional import duty on foreign salt will bear very heavily on Bengal and Assam along with Burma. For these are the only provinces that depend almost entirely on foreign supply of salt. Although we do not want to raise provincial issues we endorse the view expressed by the Bengal National Chamber as also by Mr. C. C. Biswas in his note of dissent to the Assembly Committee's report. It appears rather curious that while on the issue of salt Mahatma Gandhi focussed the united will of the country to be free, on the same issue some parts of India like Guzerat and Bombay would be permitted merrily to go on enjoying an almost free supply of natural salt while Bengal will be made to pay higher prices for her necessary requirements. It is not impossible to devise such methods of assisting indigenous industry as distributes the burden of protection more or less fairly and it only shows lack of imagination on the part of the leaders of other provinces when they easily lend their support to certain protective measures that are obviously inequitous. A uniform taxation on salt with a careful distribution of the proceeds of such a tax in giving bounties to indigenous manufactures would in our opinion be to the best interest of all concerned. We hope that such an alternative would be carefully examined before the new protective duty is agreed to. No good will come by straining the patience of one province, or by adding to the privations of the consumers

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of one area alone in furtherance of our desire for the building up of indigenous industries.

How To Deal With The Stock Of Foreign Cloth In India.

Immediately after signing the 'Truce,' Mahatma Gandhi proceeded to Bombay, where he received deputations from the mill-owners and piece-goods merchants on the terms laid down by the working committee for the boycott of foreign cloth and yarn. Out of these discussions arose the question how to deal with the present stock of foreign cloth in India. It will be remembered that from January 1930, the Congress committees in the country urged the complete stoppage of the sale of all foreign piece-goods and in many places existing stocks were sealed up and kept under strict observance. Piece-goods merchants approached the Mahatma for some guidance as to what they would do with the stock in their hand now.

Mahatma Gandhi has proposed an interesting scheme for the disposal of this stock. He has advised the mill-owners of Bombay and those dealers in cloth who have profited by the boycott movement to form an organization with a capital of Rs. 25 lacs, raised from amongst themselves on an agreed basis, with a view to purchase out the stocks of foreign cloth in the hands of dealers that stopped the sale of such cloth in obedience to the call of the Congress, and did not accept or order for new indents last year. After having collected the stocks of foreign cloth in the country they will be re-exported to places outside India and the losses if any incurred through these transactions will be borne by the organization. We appreciate Mahatmaji's efforts to realize the difficulties of those that have a good deal of capital locked up in foreign piece-goods, and his scheme has our general approval. But we are afraid the practical working of such a scheme would involve so much of difficulty that little progress would be possible. In the meantime, fresh stocks of foreign cloth have, we understand, been ordered for and Lancashire's trade is "looking up." Other steps, therefore, are called for.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

The Women in the Philippines

BY AGNES SMEDLEY

NO experience is more startling than to go from China, where women of the intelligentsia, of the workers and peasants fight side by side with men in the social revolutionary movement and are shot or beheaded in the public streets with the men, dying with a courage and conviction unprecedented in human history,—from this to go to the Philippines where America has dominated the life of the people for more than thirty years—producing a type of middle and upper-class woman that aspires above all else to be small copies of American middle and upper class women. Despite the talk of political independence—and the desire for independence is sincere and universal—the intellectual subjection of the Philippine women of these classes is so complete that it is unconscious. For them, the system introduced by the Americans was indeed an advance over the feudalism of the Spanish regime, with its chief pillar of subjection in the Catholic Church. The system has many advantages for well-to-do women, but it also has many disadvantages. For the masses—the working and peasant women—there is little or no difference. For them, it meant a transference from one form of subjection and exploitation to another.

The Catholic Church, the chief weapon of the Spanish regime, taught women the so-called virtues, that one may observe today in Spain or Italy and to a lesser degree in France. American capitalist rule brought another system and created a class that embodied its needs. Today there are in the Philippines 12,597 trained Filipino women teachers in the public schools, only two

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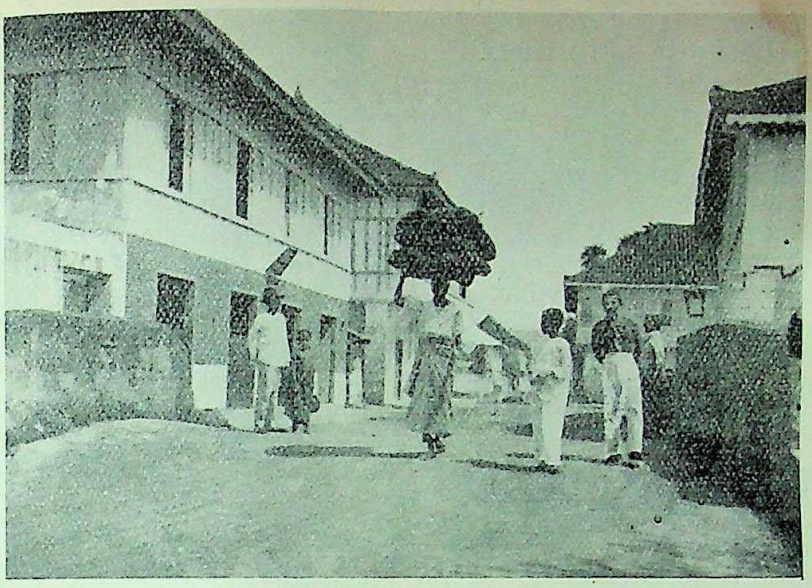

A Working Woman passing with her load along the streets

A Philippine Village

thousand fewer than men teachers. This is comparatively high but even with this number, only 36 per cent of the children of school-going age have any opportunity of study. For the middle and upper classes, education is universally possible. In the University of the Philippines in Manila, nearly half of the some six thousand students are girls. They choose as professions, chiefly teaching, nursing, pharmacy, and medicine. Thirty women have graduated in law but none practise. There are ten women professors and instructors in the University and only today, during the economic crisis, have men begun to bring forth the traditional arguments, known so well in other countries, against women in the medical profession.

All of this sounds well indeed, but there are disadvantages. The American

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regime brought a new language to the welter of languages already in the Islands. The Spaniards had forced Spanish on the country. The Americans forced English even in the primary schools, which meant compelling children to study through a foreign tongue that they heard only in the school; this has meant forcing them to spend their chief energy on learning this language instead of the subject-matter. It has resulted in a striking characteristic of the educated classes—spiritlessness, an utter lack of originality or of any creative or critical thinking ability. And the language which

Returning from the Market

is admittedly the chief language that should have been used, developed, and spread in the schools—the Tagalog language of the chief island of Luzon—has been neglected and even officially suppressed in the schools.

The extent of subjection by America is seen in the social life of the people. The

Typical Filipino Women

Federation of Women's Clubs of the Islands is a branch and a feeble imitation of the Federation of Women's Clubs in the United States. The activities of these clubs are consequently feeble. They give teas, bridge parties, dabble in charity work, endorse but take little or no part in political matters—and above all, they strive to be respectable, to do nothing whatever that would arouse the least opposition or criticism from the most orthodox and respectable women of their class in America or in the Philippines. It is true that they advocate woman suffrage, but most respectably and feebly, and they will bring in a bill, through men supporters, in the next session of the Legislature. Being predominantly Catholic, they oppose any divorce law or any liberalization of the present feudal divorce law which makes adultery the chief cause for divorce. The law simultaneously makes adultery a crime punishable by three years' imprisonment so

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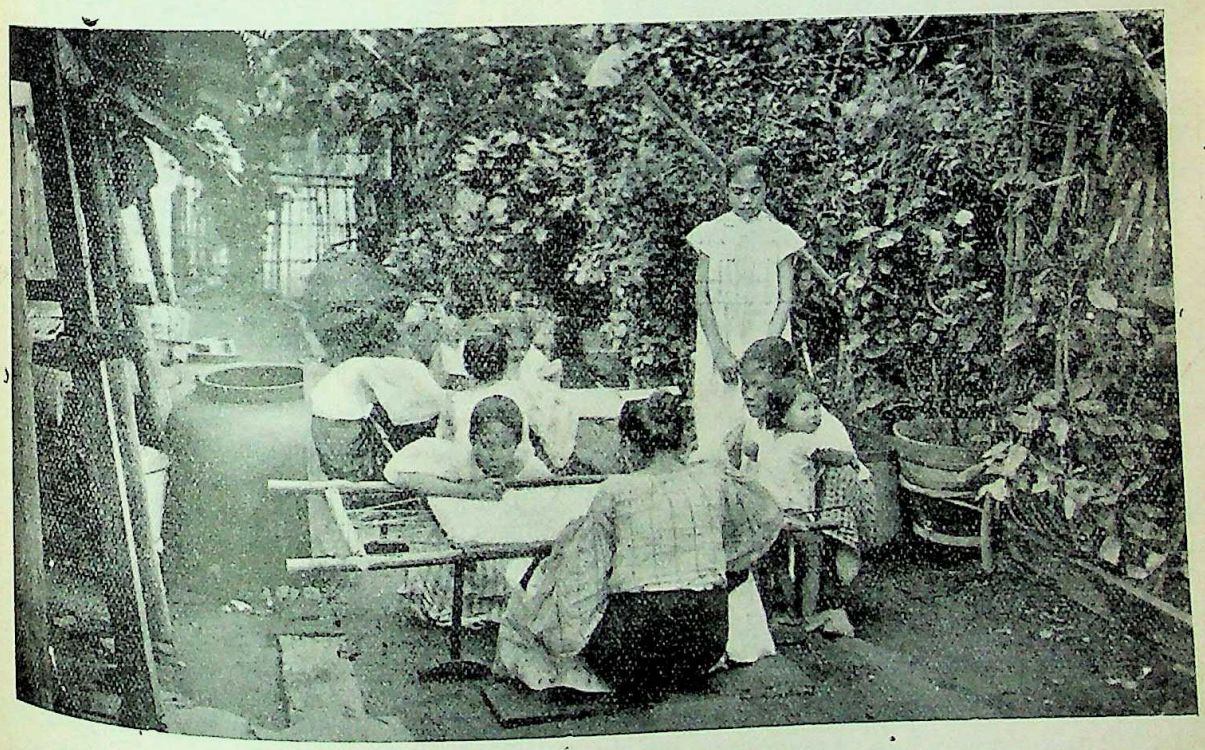
Hand-weaving in the mountains



Embroidery is one of the chief export articles

that it is impossible for any man or woman to ask for a divorce, for it means imprisonment for the convicted person. But being propertied women, the Federation wishes to amend the law by which the property of married women is under the sole control of their husbands. These women are also opposed to birth control though huge

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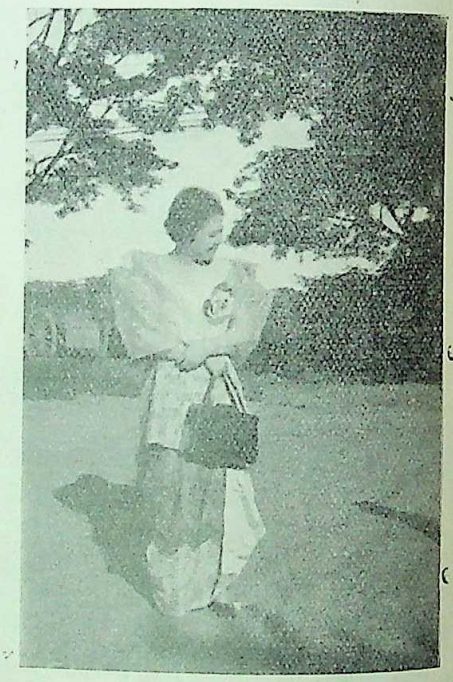
families of from ten to eighteen children are not unusual, resulting in a high infant and maternal mortality.

It was most remarkable that the Filipino women of this class, although Asiatic, know much of America, but practically nothing of other Asiatic countries. Of Socialism or Communism they have never read one word, and the husband of one leading woman, a professor, told me that "Karl Marx, like all Germans and Russians, was mentally unstable and unbalanced." Consequently, all American millionaires are very sensible and well balanced! Another woman, owner of a huge landed estate, told me that she did not know what all the present labour unrest in the Islands was about, but she "felt" certain that it was only because some labour leaders were envious and were trying to make a fortune out of the "ignorant workers!"

Women Shopkeepers

If you leave this class of women, you find another type among the people. Like all the Malayan peoples, women dominate in the retail business, and the small Chinese traders who can defeat them in this ancient game has to get up early indeed. The women of the people are famous as managers, and the universal practice is for the men to turn all their earnings over to them for expenditure and use.

The Philippines are still predominantly peasant, so the vast masses of the women are peasants, sharing equally, or perhaps more than equally, with the men in the field work and in the home industries with which they manage to eke out a miserable existence. Most of the peasants are tenants, or labourers on the great landed estates. They are a kindly, friendly people. I visited the Philippines during the harvest season—January and February—and at the time interesting and beautiful sights can be witnesed. Across the golden rice fields their figures move. Although poorly dressed, men often wear red trousers or have a red handkerchief about the throat, the women sometimes wear bright red handkerchiefs about their heads in the universal style of the peasantry. When they thresh, or when they plant, they sing in unison and are often accompanied by a



Dr. Mendoza, one of the best-known women Doctors in the Islands

guitar. The result is some lovely peasant songs of labour, sad in words of weariness, but gay in music.

The home industries connected with the peasantry and with the workers in the small towns are many, chiefly embroidery and hat weaving, both of these being chiefly professions of women. The export figures for 1929 showed that embroidery exports amounted to Pesos 12,023,065, and hats Pesos 4,097,457. These industries, chiefly embroidery, are now organized in the city, and the women who work in them, like the women workers in the cigar and cigarette factories, are most miserably paid. They earn the equivalent of some forty to eighty centavos a day

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to 40 Am. cents), which is less than half enough to sustain a decent standard of life. Labour is paid by the piece, as in other Asiatic countries, resulting in frightful speeding up and in a ceaseless nervous strain. It is especially bad in the cigarette and cigar factories where the ventilation is bad and where women are paid some sixty centavos for every 1,000 packages of cigarettes wrapped. These factories, by the way, are owned and managed by Germans, Spaniards and Americans.

It may be that the gentle, unaggressive nature of the Filipino woman is a racial trait; or it may be the consequence of four hundred years of subjection, first by Spain, then by the United States,—and always by the Church. Or again, it may be because they are a peasant people in origin. The Church is said by all to be the chief influence in keeping the women spiritless and devitalized. Economic conditions on the Islands are, however, becoming stronger than the Church—and women, at least of the peasantry, are being forced to become more active. A few peasant women of the younger generation have emerged as organizers of Peasant Unions. These women sometimes have women to face, for the owners of some of the great landed estates are women of the wealthy classes. During the past few months the class struggle has emerged in earnest in the Philippines and this movement will show what the real nature of the Filipino woman is.

Indrani

By SEETA DEVI

THE family of Chandicharan was famous for giving unsuitable names to its members. Though a clerk, earning thirty rupees a month, he called his own son Kuber (the god of wealth). Perhaps he expected to cheat the god by this easy means. But Kuber remained as poor as his father in spite of his name. He bore no grudge on account of this. To him a name was but a name, and he was content if he could carry on somehow.

But he could not give up his taste for high sounding names. So when a daughter was born after a few sons, he at once named her Indrani (the queen of Heaven). The ladies of the neighbourhood praised his choice. "It is a beautiful name," one said, "let us hope that the girl's fate would be in keeping with it."

"Ones fate is in god's hand," said another. "But the girl is very beautiful. Indrani is the name for her. Nobody would take her to be the daughter of a poor Bengali. She looks like an Armenian or Georgian baby."

The child was really very lovely. Her parents sighed with relief though the newcomer was a girl. "It does not matter much," they thought, "if there is one daughter. She would be easy to marry off with that complexion and face. Sometimes a girl does bring luck to her father's family."

Indrani grew up slowly. She did not receive much care or attention as her parents were very poor. Even mother's love came to her in stinted measures. The poor mother is always overworked and underfed. How could she nurse or look after the baby properly? So instead of drinking her fill of mother's milk, the poor baby had to remain content with sago and barley water. Her mother could not spare her much time either. She was the sole drudge of the family and worked from morning till night. When Indrani was too small to be left unattended, her mother would keep her in the kitchen on a small wooden seat. She laughed and cried there at her will and at last fell asleep. Her mother never noticed her. She worked on with her head bent and never looked up. She prepared and cooked the vagetables, served the meals, washed the dishes, swept and dusted, single-handed. It was all work work, work, and not a moment to spare.

When Indrani became a little older one of her elder brothers took charge of her and

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began to carry her about. Indrani's mother had given birth to five boys in succession, of whom, two alone were living. The eldest boy went to the school and had no time to spare for little Indrani. The younger boy Sunil was only five years of age and had nothing to do with schools as yet. So he was requisitioned for the duty of nurse-maid. Though he performed this duty very imperfectly and dropped the child more often than was good for her, still he was a sort of a help to the poor work-ridden mother. She could now have her meals at leisure, thanks to Sunil. During the day, she had no time to think, but at night she would sometimes look at the beautiful face of her sleeping daughter, and many thoughts would crowd in. The child was as lovely as a lotus bud. In a couple of years or more, the mother would think, this very child might become a great help to her.

The child grew older. She was rather thin, but looked like an image of gold in her radiant loveliness. She was very intelligent too for her age. The mother was enormously proud of her. "What if we are poor ?" she would think. "Even a Rajah has not got such a child. Look at the Dutts over there, on the other side of the lane. They are rolling in wealth, but my goodness ! how ugly their children are ! Their girl looks like a bloated frog. But how she dresses up, to be sure. She never puts on anything except satins, silks and velvet. She never walks. She has a carriage of her own, and a durwan and a maid to accompany her. But I have not yet been able to buy my darling a new frock or a pair of shoes, still people gaze only at her even in a crowd."

Indrani was a very lively child. She could never sit still. For this fault she was scolded off and on by her mother and sometimes a slap or two came her way. "Why should a child of gentle-folks be like this ? She will get the broom-stick from her mother-in-law, when she marries. Why should a girl child have so much impudence ?" Such were the words constantly hurled at her. But nothing could subdue her indomitable spirit. Scolding and abusing entered through one ear, and passed out by another, leaving no trace behind. Her own brother and all his friends were her friends too, she played cricket and football with them, ran to catch stray kites with the help of bamboo poles and tried to climb the trees in the neighbourhood.

Indrani's father tried to teach Sunil in the evening, after his return from the office. He would have a wash and some light refreshments, and then he would call Sunil. Sunil was a great dullard for his age. He never touched a book and was always after mischief. His father was busy in the office and his mother was busy in the kitchen, and there was nobody to look after him properly. They could not send him to school either, as they could not afford to pay. They were paying for the education of one boy and that was as much as they could do. The wretched boy was destined to be a street beggar, in his parents' opinion.

Indrani too would come with her broken slate and torn book and sit down with Sunil to study. But there were constant interruptions. "Oh Indu, come and pound some turmeric. Indu, bring some firewood. Where has that wretched girl gone ? She is a huge lump of a creature, but she does not want to lift a finger for her mother's help."

Indrani scarcely listened. Perhaps she did not study much, but she liked to pretend. She would go on scribbling on the broken slate and showered questions on her poor father. "Father, what is this ? Please draw a flower for me, father. Why don't you teach me ? I shall write better than brother."

Poor Kuber would write on his daughter's slate, then on his son's. His face would remain sad and grave. He wondered why the girl had not been born a boy. She seemed to possess all the brains of the family. It does not matter much if a girl is dull, her good looks might carry her through all right. But it is different for a boy. What was going to happen to Sunil ? He was born of gentle-folks, he could not really go and become a porter or servant.

Days passed. There was great festivities in the house of Dutts on the other side of the lane. Brass bands played, the whole house was lighted up, and there was a regular crowd of guests. The street in front was jammed with vehicles of all sorts. That fat, ugly girl was going to be married, and all these festivities were for her. Indrani's mother looked on with envious eyes, then moved off sadly. The girl's father was spending no end of money. He had paid a dowry of ten thousand alone for securing an England-returned bridegroom. The girl

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was glittering with jewels. But poor Indrani. She too was of marriageable age, though her parents hardly dared to acknowledge it to themselves. They gave her out to be ten years old. But they had been living here for a long time and nearly all the neighbours had seen Indrani as a baby, and it was not easy to deceive them.

Sunil remained a dullard to the last. He had a good singing voice and so he was in great demand at all the amateur theatrical and musical clubs of that quarter. He had a wholesome dread of his father and never came before him, if he could help it. He would come home for a bath and breakfast after his father had departed for his office. His mother scolded him and even threatened to beat him with a broomstick, but as she served the meals, in spite of all that; Sunil took all her scolding as his daily portion and forgot all about them, as soon as he came out of the house. So Sunil had no chance of improving.

Indrani could read, write and cipher, tolerably. She had learnt a bit of history and geography too from her father. Kuber did not exert himself much to teach his daughter, but he would not refuse to answer questions and he would correct her writings and sums. He was an old and worn-out man at fifty. The struggle for existence had been too much for him, and he had no enthusiasm about anything. He had to work to feed his family, but the work was distasteful to him. The eldest boy had a love of learning, but he too had to give up all hopes of an university education, for want of money and entered a merchant's office as a clerk. Kuber never expected the boy to be of any help to him. For the time being he was too anxious about Indrani's marriage to think of anything else. Even in his sleep, he could not forget it.

That morning, Indrani had just come and sat down by her father, with her books, when her mother too made her appearance there. "Go to the kitchen and look after the rice for a bit. You are always shirking. When are you going to learn cooking? So you are at your books again? My, what a scholar! She is going to become an M. A. very soon."

Indrani had perforce to get up and go. Her mother sat down by her husband and said, "Are not you ever going to arrange about her marriage? Reading and writing are all very well, but they are not sufficient."

Kuber frowned and said, "But shouting won't improve matters much. I am trying my best to secure a husband for her. A poor man cannot marry his daughter off at a moment's notice."

"But is there any young man, you have in mind?" asked his wife. "You don't tell me anything at all, while the neighbours are always pestering me with a thousand questions. They are ready to tear me into pieces. The girl is not growing younger, but older. She is nearly fifteen now."

"You need not shout it from the housetop," her husband said sourly. "I know quite well that she is sixteen and not fifteen. I am talking with two or three parties, but there is very little hope. Their demand is too high."

"It is true, that we are poor," his wife said, "but our Indrani is beautiful enough to be a prince's bride. Would not people take that into consideration?"

Her husband sighed, "Beauty matters very little, my dear," he said. "An ordinary graduate will ask for five thousand, they don't want beauty, they want money. We cannot blame them either, we too shall look for money, when we marry our boy."

"We are too poor to have any choice," said his wife. "But every one is not in the same boat. There are people, who look for beautiful brides."

"Not in middle-class families," her husband said. "The great landowners or Rajahs might do that, because they have no need of selling their sons. There is another class too, who want beautiful brides. These are the widowers with children. They want grown-up girls and, if posible, good-looking girls. If you want such bridegroom, I can secure one easily. No dowry would be needed."

"No, no," cried his wife in dismay. "I don't want to ruin her happiness for ever. First try in other places."

"I am trying," said Kuber, "but what is the use of discussing it? It won't improve matters. Go, send Indrani here. Let her study a bit. If Sunil had been half as intelligent, I would not have despaired of him."

"He is totally without shame," his wife said," I abuse him everyday, I go for him with a broom, still he never turns a hair."

Kuber smiled, "Yes, you abuse him, no doubt, but immediately after, you give him his breakfast. So why should he feel any shame? You should let him go without food for a day or two. That would open

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his eyes very effectively. He would feel the necessity for working.

"I cannot let the boy starve, while I myself eat. After all, he is my son," said Sunil's mother and went away. Indrani came back and sat down to study. Her father looked at her and sighed. "She is really fit to be a queen," he thought sadly. "But I will have to throw her away in the dustbin. Poverty is the greatest of all crimes."

"Do you know father," said Indrani, suddenly, "they are going to open a school for girls here."

"Really ?" asked her father, who took little notice of what was going on around. "Who are going to open it ?"

"Some rich widow lady," informed Indrani. "She is childless, so she is giving her money away on philanthropy. They will teach many girls free. Shall I go father ?"

"Well, I have no objection," said her father. "But ask your mother first, or she will fly into a temper."

Indrani's mother really did fly into a temper. Though she called Indrani idle and slothful, yet the girl did a good deal of house work. She was the only help, the poor baby had, and she was reluctant to do without her. What was the use of education to a girl ? She was quite grown up besides, and could not be allowed to go about at her will and alone. It might give rise to talk.

Kuber very seldom interfered in household affairs. But this time he sided with his daughter. "You don't understand," he said to his wife. It is better that she should go about and mix with people. Some eligible party might take a liking to her, which would indeed prove a blessing to us. I have read of such things happening. Let her go.

So Indrani was allowed to go, on the off chance of securing a good bridegroom. Education did not mean much to her parents. It was merely an accomplishment for a girl. Though Indrani had to pay no fees, yet she had to be neat and clean and she had to buy books. "From where am I to get her new dresses and things every day ?" burst out her mother. "You want your daughter to be a Memsahib, but your pockets are empty."

Kuber laughed. "Consider all these as her marriage expenses. If you spend ten rupees in time, you might save a thousand."

So a few indispensable articles of clothing were got together somehow. Kuber purchased a few things on credit, promising to pay when he received his salary.

"What are these ?" cried his wife, holding up the cheap, ready-made blouses, in scorn. "They will hardly last a couple of months."

"That's the best I could get for five rupees," replied her husband, "the others were too costly. Tell Indrani to take good care of these."

To Indrani these things were treasures. She made much of them and locked them up in her small tin trunk. She procured books and other necessary things by borrowing from the neighbours and made ready to go to school. Kuber went with her to get her admitted.

Indrani seemed to be walking on air, so happy did she feel. Her mother stood by the window and gazed at them. Her daughter's beauty seemed to have lighted up the narrow dirty lane. Yet she was wearing the simplest of dresses and no jewellery at all. If one could dress her in gold brocade and diamonds, like that Dutt girl, she would surpass all queens and princesses. Indrani's mother prayed to the gods, that some suitable man might take a fancy to her daughter and thus make life happy for her.

But Indrani's thoughts were busy otherwise. She wanted to get good education and be able to speak on equal terms with her brothers. They took her intellectual inferiority for granted and spoke slightingly about women. This Indrani resented. She wanted to show them that a girl could be as good or even better. Sunil had joined a cinema studio now and brought home many picture books and magazines almost every day. Indrani wanted to read them, but she did not know English. She hoped she would learn quickly in school. She was not at all eager to get married. She saw many married girls, all around her, all appeared so careworn, so over-burdened with children and work. She did not envy them the slightest bit. She rather envied the lady teachers she saw, passing by in huge school buses. They appeared to lead care-free and cheerful lives. They earned good salary, and spent that as they pleased. They dressed well and looked quite smart. To Indrani's young eyes, these beings seemed very happy. She wanted to be like

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them. How unlike their own lives ! They were so dreadfully dependent. She had not a pice to call her own, and neither had her mother. Her father could never spare her anything and was always fretting about his poverty. How fine it would have been if Indrani could have earned money herself. She was glad that she could not be married off for want of money. If she could remain single for a few more years, she would be able to earn money and help her parents, as well as herself.

In school, she soon made a name. Everybody took notice of her, not only for her unusual beauty, but for her diligence and intelligence too. She learnt more quickly than any other girl and was promoted rapidly to the upper classes. Her mother felt very proud and forgot entirely her earlier prejudices against a girl's education. She even hoped sometimes that her daughter would read up to the college classes. But the neighbours were making life unbearable for her. A girl had no business to get high education. It was high time for Indrani to get married and settle down. Had she been married in proper time, she would have been the mother of children by this time.

Kuber was trying with all his might to secure a suitable match for the girl. But no such thing could be had without money. A few proposed to come and see the bride, hearing that she was very beautiful. But upon hearing further, that there were very little chance of a dowry, they cooled down and never turned up. Kuber began to look more old and worn out. His wife developed such a temper, that even Sunil could not face her. He began to go without breakfast. Whenever he came, his mother flew at him, screaming, "You can only eat like a hog, you good-for-nothing wretch. Cannot you look for a husband for your sister ? I will give you ashes to eat. We shall be outcasted after this and nobody will touch even our dead bodies. We shall rot at home."

But Sunil was busy, producing Indian films and had no time to spare for household affairs. He would swallow the food and the abuse silently and make his escape. The eldest brother Anil too, came in for a share of the scolding. "What can I do ?" he would reply. "You want to marry the girl but you won't spend a pice. It is not an easy job. To whom am I to make such a silly proposa ? Even five hundred rupees would make things easier. Indrani is beautiful no doubt, but beauty matters very little."

Indrani heard all these talks, but that did not make her sympathize with her parents' predicaments. On the other hand, she used to feel very angry. Everybody seemed to have lost their senses. What was the use of marriage any way ? A girl wanted a husband in order to be maintained by him. But if they would only let her finish her education, she herself would be able to maintain many others. Of course, she had the romantic love of love, that characterizes youth, but she thought it a thing beyond the grasp of ordinary middle-class people like themselves. All around she saw only worry, strife and ceaseless struggle. She was convinced that without money, there could be no happiness. She used to see the tragedy of domestic life on every side. The husband returned home, after a hard day's work, but the wife began to quarrel with him as soon as she caught sight of him. Poverty had killed all feelings within that poor woman. Indrani knew that there was no chance of a good marriage for her, as her father was poor. It would be far better, if she could finish her education and be independent of everybody. Though she knew that marriage was compulsory for her, yet she refused to admit it to herself. She was nearly through the school course, if her family would wait a little longer, she might enter a college. But she was afraid, she would not be spared that long.

One morning, she had just sat down to study, when her mother came and began to abuse her. "What a *Memsahib*! She is always studying. Am I a slave to you all ? I cannot do all the work. Go and wash the dishes at once."

Indrani threw away the book in anger and went to wash the dishes. She sat down near the tap and began to scour them with ashes. She wanted to break them all into pieces. They had announced a very good prize at school. The girl that got the highest marks at the yearly examination was going to get it. Indrani could have secured it easily, if her mother had refrained from disturbing her at all hours of the day.

Suddenly some one called out from behind, "Is Sunil Babu at home ?"

Indrani looked up and saw a strange young man, standing at the street door, calling her brother. Indrani was still feeling very angry. "Sunil Babu is not here" she cried

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out rather sharply. "Go and enquire at his studio."

"I am coming from the studio," the young man said, "he is not there. But I must find him. It is very important."

"Then he must be at his music club," said Indrani, "he has no other place to go to."

The young man stood there for some time more for no apparent reason, then went away.

Indrani's mother came out at once. "Why do you talk with strangers like that? Your manners are very bad, I must say. It is not seemly for a grown-up girl to talk to any and everyone."

"What am I to do then?" asked Indrani angrily. "He asked a civil question, and there was nobody else to answer. Do I have to turn tail and run?"

"What a cheeky girl you are," said her mother, "that's what schooling has done for you. Come back early, some people are coming this evening to see you."

Indrani felt too angry to speak. She went away and sat down to her studies once more. Kuber took sick-leave for that day. Anil did not dare to do so, he went to his office as usual. Sunil did not turn up at all. His mother showered abuse on the asbent one. Indrani did not want any breakfast, but went away to school. She was feeling quite sick at heart. Her mother wanted to keep her at home. "Why don't you stay at home?" she asked Indrani. "I have so much to do. I must clean the rooms and there are refreshments to be prepared."

"I know nothing about it and I don't care to." Indrani marched out, with nose tilted up in scorn. Her mother looked at her father with silent accusation in her eyes.

"We have no right to be offended," said Kuber. "We are simply throwing her away. She should never have been born in our home."

"Oh shut up," his wife said "Don't say such things at the beginning of a happy event. She might be happy, even with an old husband, if such is her destiny. But I wish, he had not so many children."

Kuber did not reply. He had grown desperate at everyone's taunting and at last had settled about Indrani's wedding. The bridegroom was a widower with children. He worked in the same office with Kuber. He was looking for a grown-up bride, who could look after the children and the household. He consented eagerly, when the proposal was laid before him. Kuber could not get one more suitable. His heart bled within him for sacrificing his tender daughter, but he had no alternative left.

The marriage was practically settled. Still as it was customary to come and see the bride, before the marriage, the bridegroom and one of his relatives were coming this evening to see Indrani.

Indrani came back from school, and found the whole house upside down nearly. The outer room had been swept and scrubbled clean. Some furniture had been borrowed to decorate it. Her mother was busy in the kitchen preparing refreshments.

As she came near the kitchen door her mother hastily arranged some food on a plate and pushed it towards her, saying, "Have something first. You are looking positively ill. What would they say, if they saw you like this?"

Indrani's anger blazed up against her mother's words, but she did not refuse the food. She was making some sort of a resolution, as was apparent from the firm curve of her lips.

A girl from the next house came to help in dressing and decorating her. Indrani's mother came out again from the kitchen. "Come, my dear, come right in," she greeted her. "Please do your best for her," she said. "We have no gold or jewellery, you see.

"Your daughter does not need them," said the girl. "The bridegroom will faint at the very sight of her.

Indrani soon finished dressing. The girl from next door laughed at the sight of her grave face and chucked her under the chin. Indrani jerked her face away angrily.

Her mother requested the other girl to be silent with a gesture of her hand.

The bridegroom's party soon arrived. They were welcomed and treated to light refreshments. Many girls and ladies had assembled in the house by this time. They peeped through the shutters to have a look at the happy man and remarked, "But he is not suitable at all for Indrani."

Indrani's mother struck her forehead with her hand. "What can we do, my dear?" she asked. "Beggars cannot be choosers. If god destines her to be happy, she will be happy with him."

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Kuber came in and took away Indrani to the outer room. He did not even dare to look at Indrani's face. The old bridegroom looked at her in surprise. He had heard that the girl was good-looking, but he had not expected such flame-like beauty. They asked the usual questions and then the bridegroom's relative blessed the bride. "We to settle about the date now," he said.

Indrani came back. Tears of rage and sorrow started into her eyes. Her mother ran to her to comfort her. But the daughter pushed away her outstretched hand and said, "Are you really going to marry me to that old man?"

Her mother's eyes too filled with tears at the sight of Indrani's tears. "What can we do, darling?" she said again. "We are poor and it is impossible for us to secure a good bridegroom. But though old, he is a good man and will try to make you happy."

Indrani hung down her head, and wept. Her mother had many duties waiting at the kitchen and she had to go away.

Suddenly Sunil entered the room. He was taken aback at the sight of Indrani's weeping and asked anxiously, "What's the matter Indrani? Why are you crying? Has your master scolded you?"

"You know very well that they never scold me," replied Indrani sharply. "And you are putting a stop to all that very effectively. My education is finished for this life."

"Why on earth?" asked Sunil, still in the dark.

"They had got an old man from somewhere and are going to marry me—" her voice choked in anger.

Sunil stood thinking. After a while, he said, "Look here sister, I can save you yet, if you follow my advice. Mother and father will be angry of course, but you will have to take it. I promise, no harm shall come of it."

Indrani looked up. "Tell me what to do and I will do it," she said. "Anything is better than marrying that old man. I am so disgusted at the very thought."

Sunil looked around to see, if anybody was near. Then he came near Indrani and began to whisper in her ear. Indrani grew pale at first, then turned rose red. She remained quiet for a time and asked, "Won't it hurt, father and mother in any way?"

Sunil shook his head. "Certainly not," he said. "In such a big town, nobody cares to think about others. And they have no other daughter too. You are eighteen and have a right to shape your destiny. Besides, no one is going to the law about it. Father may feel angry at first, but he will be glad afterwards."

"I don't care whether they are glad or not. If it does not harm them, I am content."

"No harm will come to them," said Sunil. "All right then, wait here a few minutes. I am coming back quick."

Indrani's mother needed some help in the kitchen. She called loudly for Indrani. She got no reply. She called again and again, with the same result.

Then she got up in anger. She thought Indrani was not answering on purpose. She wanted to give that young lady a piece of her mind.

She entered their room. No one was there. Where could the girl have gone? She never went out without asking her. She hoped nothing bad had happened.

Kuber had gone to return the borrowed things to the neighbours' houses. On return he found his wife, standing still in the bedroom, with a bewildered expression on her face.

"What's the matter?" he asked in surprise.

"I cannot find Indrani, anywhere," his wife replied.

Kuber stood thunder-struck. Then he cast his eyes helplessly everywhere. They fell up on a letter, which was lying on Indrani's table, and which his wife had not noticed. He picked it up and began to read.

"Dear father," Sunil had written. "I am taking away Indrani. I am a good-for-nothing, still I cannot stand by and see her being sacrificed. Mr. Ghose, the Director of our Cinema Company, has seen her and is charmed. She is just the girl, he wanted for his picture. Indrani is willing to act for him. She will be given a very good salary. Do not be anxious about her. Our Director is a very rich and cultured man. He had been to America. He is ready to mary Indrani even, if she will have him. I think, she will consent. After they are married, we shall all go together to ask for your blessing.

SUNIL."

Kuber stood as if turned to stone. "Why did not the wretched girl die?" cried out his wife. "She has disgraced us for ever."

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Cylces in Civilization

The notion of the cyclic rise and fall of civilizations has become popular since the publication of Spengler's monumental work. Dr. Hans Kohn examines the present civilization and discusses the notion in *The Aryan Path* :

We see before us a plurality of kindred civilizations, one arising out of the other, developing often in its midst, but coming out into its own life, replacing the former civilization and being in its turn later replaced by another. Every civilization, every complex of social and historical phenomena has to fulfil its function and bears the germs of its decay within itself. No principle of civilization is eternal.

In the present time Nationalism seems the dominating form of political and social life everywhere. It exercises such an influence upon human thought and action that it is thought a sacrosanct basic element of historical development. Men are singing odes to the praise of their nation. They sacrifice their lives and more often their sound judgment and impartiality for their father or mother-lands. They are driven by the forces of nationalist mysticism to believe the freedom of a nation to be an absolute value, the highest good. But Nationalism as a political force is of very recent growth. It was unknown in Central or Eastern Europe a couple of centuries ago and in the East a few decades ago. And it is certain that in a not very distant future the civilization of Nationalism will perish and the period of national struggles and wars will appear to our grandchildren as remote as does the period of religious strife and wars to the present-day European ; new forces will arise and will form their civilizations, a new page in human history will be written.

Not only in human history but even in the history of every historical group is there a constant rise and fall. There is no cyclic rhythm to determine the ebb and flow of this unfathomable sea. The keen explorer, however, going out into it, wishes to discover an instrument guiding him through the apparently meaningless flood of waves at the mercy of the winds. Man looking at history wishes to systematize the multitude of countless events, to understand them, to find a meaning in their changes and fluctuations, a regulating principle. He may believe in a continuous progress of human history or he may believe in a cyclic rise and fall in human history. These theories will help him to see his way in the wild ocean, to discover a meaning and a rhythm in the rushing on of men, groups and events, but they cannot be proven. They are articles of faith, not propositions of exact science. But men want them out of the desire to justify their life, to make this sort space of time between birth and death full of meaning to continue their existence, at least in a very spiritualized from, into the future. Nietzsche proclaimed the tenet of eternal recurrence of all history. Given a limited number of elements of the world, and therefore of historical situations, all historical events must occur again and again. Every minute of our life gains thus a great and awful importance, for it will recur over and over again. Our life in reality will never end. It stretches out into the most remote future. Such faith is certainly of religious importance, but it will not help us to explain history.

But history in our own time has shown us a development which could not be foreseen two hundred years ago. Until now we had no human history. There was a history of the Græco-Roman European civilization, a history of India, a history of the Far East besides several others which are less known to us or which have already disappeared. There was no unity between them, no cultural contact, no understanding. Indian or Chinese philosophy was unknown to Europe a few decades ago. The history and social structure of Europe or of ancient Greece were a secret to educated Chinamen or Japanese less than a century ago. Chinese scholars deeply rooted in an old civilization did not understand in the least European thought while Europeans stood equally amazed before the wonders of Indian social life or Indian psychology. There was no one Humanity, but several ones, all of them strange and dismal one to another. This is changing rapidly. Our humanity and, therefore, human history are becoming a reality in our days. There is no unknown spot, no unknown ethnical groups left on the globe. Modern communications and economics have shattered age-long frontiers between civilization and nations. They meet and become acquainted. One learns from the other. The West has much to learn from the East and its ancient Wisdom, but in general the East is going West. East and West, only a century ago worlds asunder, do meet. The intellectual, political and social doctrines of the West are accepted more and more in the East and are forming the basis of the new free Nations of Asia, which soon will also be true of Africa. In America and in Russia new civilizations are being born and are rapidly spreading their influences through all continents. The earth has become larger.

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Applications of Biology

Last month we quoted a few extracts from the article which Professor A. V. Hill contributed to *Prabuddha Bharata* on the rôle of biology in education and human life. He continues the article in a later issue of that

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paper and discusses among other things the applications of Biology :

The first and perhaps the most dramatic applications of modern biology have been in the prevention of disease. Pasteur followed up his demonstration that spontaneous generation does not occur, with the discovery that infectious diseases, such as typhoid, diphtheria, and pneumonia, are caused by living organisms. Most of these are bacteria; many of the rest, like those of measles, are too small to be seen. Others are of an animal nature, like the active causes of malaria and sleeping sickness. Together with such discoveries arose the science of parasitology. The life histories of various parasites were unravelled, with the result that it has been possible in many cases to stamp out the corresponding disease or affection. Frequently there is an association between some parasite or animal and the microscopic agent of some disease. Anti-typhoid inoculation, the control of diphtheria, the elimination of malaria over wide areas of the earth—these have been some practical consequences of such work. No longer do we think of disease as due to evil spirits, or as magic sent by God for our punishment. In such matters biology has certainly produced a very evident effect.

In the economic fields of agriculture, forestry, and cattle-raising the study of parasites and of the organisms of disease has proved no less important. Throughout the British Dominions to-day there is urgent need for zoologists and botanists, young men of enterprise and scientific training, to aid in solving important practical problems. The demand is far greater than the supply. At the present time, at Plymouth, a certain degree of success seems already within range in predicting the quality and the approximate locality of herring fisheries from year to year. Water supply and sanitation require biological knowledge, bacteriological technique. The transport of living fruit from the ends of the earth is a joint problem of biology and engineering. The freezing of meat, the drying of milk, the preservation of eggs, the canning of fish, the safeguarding of vitamins in food, the standardizing of drugs, all such matters implicitly assume a certain biological knowledge. These are not unimportant things in human life. Constructing Latin verse or studying Greek philosophy may be better gymnastics for the mind, but even Cabinet ministers and leader-writers might find a little biology useful for an understanding of the world.

It is not necessary to insist upon the close relation between physiology and medicine, the oldest almost of all sciences and arts. No man has served medicine better than William Harvey, who by the vivisection, as he says, "of toads, serpents, house snails, shrimps, crevises, and all manner of little creatures," together with a host of other animals, discovered the circulation of the blood ; the greatest single discovery in the whole of medicine. From his day downwards along the years the services of physiology to medicine, and to the alleviation of human disability and suffering, have accumulated. Not may of us are doctors, but most of us from time to time are patients. To understand even a little of what medicine means, of the general principles upon which it is based ; to regard ourselves objectively, when we are sick, as an experiment ; to think of public health, of medicine, and of surgery in concrete terms instead of as a form of magic : surely if an elementary knowledge of biology can secure these things—and I think it can—it deserves a better place in our curricula. Perhaps the most important service of biology is to give men a reasonable attitude towards life.

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Women's Education in India

Professor Karve writes in the same paper on women's education in India :

Our conservatism is a stumbling-block in the way of India's progress in several fields. In social matters we are slaves of custom and even in matters educational we have not the courage to get away from the beaten path. Our system of secondary and higher education has not evolved as a natural growth. It is a foreign thing transplanted into Indian soil. It worked well enough so long as the products of this system found employment in the offices of Government and private concerns. Now the supply far exceeds the demand and the system has become quite unsuited to the needs of boys. The same system is resorted to for women's education also, without any consideration of their special needs and of the circumstances and the difficulties under which they have to live and work. Secondary and higher education of young men is going on and the number of educated youths is daily increasing because such education is considered, though falsely, as a step to the means of earning one's livelihood. But education among women is not progressing in the same proportion because their education is not regarded as an urgent need. The present curriculum also is not suited to them being too lengthy and crowded. A few women may take advantage of the present courses of studies, but for a huge majority a complete overhauling is necessary, if secondary education is to spread far and wide among our women.

Here we have to take a painful fact into our consideration. Striking cultural disparity between men and women of the same family is adversely affecting the peace and harmony of our home life and also the progress of society. Education worth the name can be obtained only in the three higher classes of high schools and if we compare the numbers of boys and girls at this stage, we find there is only 1 girl corresponding to 83 boys. This fact was most impressively commented upon by Sir Malcolm Hailey in his convocation speech of the Punjab University about three years ago. He said, "Out of 83 young men who are taking their high school education only one can get an educated wife with whom exchange of thought and feeling would be possible. The other 82 will have to pass their lives with uneducated or half-educated wives." In the lower strata of society the mentality and the level of general culture of men and women are the same, and they can enjoy conversation in a mixed society of men and women. But among the middle class people there is a great difference in the intellectual level of men and women and for this, any free discussion of few subjects is possible in a family gathering or a gathering of male and female relation. The greatest and most important question, therefore that confronts us today is the devising of means to spread secondary education among our women far and wide, so as to be able to bridge over the wide gulf between men and women, especially of

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the middle class. If we find our present system of education is acting as a deterrent, we must be ready to proceed along new lines.

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Sir Arthur Salter in India

The Mysore Economic Journal discusses the mission of Sir Arthur Salter in India:

Though the object of the mission on which Sir Arthur Salter, K. C. B., Director of the Economic and Finance Section of the League of Nations, was coming out to India was at one time shrouded in mystery, the *communique* issued by the Government of India in the Department of Commerce on 15th January last cleared up the air very considerably. The speeches he has been making since then have indicated unmistakably that his mission is one to be received in a friendly rather than in a critical spirit by the people of India. Within the past thirty-five days Sir Arthur has toured the country, visiting Lahore, Delhi, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. His addresses have centred round the question of forming organizations for the study of economic questions arising in India both in relation of the Central Government and to the Provincial Governments. The objective aimed at is two-fold: (1) the continous interpretation of current economic developments, and (2) the development of plans designed to achieve particular purposes. In regard to the position of India to the rest of the nations forming the British Commonwealth, nothing is mentioned, and we think that is quite the right way of approaching the question.

Sir Arthur Salter has been requested by the Government of India to give them the benefit of his special knowledge and experience of organizations existing abroad for the study of economic questions including both the continuous interpretation of current developments and the consideration of plans designed to achieve particular purposes and to advise them on organization matters in relation to the associated position in India. In order to be in a position to meet the desire of the Government of India in the latter respect, Sir Arthur Salter wishes, as for as the time at his disposal permits, to consult Local Governments, industrial and commercial interests, persons with experience in economics, trade and commerce and organizations for the study of economic questions.

In order to facilitate his enquiries Sir Arthur Salter is anxious to focus the conversations within a frame-work and for this purpose the range within which he would wish to confine himself is given below. This framework extends over a wide field and Sir Arthur Salter desires to make it clear that while each of the features indicated in it may be present in one country or another, no one country possesses an organization so comprehensive as to include them all. The framework is not conceived as indicating what may be desirable or possible in this country but has been drawn up to set forth the boundaries within which it seems useful for him to confine his conversations with those who may be good enough to assist him in his enquiries.

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Vocational Education in Schools

The inadequacy in the equipment of our schools for making our boys fit for life has already become an old story. Yet, the subject still deserves a good deal of attention, for nothing tangible has been done to remedy the evil. Mr. Sultan Mohiyuddin discusses the subject in *The Progress of Education*:

Experience, however, in all countries showed that mere provison of vocational institutions did not adequately meet the increasing demands of economic life. It has been felt that unless a 'liason' is established between schools of general education and vocations, the needs of industry and commerce cannot be satisfied. Secondary schools and universities have accordingly come in for reorganization. They were originally, in all countries, the schools for the leisured classes. At best, they were the means of recruiting administrators to carry on the work of the Church and secular government. To this function, they had consciously adapted themselves, to train men for duties of public administration and leadership. With the development of the liberal professions new demands were made to which these institutions, however, readily responded. But, side by side with these schools for the classes existed those for the masses, completely independent of the former and providing a poor intellectual fare. Under the influence of the democratic sentiment, however, at beginning of the present century it was felt that there should be no '*cul-de-sac*' in the educational system, that no child should be limited by the accidents of birth and environment in educational advancement and that no child should be denied the right to equality of educational opportunity. The principle, in Huxley's words, that there should be a ladder from the gutter to the University came to be enthusiastically adopted. This led in many countries to an attempt at a unified and comprehensive system of education, pre-eminently in America where a unitary, rectilineal, free and secular system was evolved. It led in England to the institution of freeplace and scholarship and in Germany and some other countries, as one of the results of the post-war revolution, to the creation of common schools for all classes of society. But the result has not been quite happy; for owing to the prestige of the ages attaching to the higher grades of general schools, ambition yet urges many to press forward into the traditional secondary educational course of an academic nature in search of black-coated jobs and sedentary occupations to the intensification of the problem of the unemployment of the educated. The truth is that not more than a small proportion of the pupils can really benefit by such courses of education. Social distinctions can be obliterated but intellectual differences will persist through the ages. All cannot reach the highest rungs of the academic ladder. Many have to fall off on the road-side. Having had no opportunities to develop aptitudes for occupations other than the academic and with a positive distaste, on the other hand, for practical pursuits, such academic failures have helped to swell the ranks of social parasites. The situation is regretted in many countries. But in India, it is nothing short of tragic, partly by reason of the inadequacy of the provision for specific vocational instruction but more largely owing to the lure of the Government service, admission to which was secured originally by bribery and is secured even now through

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the possession of university degrees, with its assured income and social prestige.

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United States of Europe and Great Britain

Professor S. V. Puntambekar writes in the *Indian Review* about the United States of India in course of which he discusses Great Britain's attitude towards the new movement:

Then, Great Britain because of her Empire is not likely to welcome the proposal. Her interests are more colonial and imperial than continental. She does not really want a united Europe. It would be a great danger to her supremacy on the seas and in various parts of the world. She wants peace in Europe but not unity. She has always helped and fought for the preservation of small nations like Holland, Portugal and Belgium, and even for Turkey, nor does she want any entanglement in European matters which would bind her to any indefinite and unforeseen responsibilities. She wants freedom of action to interfere in European affairs so far as they would affect her imperial interests. She would lower her status and her Imperial interests would suffer if she were to become a member of a purely European federation. Then her colonies and dependencies are likely to break away sooner from her than otherwise. She feels herself to be a world-power and not merely a European State. Then her economic policy is either national or imperial. It can never be European, because her competitors up till now have been mostly European States, though no doubt America and Japan have also become her serious rivals. Her tariff policy is shaping itself in an imperial form. She wants to become a self-sufficient economic empire utilizing all the imperial resources in men and material, largely to maintain her political and economic supremacy. She welcomes to be a member of a League of Nations in which both her European and world interests are secured as she has a predominant voice in conjunction with her colonial and dependent partners. And the League cannot interfere in her internal and imperial affairs. So she can treat her dependencies and crown colonies in any way she likes. Then under the fiction of mandates she has attached many new territories to her empire which sooner or later she wants to absorb, only waiting for another opportunity.

M. Briand's proposal is not approved by Great Britain. She wants to know what is to be its relation to the League of Nations.

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Teachers in Ancient India

Mr. K. Venkatappayya writes in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* about the teachers of ancient India:

Now what are the obligations of a teacher in ancient times? Had he merely rights without obligations, like the nobility of France before the revolution of 1789? No, the teacher in ancient India had his own duties to discharge in his relations with the pupil. The teacher had to love his pupil as his own son, and if he had more than one pupil under his charge—which was not uncommon, it was incumbent upon him to love them all as his own sons. The following passage from *Manusmrti* (Chap. 71: vv. 159–161) refers to the conduct of a teacher towards his pupil. "Created beings must be instructed in what concerns their welfare without giving them pain; and sweet and gentle speech must be used by the teacher who desires to abide by the Sacred Law. He, forsooth, whose speech and thoughts are pure, even, and perfectly gains the whole reward which is confered by the Vedanta. Let him not, even though in pain, speak words cutting to the quick. Let him not injure others in thought or deed; let him not utter speeches which make others afraid of him, since that will prevent him from gaining Heaven."

As regards punishments of pupils, Gautama says, "As a rule pupil shall not be punished corporally. If no other course is possible, he may be corrected with a thin rope or cane. If the teacher strikes him with any other instrument, he shall be punished by the king." (*Gautama*, II, 42–46) Manu also awards similar punishments and considers the teacher who exceeds the bounds, as having committed the offence of theft. But Apastamba is more severe. He prescribes frightening, fasting, bathing in cold water, and banishment from the teacher's presence as correctives to a recalcitrant student (*Apastamba* V. 2.) It is needless to state that the above quotation makes us infer that teachers in ancient India were not generally in favour of harsh punishments for pupils except under extraordinary circumstances.

—

Pandit Motilal after the Great Change

We get a very interesting glimpse of the change which came over Pandit Motilal's life, after he had joined the nationalists, from the letter written by him which has been published by Mr. C. H. V. Pathy in *The Scholar*:

He who was living in the grandest Western style, threw all the luxuries to the winds and embraced the cross at the call of the country. The following letter he wrote in the middle of 1921 to Mahatma Gandhi from Ramgadh, a hill station in U. P., reveals the extent and enormity of his sacrifices:—

"You will be interested to know the kind of life I am leading here. In the good old days, two kitchen establishments, one English and the other Indian, accompanied us to the Hills. After *chota hazri* in the camp we would start off for a jungle with a full equipment of rifles, shot guns and ammunition, and on occasions, with an army of beaters and killed such inanimate creatures as came on our way, lunch and tea being served in the jungles with as much positive care as at home. A hearty dinner awaited us on return to the camp and after doing full justice to it, we slept the sleep of the just. There was nothing to disturb the even tenor of our life except occasional annoyance at the stupidness which saved the life of a poor beast. And now the brass cooker (purchased in Delhi when we were all there for the opening of the Tibbe College) has taken the place of the kitchens; a solitary servant, 3 small bags containing

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rice, *dal* and *mussala* that of the mule loads of provisions ; one square meal of rice cooked together in the middle of the day that of breakfast, lunch and dinner *a la Anglaise*—lots of fruits with the afternoon tea and an occasional egg or two when available. The shikar has given place to lazy walking and the rifle and gun to books, magazines and newspapers (the favourite book being Edwin Arnold's *Song Celestial*). When it rains there is nothing to do but to write silly letters like these. 'What a fall my countrymen.' But really I have never enjoyed life better."

—

The Library as a Community Servant

Mr. A. K. Siddhanta discusses in *The Modern Librarian* the functions of a library as a servant of the community :

A library is not a mere museum which passive spectators will visit at fixed hours, admire from a distance and imagine of the greatness of the contents carrying themselves into the past. It is not a graveyard of past authors where one comes to pay occasional homage, where one meets with life-moving forces with a passive silence. A library is not comparable to a monument or tombstone of notabilities where people go to read good quotation from sacred sources. It is not a mere record-room either where everything is well classified and placed, where you can go for facts and figures when you need them.

The function of a library is comparable to a good salesman. The salesman needs first create interest in men and persuade them to buy and use his articles. Further, he has to see that through good service all his newly acquired customers stay for long.

Similar is the case with the Librarian. He needs to draw public attention towards his library through appropriate methods. and then retain friendship and respect of these new-comers for long.

The psycho-physical principle on which the problem of *publicity* depends is that of appealing to the senses of sight and hearing. The sense of sight through bulletins, reports, posters, placards, bill-boards, motion pictures, exhibits and displays; the sense of hearing is appealed to through public lectures, library talks in clubs or over the radio, and regular musical concerts arranged by the libraries.

These sight and sound methods spread directly or indirectly the idea of a presence of a library or inform the public of some special books in the library. It creates curiosity and it excites ideas in the public mind; it interests the indifferent and supplies information to those who are already initiated.

These methods in short might induce the lazy to leave his home and proceed towards the library, they might help those also who have been searching for a library but did not know of its exact location.

There the preliminary work begins. The real educative work begins and ends inside the library where the reader is in communion with thoughts and ideals of world-famous personalities. Here inside the library the slow but steady work of transforming an interested crowd into a trained band begins.

Here the genius of a librarian is either proved or baffled. Personal service to individuals, courtesy, knowledge and efficiency in service—all these count in transforming new comers into sincere friends.

—

The Women's Claim at the Round Table Conference

Some British women, we learn, from the *Stridharma*, have been pleading for the cause of Indian women before the Round Table Conference.

A memorandum regarding the status and welfare of Indian women under any new constitution for India was addressed to the Round Table Conference signed by a number of British women interested in Indian freedom. It recommends the extension of the franchise to women by such means as will produce a more true equality of voting power as between men and women which certainly is not obtained while the property qualification is the chief basis of franchise. It recommends that the vote be given to a wife over 25 years or preferably 21 years, of a man who is a voter, and to widows over that age, of husbands who have been voters at the time of their death. It supports the present method of sex equality in the contesting of seats for the Legislature. In addition it asks for the reservation of 5 per cent of seats in them for women and suggests a number of means for the selection of these in case the women are not elected in the open general election. (1) Nomination as at present made, (2) Nomination from a panel of names sent forward by recognized women's associations, (3) Election of women from a similar panel by members of the Council after their election (all men !), and (4) Extra election of the necessary number of women from special constituencies the election to take place in the ordinary way at the open general election the voting to be done by men and women.

All these suggestions need careful study and discussion by the women of India themselves on the spot and especially with the help of those women who have personal experience of contesting elections and of service as nominated members. Readers are invited to send their opinions on the question to the editor for publication.

—

Women's Franchise in Japan

A communication published in the same paper gives interesting glimpses of what is being done in Japan to give women political rights.

Women of Japan have become very active in every social sphere ; especially their political stride is remarkable.

In view of this fact, the Ministry is to introduce a bill for the municipal suffrage for women in the Diet in session. It gives women above twenty-five years of age who live two years successively in the same place, the right to elect and to be elected members of the local assemblies as well as honorary offices - mayors and assistant mayors, village masters and assistant village masters, city

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councillors and members of educational boards. The age and residential qualification may be reduced to twenty years and one year respectively. Of course, this right is given on the same terms as that of men. But we cannot say that this is complete municipal suffrage, for it does not include electoral suffrage that it should include. Therefore many woman leaders cry to give complete woman suffrage, not limited one. If the proposed Bill should be approved by the Diet, the number of woman voters amounts to 13,560,000. This Bill will be put in force on the next general municipal election; in some places in 1932, and in others in 1933 at the latest. Women of Japan demand to have the woman suffrage. The movement for it is so enthusiastic that they will be able to enjoy it in the near future.

—

Ancient Tamil Civilization

Mr. V. Narayanan throws considerable doubt on the fashionable notion of an independent Dravidian civilization in *Triveni*:

Modern writers on the history of South India are fond of pointing out the existence of a Tamil civilization independent of the Aryan civilization in the region south of the Vindhyas.

But these studies of the characteristics of the Tamil civilization are vitiated at the outset by the assumption that there was a Dravidian culture and a Dravidian race independent of the Aryan culture and the Aryan race. It is important to note that there is no reference in Sanskrit works to Dravida as opposed to Arya. The five Dravidas known to Sanskrit writers are five sections of a group of the Aryan people; the early foreign writers of Greece and of Rome refer to the whole of India as one unit, and if they refer to Tamilakam it is only as a name of a division of the country, just like a reference to Bengal as the 'Ganges' and to Ceylon as Taprobane.'

First, as to the pecularities of the Dravidian language and of the Tamil language: No systematic study was made of the works or of the grammatical forms prevalent in early Tamil. A systematic attempt was made in this direction by the late Mr. R. Swaminatha Ayyar. The evidence that he has gathered and published serves to show that the peculiarities of the Tamil language as regards grammatical form and construction are common to the Prakrit languages, and that the vocabulary of earlier Tamil bore close affinities to the vocabularies of the Vedas and the earlier Prakrits which prevailed in the Punjab regions. Much emphasis is laid by modern writers on the scanty references in Vedic literature to gold, ivory and pearl; and references are drawn that these were therefore the special products of the Tamil country. But these references are based on the mistaken notion that the Vedas embodied the entire civilization of the early Indians. The Vedas and especially the Mantra and the Brahmana portions were manuals prepared for use by the adherents of a special school of worship.

Next, the absence of numerous references to the regions south of the Vindhyas in early Vedic literature proves only that the Fire Cult was confined to a particular region in North India. In fact, references are similarly very few as regards large portions of the country north of the Vindhyas. The region of the Uttara Kurus was held particularly sacred by the followers of the Fire Cult, as many of the elaborate sacrifices and rituals were conducted in that region. It is therefore natural to expect more frequent references to that region than to the other regions of India in Vedic literature.

The two forms of worship, one of offering sacrificial oblations through fire and the other of worshipping images, have been in existence in India side by side from very early ages. Worship of God through images seems to have appealed more to the popular imagination, while the worship through Fire was confined to a small group of persons who had specialized in the rituals elaborated in the Mantra and Brahmana manuals. In course of time the popular Agamic cult also came under the control of a special priesthood who performed elaborate rituals prescribed in the Agamas. That the Agamas existed in the early days, although they were considered heterodox by the Vedic schools, is seen by the discussion of their evidential value by the Sutrakara Badarayana.

I have endeavoured to show that the evidences from which modern historians of South India reconstruct with the aid of their imagination an independent Tamil civilization are, all of them, inconclusive; that they have no evidential value at all, because of the places whence they are called; and that, on the other hand, the very sources of these 'evidences' contain indubitable proofs of an indentity of culture throughout India.

—

India and World Opinion

In the same paper the editor comments on the importance now attached by world opinion to India:

Valuable evidence is pouring in from everywhere that the Indian struggle for freedom under the leadership of Gandhiji has created a splendid impression in other lands. Rabindranath Tagore, who returned from abroad last month, speaks of this "new technique in the history of revolution, which is in keeping with the spiritual traditions of our country" and how, "the noble spirit of courage and sacrific manifested" has won the admiration of Europe and America. Prof. N. G. Ranga, who represented, though unofficially, the Congress view-point to British audiences at the time of the Round Table Conference, was struck by the magic influence exerted by Gandhi's name. On his return journey he visited Italy, and on one occasion a number of Fascist soldiers accorded him a military salute, noticing that he was wearing a Gandhi cap; and they proceeded to explain, "This is our salute to Gandhi." Yet another friend, Mr. N. Krishnamurti—the Travancore Secretary to Mr. T. Raghaviah at the Conference—tells how he walked proudly through "the proud cities of Europe" just because he was a compatriot of Gandhi. The number of foreign journalists besieging "Anand Bhavan" at Allahabad and Dr. Ansari's residence at Delhi affords another striking testimony to the interest aroused by India. The exchange of cables between Gandhiji and the Rev. J. H. Holmes of New York is significant. All this is to the good. The Indian issue has now become a world-problem, and peace in India is the best guarantee of world-peace.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Advertising in the Modern World

The merits and otherwise of the art of advertising in the modern world has often been discussed. One of the latest of these discussions is an editorial note in *Unity*:

If there is anything more intolerable in this modern so-called civilization of ours than advertising, we would like to know what it is. We pick up our newspaper to find out what is going on in the world, and we are laden down with a vast welter of advertising broadsides, with a few columns of news items tucked away here and there amid the huge proclamations of the merits of automobiles, tooth-pastes, shirts, hats, furniture and lingerie. Has anybody ever computed the ratio between advertising columns and news columns in any one of our more successful journals? We turn on our radio, and in the very midst of occasional excellent programmes find our ears anointed with the salvy voices of announcers telling us we must use Mobiloil, Pepsodent, Listerine, Coca-cola, Palmolive, and other patent preparations which we don't want and won't have. Imagine going to a lecture, a symphony concert, or a play, and having the beginning, the end, and the middle of the occasion taken up by some medicine man tooting the virtues of his wares! Disgusted, we drop newspaper and radio and seek escape in the open air, only to find every open field, every clump of woods, every hill-top and cross-roads, cluttered up with bill-boards of enormous dimensions giving us instructions about Goodrich Tyres, inducements to the best cigarette, directions to the nearest hotel or hot-dog stand. And now we are told that the "talkies" are about to be taken over by the advertisers—every screen play in the future is to be sponsored by some toilet article corporation or dry goods firm! Against this infernal nuisance we know of but one effective line of attack, and that is to buy nothing that is offensively advertised. This isn't always possible. How to buy an automobile under these conditions would put any one of us in a quandary! But we take pains ourselves to use a tooth-paste which is neither "on the air" nor in the pastures; we buy shoes we have never seen glittering on electric signs; we find joy in refusing to recognize the latest shouted styles in hats, collars and shirts. Futile? Perhaps! But, even so, we cling to our self-respect, like the one pig who refused to budge when the Gadarene swine ran down a steep-place into the sea.

—

Next—the Midget Husband

Will the husbands of the future become small enough to fit comfortably into the small homes of the future? This question is entertainingly discussed by a lady in the New York *World*, quoted in the *Literary Digest*:

The popularity of the small man is undoubtedly linked up with the size of the modern city apartment and the present craze for objects of diminutive size.

In an age of miniature golf and miniature cars it is only natural to find a vogue for the miniature husband.

As far as up-to-date apartments are concerned the undersized gentleman is not only a fashion but a convenience.

Tall, rangy men do not fit well into dinettes; indeed such a gentleman getting up suddenly from breakfast is all too likely to lift the little nook from its moorings and his little wife from the hole she tries to keep on her disposition.

Turned loose in a kitchenette, a man of the brawny-shouldered type is likely to become so tightly wedged between the icebox and the sink that only blow torches can get him out again.

In the bathroom it is discovered that the six-foot hero can fit into the tub only by coiling up like a cobra.

He is hardly any better off in the living room. If he tries to make himself comfortable on the daybed, he usually finds his feet resting on the umbrella stand in the *foyer*. If he sits down on a ground-clinging modernist chair, he discovers that his countenance is eclipsed by his own knees.

This modernist furniture fad, if it keeps up, is likely to have a very bad effect on the stature of the race. Tables so low that a caterpillar could hardly crawl under them, without having his back hair mussed up, make the Goliaths feel as isolated and alone as Mount Fujiyama.

Chairs with turned-under metal legs that bend at a harsh glance bring no surcease to gentlemen who tip the scales around 200.

Eventually our larger citizens will become so run down and discouraged that they will all emigrate to museums and settle down amid the sturdier furniture of our ancestors.

Thus, by a process of natural selection and survival of the fittest, the size of the race will be rather rapidly scaled down.

The day may come when everybody will be able to live comfortably in dolls' houses.

—

Nationalism and International[illegible]sm

The Japan Weekly Chronicle discusses the question of nationalism and internationalism, in connection with the views of Rabindranath Tagore:

One the most distinguished Internationalists to-day is Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, and in London

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January 12th he talked to a sympathetic audience of his ideals of humanity and freedom. It is a strange thing that he should be speaking this when in India a novel nationalism should be regarded as a patriotic virtue. It is no new thing. When Dr. Tagore came to Japan for the first time, just when the war boom was making everybody wealthy and war talk was inflaming national feeling, he made some remarks on Japanese nationalism that gave anything but pleasure to those to whom they were interpreted. Yet in Japan as elsewhere patriotism is often an assertion of superiority over other countries rather than love for one's own. It was little heard of in the years when Japan lay remote and secure from traders: at that time loyalty was a local sentiment, useful in stimulating the participants in the civil wars that impoverished all alike. In his talk in London Dr. Tagore referred to his disappointment in finding a tendency in Japan to boast and to brag nationally—an attitude far different from the kindly relationships that distinguished private life. It may be argued, of course, that love is all very well for the family and for one's own friends but that a united and unbending front is necessary where foreigners are concerned. But that is just what the poet refuses to believe. He referred to the Asiatic nationalisms which had become too rampant and self-assertive," but "that also we got from Western sources." Individualism, he thought, was made too much of in the West, especially in politics. Differences there must be between different peoples, in temperament. But those differences should not include selfishness, greed, and antipathy. He looked rather to an ideal of internationalism which would "bridge the gulf that was widening every day between East and West."

It would be quite excusable in some of Dr. Tagore's more militant countrymen if they became rather impatient with this. They might say that it was all very well to discover at this time of day that nationalism was an evil, but that he himself had confessed that it was taken up by India in self-defence, or at least in protective imitation. Why should it not run its whole course in India as it had in Europe? Dr. Tagore gave at least one reason—that it had served Europe very badly. National antipathies had brought about a condition that made civilized life impossible, and to cure which the League of Nations had been created; but the politicians had grabbed the League just as they had grabbed the Peace Conference, with results disastrous for civilization. Still, the Indian politician might well say that nationalism would last his time as a force for progress and it would be for other generations to take care of the ractions.

—

Jesus in the Modern Age

The World Tomorrow publishes an article on the present position of teachings of Jesus from which the extracts given below are taken:

Jesus has shared the fate of all the prophets. A prophet is first taken seriously and damned. Then, when a long time has passed, he is revered and apotheosized, and no longer taken seriously. Here, for instance, is St. Francis af Assisi who, seven hundred years after his death, is praised by everybody, including the militant followers of Mussolini. Francis had no faith in the sword and cared nothing at all for material wealth, but he is lauded by militarists who clamour for additional cruisers and revered by millionaires who labour to increase their pile! Commenting upon the present popularity of George Bernard Shaw, one of his English contemporaries has remarked that Shaw may yet live to see himself in stained glass windows. He has also remarked that if this should happen "it would be the most insufferable revenge which a world that he has scourged and mocked could inflict upon him, for when a prophet is deified his message is lost."

In a way, the adoration of Christ has been the tragedy of Jesus. Magnificent cathedrals, lighted altars, vested choirs, intoning priests, acolytes swinging burning censers, theologians saying, "Very God of Very God," a multitude crying, "King of kings and Lord of lords"—but all for whom? Hardly for that humble son of Mary, who came not to be ministered unto but to minister; who laid up for himself no treasures upon the earth; who, when he was reviled, not again; who said to a militant disciple, "Put up thy sword"; who believed that love and love alone has redeeming power, although he died knowing that the immediate response to love may be a cross.

After Christianity had secured the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them by making its tragic compromise with the Roman state, its official representatives ceased to proclaim the teachings of Jesus. For an inconvenient ethic they substituted an enchanting metaphysic; for the Jesus of history the Christ of theology. The subject matter of Christian teaching and preaching, as of Christian drama and art, was the birth and death of a supernatural Saviour, the resurrection and ascension of a God. The Sermon on the Mount was not only un-acted, it was almost unmentioned. There was developed a religion *about* Jesus which became so radically different from the religion of Jesus that once and again during the past fiteen hundred years the Jesus of history would surely have wanted to explain that he himself was not a Christian.

Even the Christ of evangelical preaching has been but an abstraction of the Jesus of history. The Jesus who healed the sick and who invited the weary and heavy-laden to come unto him and find rest, who honoured women, welcomed children, brought hope to sinners and comfort to mourners—to him an evangelical Protestantism has directed the attention of successive generations. But this Jesus of an ardent evangelism has been only so much of the Jesus of history as charmed men's fears and bade their sorrows cease, not the actual Jesus whose teachings were in some instances so revolutionary that they got him into serious trouble with authority.

—

The Balance Sheet of the Five Year Plan

Mr. William Chamberlain sums up for the readers of *The New Republic* the results of the Five Year Plan in Russia:

The collective farms were also served by tractors

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so far the government was able to supply them. Moreover, they possessed the further advantage over the typical small peasant homestead of having at their disposal the combined resources of their members in working animals and machinery and of holding all their land in one convenient piece (the usual Russian small peasant holding is divided into tiny separate strips). The state farms too, demonstrated their productive possibilities during the last year. Despite the fact that the *kulaks* were almost completly eliminated as a productive force, despite the fact that many individual peasants, discouraged and confused by the changes around them, did not increase their planted acreage, or curtailed it, the increased amount of land ploughed up in the state and collective farms gave the country as a whole a 9 per cent increase in planted acreage; and favourable weather conditions, which made possible a good crop, intensified the effectiveness of this gain. Curiously enough, American tractors, largely produced by the most individualist of capitalists, Henry Ford, furnished the heavy artillery that made it possible for the Soviet government to break the passive resistance of the more well-to-do Russian peasants, hitherto expressed in curtailment of the sown area. This made it possible to carry out to a considerable degree the socialist reorganization of agriculture which proved quite impracticable in the first year of the Revolution.

Under the new system, a group which may include scores, hundreds or even thousand of peasant families, pool their land holdings, working animals and machinery, and farm the land together, dividing the proceeds of their labour according to the amount and quality of labour performed. Peasants in the collective farms, as a general rule, retain personal possession of homes, gardens, chickens and smaller farm animals.

It would be premature to say that Russia has solved its agrarian problem; but at least the first difficult turn in agriculture has been successfully rounded and the predictions of famine and consequent political and economic collapse have not been verified. The other items on the credit side of the balance sheet may be discussed more briefly. The growth of general industrial output by about 25 per cent during the year which ended on October 1, 1930, reflects a strengthening of the country's productive capacity, even though no immediate effects in relieving the shortage of commodities are visible. This is partly because the Plan aims at first developing the basic industries, such as coal and metal, which do not satisfy direct consumption needs partly because the rising demands of some branches of industry quickly eat up the increased output of others.

The virtual abolition of unemployment (except among those classes which are designedly barred from state unemployment for political reasons) creates a contrast to the present situation in England, America and Germany which Communist orators are glad to emphasize. It is perhaps a little too soon, however, to be sure that the Soviet economic system has discovered a permanent cure for unemployment. Up to about a year ago unemployment in Russia was chronic and fairly heavy. Capitalist countries have also been known to reduce unemployment to very small proportions under two conditions, both of which exist in Russia. These are an intensive building boom and an inflation of the currency which, while it operates to lower the standard of living of the wage earners, makes it easy to finance new building and hence spread employment over a wider layer of the population. The Soviet achievement of "abolishing unemployment" must stand a test of some years before it can be considered definite and permanent.

However carefully one may weigh the plus and minus elements in the Five Year Plan, it is difficult to be certain whether one's final computation is correct. Much depends upon the essentially incalculable element of cumulative strain which the deprivations of the last years have imposed upon the population. If the traditional Russian quality of endurance makes it possible to absorb this strain without drastic injury to the national health, morale and working efficiency, one will be inclined to grant at least a slight balance in favour of the Five Year Plan, if only because the combination of mechanization with collectivization suggests at least the beginning of the solution of a formidable double-barrelled problem; that of the non-Socialist peasant and of agricultural production.

The Five Year Plan has ushered in a new phase of the Revolution. Life has become harder, bleaker, more intense, more fanatical. The easy-going years of the New Economic Policy are gone. Many things in contemporary Russia which may seem puzzling and unrelated to an outsider are understandable on the basis of a tremendous effort to integrate the whole national life in terms of a passionate struggle to realize the dream of socialist industrialization which is symbolized by the Five Year Plan. Among such things one may note the growing insistence upon "class" rather than esthetic standards in literature and drama; the drive against religion (*piatiletka* is a jealous god that will brook no rival); the fierce hunt for economic traitors, or *saboteurs*.

The epoch of the Five Year Play is inspiring or terrible, or both, according to the location of one's sympathies. It is an age of steel, an age in which Peter the Great, the ruthless innovator among Russia's Tsars, might have revelled.

—

Why M. Briand Lasts

Monsieur Briand has often been described as one of France's indispensable men. Cabinets come into being and they fall. But they make no difference to the activities of M. Briand. The causes of this unusual phenomenon in the kaleidoscopic arena of French politics are discussed by Mr. Sisley Huddleston in the *New Statesman*:

"The French desire to live on good terms with their neighbours, to play a foremost part in the consolidation of existing institutions, and the construction of other institutions which will maintain pacifically the statutes of 1919.

"They also desire a certain preparedness against the menace of attempts to overthrow the statutes of 1919. They desire a contented Europe, but they also desire to have the means of resisting discontent.

"They would collect pledges, but they would also have the frontiers strengthened. They are

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enthusiastically for European union, on condition that nothing is disturbed."

"When the President, M. Doumergue, offered the Premiership to him by telegram, he declined on the ground that he was already sufficiently burdened as Foreign Minister.

"Politicians might point out that he was no Foreign Minister, and that nobody had asked him to stay at the Quai d'Orsay; they were technically right; but the assumption of M. Briand that whoever was Prime Minister would accept him as a matter of course as Foreign Minister was, nevertheless, justified.

"Go to any provincial political meeting,' said an able Paris editor to me, 'and you will hear the name of M. Herriot or M. Tardieu mildly hissed or moderately applauded; but whenever the name of M. Briand is mentioned, there will be rousing cheers. The bulk of the French people are unquestionably with him. Whether you think he is right or wrong, whether you approve or disapprove, here is the salient fact in French politics to-day. M. Briand represents France.'

"And he went on, with some exaggeration, to picture Europe as on the edge of a precipice, over which it might fall, did not Mr. Briand perform, as it were, a daily miracle.

"It is easy, of course, to object that if Europe is on the edge of a precipice, that is no great recommendation for the policy of Geneva and of M. Briand: but this objection would be swept aside—the perilous situation of Europe is regarded as due to other causes, and the efforts of Geneva and M. Briand are regarded as indispenable."

—

The Hindu Joint Family System

The Hindu joint family system has some advantages no doubt, but it is also harmful in other ways. One of its greatest disadvantages is pointed out in *The International Review of Missions*:

In the forefront stands the Hindu joint family system, which, in spite of possessing some economic advantages, leads to the repression of the 'will to power,' or the egoistic instinct—the urge to a full expression of one's many-sided nature. This creates timidity and want of self-confidence in later life. The boy in the joint family system is merely a relatively unimportant unit in a large community. He is dependent on and subordinate to the head of the family for a long time, often till after he is married and is the father of a family. A girl is an even less important unit, and after marriage is simply transferred from one colony to another. In such an environment the child cannot possibly receive that individual attention and care which it needs, and which the value of child personality demands. Repression of the 'self' tendency thus leads to an abnormal or defective personality. Want of self-confidence, lack of a sense of responsibility (especially for public property), childish behaviour and a childish temperament are the undesirable products of the joint family system. So also are a lack of independence of thought, and a lack of decision and initiative. Anyone who has had to deal with school or college students will bear this out, though at the same time one cannot but like many attractive qualities in the same students.

Repression leads to regression. This means that if any instinct had been repressed in childhood, the adult individual regresses to that childish stage. I have often watched large bodies of Hindu and Muslim students listening to a debate at which speakers from other colleges and universities have been invited to speak. The audience seems to have regressed to childhood. No politeness prevents them from laughing and jeering at any peculiarity of the speaker. As a child is attracted by a meaningless noise, so any awkward gesture or high-pitched voice or mistake leads to unrestrained amusement. Any pause, however short, is a signal for a loud buzz of conversation, which has to be stopped again and again.

—

Italy and France

The rivalry between Italy and France is one of the most disquieting facts in the European situation today. Its causes are given in an article by Hans Rohde, quoted in *International Digest*:

The Franco-Italian divergence in the Mediterranean is playing an important rôle in European politics today. Germany is only an indirect participant, but great is our direct interest in view of the repercussions and possibilities which already have resulted from it and which may affect the general political development in Europe. This interest has grown since Italy began to work for a revision of the existing treaties. For Italy is the first of the former Entente powers to recognize, in governmental declarations as in the semi-official press, the necessity of such a revision. For the first time, a clear picture has been given by one of the victorious States of the causes of the European situation of today, with its extraordinary dangers to peace. The stone has started to roll; it will be difficult to stop.

The Franco-Italian antagonism has existed ever since there was a united Italy. It has its inner causes in the geographical positions and in the aspirations to power in the Mediterranean of both countries. These aspirations aim at nothing less than the hegemony of the Mediterranean Basin, and for both countries this aim is a vital one. For Italy, reaching into the sea like a gigantic pier, it is vital on account of her geographical position; for France, on account of her vast possessions in northern Africa with their political and military significance. These possessions are directly connected with the immense French colonial empire in west and central Africa which furnishes France the man-power she needs to maintain herself in Europe and the world.

The divergence between Italy and France is thus primarily one of geography and policy, although at the same time one of colonization and economics.

Italy is an overpopulated country. The few colonies she owns are not, by a long way, capable of absorbing her surplus of 400,000 people a year. Her possessions are mostly deserts; outside of the narrow coastal strips they do not lend themselves to colonization on a large scale. The United States

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is more or less closed by immigration laws. Italy is looking for vaccant territory in that area where her initial objective lies; on the African coast of the Mediterranean, opposite her own shores. But there she encounters France everywhere.

The resulting antagonism is made more acute by France's economic position. As far as area, food, and raw materials are concerned, she has more than she needs. France is twice as big as Italy, a rich and fertile land possessing iron and coal in abundance. She has a colonial empire second only to England. But with her 40 million inhabitants she has at least two million less than Italy,—a population insufficient to colonize her own territory not to speak of the men she needs to exploit economically and culturally her great colonial possessions. To this must be added the constant retrogression of her population. In spite of the acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine there are now hardly more inhabitants in France than before the war.

What France needs, namely, man-power, is what Italy has in excess. This situation favours Italy's claims for territories which today belong to France, thus aggravating the antagonism between the two countries, which is worse by the fact that great parts of southern France and northern Africa are predominantly populated by Italians, firmly retaining their nationality.

—

Britain's Industrial Dilemma

The same paper quotes an article from the *Review* on the causes of Britain's industrial backwardness:

Mr. Loveday claims in short, that Great Britain has been found wanting because. in an age calling primarily for elasticity and adaptability, her policy has been distinguished chiefly by its rigidity.

Of the last characteristic he finds evidence in every department of her industrial life. The policy of organized labour has been to maintain money wages at a level which has depended on the bargaining power of those concerned and on current ideas of a fair standard of living, rather than on the earning power of any given industry. Productivity per worker having failed to increase to an extent proportionate with current wage levels, labour has become dearer than before the war. To this loss of balance is attributed a heavy responsibility for the great burden of permanent unemployment since the war.

A remarkable feature of the past ten years has been the rapidity with which Britain's competitors have been reorganizing and re-equipping their industries. In some cases, the process was necessitated by war damage, as in Belgium and the North of France. In other countries, such as Germany, it was powerfully strimulated by inflation. In others again, like the United States, Sweden and Switzerland, the change was brought simply as a logical step in industrial development. Simultaneously, productive power has been concentrated in steadily growing units, the bridge between the new and the old order being built in many cases by large-scale industrial amalgamation. To declare that Great Britain has entirely ignored these tendencies would be erroneous; she is, in many ways, giving practical effect to them at the present time. To state, however, that the twin processes of re-equipment an reorganization have gone anything like so far in Great Britain as in those countries from whose competition she has most to fear would be to foster a dangerous misconception.

For Great Britain there is no short-cut to salvation. Her status in world trade depends on her practical recognition, with all the stern consequences which such recognition implies, that, in Mr. Loveday's words, "All plant is obsolete which cannot compete successfully, and all labour is crippled whose power or willingess to work is limited to one job."

A determined effort to adapt this country's industrial system to the requirements of the present-day world is indispensable. The future lies with those who have the courage to move with it. A company, an industry, or a nation may go on for a time paying dividends out of past profits and capital, but only at the price of handicapping itslf in the present and undermining its position for the future.

—

Soso the Great

Who is Soso the Great, the reader will perhaps ask. That question is best answered in the words of the writer of the following extract which appeared in the New York *Evening Post*, and is the record of an interview with Stalin's mother:

A Georgian schoolboy was asked to name the foremost rulers in his country's history.

"Vachtang the Brave," he answered, "David the Restorer, Queen Tamara and Soso the Great."

"Why 'Soso the Great'?" asked his teacher.

"Because Soso was the first to annex Russia to Georgia."

The anecdote tells volumes, but not, of course, until one knows who Soso is. He is the ruler of 150,000,000, though his party calls him merely "the most trustworthy interpreter of Lenin's doctrines" and his title is only Secretary General of the Central Committee.

His picture hangs in every shop, factory and office in the Soviet Union. It peers out from newspaper front pages at regular intervals all over the world. He is probably the most powerful political leader in any nation. In Russia his name is a cult, a promise and a threat.

It is none of these things to his mother. To Ekaterina Djugashvili, Joseph Djugashvili, known as Koba to the Czar's police, as Stalin to the world, is simply Soso, the son whose career, astounding, improbable, has not even yet fully reconciled her to the disappointment she suffered when he failed to become a priest.

No member of Stalin's family, except himself, had been interviewed until to-day.

His friends will not speak of his private life.

There is no man of equal prominence in the world about whose person is woven so impenetrable a veil of secrecy as that which surrounds the chieftain of the All Union Communist party. Power allures. Power from a source mysterious terrifies. Mystery about his person is one of the effective reasons why Stalin in Russia is synonymous with power unlimited.

Stalin's mother was the first of his family to break the spell of silence about him.

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INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

The Case of Mr. Ghose

I have already published in these columns the correspondence between Mr. Polak and Dr. T. Drummond Shiels and also the explanations of Dr. J. H. Parry and Dr. S. B. Malik of Dar-es-Salaam regarding the treatment of the late Mr. S. N. Ghose, member of the Tanganyika Legislative Council. I had forwarded this correspondence to Mr. V. R. Boal, Editor of the *Tanganyika Herald* requesting him to explain the whole thing. Here is his reply :

The most important part of the correspondence is two letters, one from Dr Parry—the Senior Medical Officer in Charge, the European Hospital, and the other from Dr. Malik, both of this town. Dr. Parry has refuted our allegations and has described them to be mischievous and untrue.

We maintain what we have said regarding the medical treatment of Mr. Ghose eight months ago.

As regards accommodation the explanation offered by the Senior Medical Officer is neither satisfactory nor convincing. He says that he made it clear to Mr. Ghose through Dr. Malik as to putting Mr. Ghose into a single room at the end of the Asiatic block, that he had no private single room, at the time, in which he could accommodate Mr. Ghose, that this *room is often used for Europeans*" and that Mr. Ghose on his arrival expressed himself well-pleased and content with everything. Many points arise here and it is impossible to deal with them at length in this limited space.

We publish here-in a statement of facts given to us by Mr. A. K. Patel. Mr. Patel was the whole time with Mr. Ghose during his illness not only as his managing clerk but as his attendant and the best friend (in need). Answers to some points could be found in his statement which we commend to the attention of all concerned. We do not think we can get more reliable authority than Mr. Patel.

With regard to the room allowed to Mr. Ghose we have to rely on our own information. It is this. That this room is often used for Europeans may be correct. But at the same time it is also correct that it is used for patients suffering from mental disease. There is no instance of a European of Mr. Ghose's position and status having been accommodated in this room. In this respect the Senior Medical Officer improperly quotes Dr. Malik as his supporter. Dr. Malik's letter clearly shows that it was meant to put Mr. Ghose in the Goan ward and that Dr. Parry wanted him to make that clear to Mr. Ghose. Which of these two statements is correct ? Dr. Parry's or Dr. Malik's ? One more point. It is an open secret that the best accommodation in this hospital is reserved for Europeans and that no distinction is drawn between private rooms and official rooms in the case of a European. It is also an undeniable fact that this hospital is not meant for Indians and that the medical officer in charge of it is empowered to use his discretion in their case. Mr. Ghose, though an Indian, held the highest position among the unofficials in this territory. His doctor who himself suggested his removal to the hospital for a particular kind of treatment was not in a position to let this Indian patient have the best accommodation available. In spite of all this the hospital authorities want us to believe that at the time when Mr. Ghose was admitted, such accommodation was not available. We are afraid we cannot believe that. We are certain that there were rooms available in European wards suitable for patients of Mr. Ghose's condition and that Mr. Ghose was prevented from going into one because of his brown colour. It would have avoided controversy if the Medical Officer had frankly explained his position instead of stating platitudes.

The statement of facts furnished by Mr. A. K. Patel would throw sufficient light on the question of medical treatment. It is surprising to be told that the patient who was—to quote Dr. Parry's words—"*obviously ill, restless and out of breath*" was able to give the assurance that "*he was being well looked after and content.*" But the matter of treatment did not end there. Mr. Ghose was taken to the hospital for "radiant heat treatment." Twenty hours after his arrival in the hospital he was given to understand that the machine was out of order and that it was not possible for him to get that treatment. At that Mr. Ghose expressed great dissatisfaction and the following sentences fell from his withering lips. "What was the necessity of bringing me down here where you cannot give me that treatment. Ashabhai (Mr. Patel) I would die without treatment."

We must not omit to mention Dr. Malik's letter. It is really surprising that he forgot what happened four months ago. May we remind him of a complaint made to the Hon. Mr. Chitale with regard to the accommodation? We are told and probably Dr. Malik knew that Mr. Chitale wanted the complaint given to him in writing before he could wait upon His Excellency. Dr. Malik was the proper person to do the needful in the matter. It is difficult to understand why he did not do so and on the contrary supported Dr. Parry by making a statement in writing after four months.

As regards accommodation, many people, including Mr. Ghose's friends and Dr. Malik, expressed the opinion that colour prejudice had been shown and it was on that opinion that we based our allegations. Dr. Malik will, we are sure remember all this, if he will just try to do so.

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One thing more. We really fail to understand Dr. Malik when he says that "he (Mr. Ghose) had the best medical treatment available" Perhaps he would have been right if he had added "available for Indians."

We conclude this article hoping our explanations would satisfy Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, Pandit Kunzru, Mr. Polak and Dr. Drummond Shiels and will not trouble the conscience of those who forced us to write this much.

The Statement of Mr. A. K. Patel

The Editor,
'Tanganyika Herald,'
Dar-es-Salaam.

Dear Sir,

I have read the correspondence regarding the late Mr. Ghose which appeared in your yesterday's issue. I am surprised to read the statement contained in the letter of Dr. Parry that while Mr. Ghose was in hospital "almost continuous oxygen inhalation was administered." That statement is wrong. I give below my statement about the treatment and accommodation given to the late Mr. Ghose, which I request you to publish in your paper for public information.

Mr. Ghose had been ill for many months. Dr. Malik was his private doctor. Dr. Parry, the Senior Medical Officer in charge of the European Hospital, was also being called by Dr. Malik for consultation.

So far as I know, Dr. Malik in consultation with Dr. Parry gave Mr. Ghose best medicine that was possible so long as Mr. Ghose was in his house for treatment.

Suddenly in the evening of the 5th June 1930, Mr. Ghose got more pain. Dr. Malik was called to see him. He asked me to keep a watch during night and told me that he would see Dr. Parry in the morning in order to remove Mr. Ghose to the European Hospital for *special treatment of radiant heat*. Next morning Dr. Malik saw Dr. Parry. After seeing Dr. Parry Dr. Malik saw me and told me that Parry would admit Mr. Ghose in Goan ward as there was no accommodation in European ward. I told him that if necessary Hon. Mr. M. P. Chitale would wait upon His Excellency the the Governor on the question of accommodation in the European Hospital. Dr. Malik asked "*whether you want treatment or accommodation.*" He further said that "if we want treatment we should not do anything." I remained silent. But I told him that I shall see about accommodation at a later date. Mr. Ghose was not aware of this conversation between Dr. Malik and myself.

Dr. Malik asked me to arrange to remove Mr. Ghose to hospital before noon so as to enable Dr. Parry to give instructions to people in hospital for special treatment before he (Dr. Parry) would go for his lunch. I took Mr. Ghose to the hospital before noon and he was put in the Goan ward.

As no treatment was given to Mr. Ghose during the course of the afternoon on the same day, I went and saw Dr. Malik in the evening. Dr. Malik was surprised when he knew from me that *no special treatment of radiant heat* was given to Mr. Ghose. We went to see Dr. Parry, but we could not see him there and had to come back.

Next morning I was by the side of Mr. Ghose when I asked Nurse about giving a special treatment of radiant heat and she informed me that the machine was out of order and so, that was not possible. When Mr. Ghose heard these words he became disheartened and said "Then what was the necessity of bringing me down here when I cannot get that treatment. Ashabhai, I would die without treatment."

I here desire it to put on record that the real reason for removing Mr. Ghose was the necessity of giving him the special treatment of radiant heat.

On the 8th June 1930 at midnight Mr. Ghose's illness increased and from that time only oxygen inhalation was administered till his death time *i. e.* about 11 a. m. on the 9th June 1930.

I attended Mr. Ghose throughout his illness both in his house and hospital.

Dar-es-Salaam, 28-2-31.

Yours faithfully
(Sd). Ashabhai K. Patel.

Education of Indian Children in Fiji

An esteemed correspondent writes from Fiji :

Educational facilities for Indians in Fiji are steadily improving. Decided progress has been made during 1930. A secondary Department for Indian lads has been added to the Teacher Training School, and a highly-qualified tutor from New Zealand, a Master of Arts from the staff of the Wellington Boys' College has been placed in charge, Teacher-training is proceeding apace. This month no less than 67 Indian teachers and probationers are sitting for Teacher's Qualifying Certificate Examinations. For the first time, Hindi is now included among examination subjects. Hindi has been made Compulsory in all Indian schools. Conversational English may begin in class I and English reading and writing in class III, about age nine or eight. For the first time a curriculum has been prescribed for all Primary schools (classes I—VIII). Any educated visitor can see steady progress and improvement in the quality of the work. New schools have been started also. In several centres Indians have erected schools at their own expense, Last May, Government had but two Indian schools, now there are five and another new one will be built very soon. We have nearly 4,500 children attending school now and of these one-fifth are girls. They are all wonderfully intelligent as well as healthy-looking.

These facts and figures are no doubt encouraging but there still remains a good deal to be done. We hope there will be complete co-operation between the Indian population and the educational authorities in Fiji to accomplish this work.

Indians in Japan

Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, a merchant of Kobe, said in an interview to a representative of the *Penang Gazettee* that Indians were a small community of business men in

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The total population of Indians in Japan would not be more than three hundred and in Kobe alone, the big business centre of Japan, half this number lived. Although these three hundred Indians were drawn from all parts of India, they were mostly Sindhi merchants who are engaged in business.

There are not many Indians engaged in skilled professions in Japan. About three or four Indians were in the employ of an institution known as the College of Foreign languages where Indian languages were also being taught to those who desired to learn them.

The Indians had their organizations in Japan known as "Indian Clubs" where the members assemble now and then for recreation. Those clubs were to be found in Kobe and Yokohama.

Questioned as to whether the Indians in Japan took a very keen interest in the political situation of their country, Mr. Srinivasan said that there was no such interest. Even political meetings were prohibited in the clubs and their registration was allowed only if the clubs gave an undertaking to that effect.

All that the Indians in Japan knew about the present situation in India was what they could gather from the newspapers which published stray messages from cable news agencies.

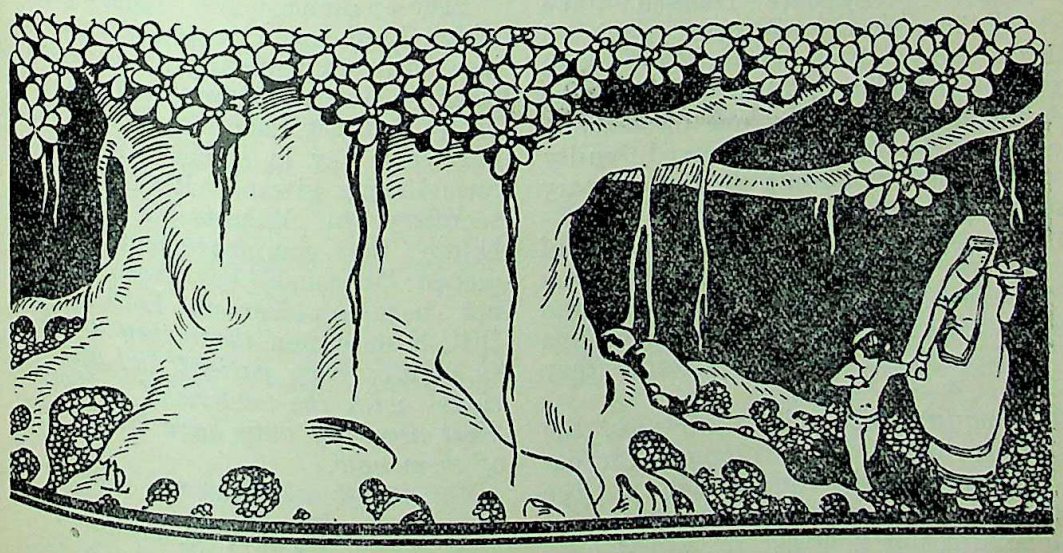
"We are a contented and prosperous minority there. The Japanese have a high regard for us and our relations with them are cordial," said Mr. Srinivasan. Some Indians had permanently settled in Japan while some had formed matrimonial alliances with the members of the Japanese race.

IMPORTANT CORRECTION

On page 422, column 2, line 17, for the words: *while State-aid under various bounties and subsidies acts are restricted to the nationals of the Dominions concerned* substitute the following:

"While section 26, clause 1, of Imperial Nationality Act of 1914 permit any legislature or Government of British possession to treat differentially different classes of British subjects."

On page 390, column 2, line 48, for *at* read *on*.



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NOTES

The Truce

It would not be correct to say that the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin settlement had given universal satisfaction. We are among its critics, though we do not see the least reason for anybody not to abide by the terms faithfully. After all, it is only a truce, to see whether lasting peace cannot be established. The real thing is what will take place in the future. To make the further deliberations of the R. T. C. satisfactory from the Indian point of view, it would be necessary to give Mahatma Gandhi solid and loyal support.

We feel that it would have been better if all political prisoners, not merely *satyagrahis*, and all detenus had been released. But we also appreciate the difficulties. Non-violent prisoners were released on the understanding that civil disobedience would be called off, and Mahatma Gandhi being the leader of the Satyagraha movement, could give his word that it would be stopped. But he is not the leader of those who have been held or suspected to be guilty of violence. And if they have any leader or leaders, they are not known and cannot make themselves known. So, who is to promise that violence would cease if they were released? We believe that those who have been punished for alleged acts of violence were not all really guilty of violence. And as for the detenus, we must hold every one of them to be innocent unless they are proved guilty after open trial, according to the ordinary processes of law.

But it is evident that as the head of the Executive in India, Lord Irwin was bound to believe that all these prisoners and detenus were really guilty and Mahatma Gandhi could not possibly prove that they were not.

As for enquiry into police excesses, the reason given by the Government for not holding it is entirely unsatisfactory. The Indian public will continue to believe that the enquiry was not held as it would have proved that the police were guilty. Some thorough-going defenders of the terms of settlement have been saying unconvincing things. To give one example—a well-known Congress leader is reported to have said that just as the Government has released *satyagrahi* prisoners, so we have forgiven those policemen who were guilty of atrocities! This looks rather like making a virtue of necessity.

—

Gandhiji's Praise of Lord Irwin

A recent speech of Mahatma Gandhi contains the following in praise of the Viceroy:

"In the first place I would like to state that this settlement, such as it is, would have been impossible without the Viceroy's inexhaustible industry and equally inexhaustible and unfailing courtesy. I am aware that I must have, though quite unconsciously, given him causes for irritation. I must have also tried his patience but I cannot recall any occasion when he allowed himself to be betrayed into irritation or impatience. I must add that he was frank throughout these very delicate negotiations and I believe he was determined, if it was at all possible, to have a settlement."

That Lord Irwin exercised so much of the patience which he possesses and gave evidence of his other virtues in so signal a manner, shows incidentally how very necessary it has become for Britain to satisfy India.

The patience and other good qualities which Lord Irwin possesses were not brought into full play during his conversations with Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi before the last Lahore session of the Congress, nor were they in evidence in the curt and formal reply given by His Excellency's private secretary to Mahatmaji's first letter to him before the commencement of Civil Disobedience: because on those occasions it had not become clear to Lord Irwin and other British statesmen *that they would ever stand in need of very patient and careful negotiations with the leaders of nationalist India. That necessity may have become clear to some of them now.*

—

No R. T. C. in India!

During the recent Indian debate in the Commons,

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Mr. Wedgwood Benn said that Government had carefully considered the sending of a Parliamentary delegation to India forthwith to reconstitute the Round Table Conference with the addition of representatives of Congress but advantages of this were outweighed by the important practical considerations including exigency of Parliamentary situation here and the necessity of much preliminary work in India by the Indians. Immediately the Indian delegates including representatives of the Congress were prepared to resume the discussion, the Government proposed to invite them to come to London to resume the work of the Federal Relations Committee. They hoped that the whole problem would be ready for final discussion early in autumn.

That "exigency of Parliamentary situation" compels the Cabinet to break what was tantamount to a promise, shows how necessary it is for India to have full freedom. The needs of Britain under the present political relation between England and India outweighs the far greater and more serious requirements of India.

—

"Friends of India" in Britain

We have received four pamphlets, entitled "Police and Peasantry in India," "India Calling!", "Indian Politics and the Peasant," and "India, Gandhi and World Peace," written by Mr. Reginald A. Reynolds and published by the association named "Friends of India." The pamphlets are informing and interesting. This association has been doing considerable good work to convince the British public that the cause of Indian freedom is a just cause. Its address is 46, Lancaster Gate, London, W. 2. Its Secretary writes to us, in part:

We have been trying as much as possible to make the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi's ideas understood in this country. We have also endeavoured to make known the conditions prevailing in India today. Very little is said in the British Press regarding the repression in India. We believe that if the full facts regarding India were known to people in this country, they would be far more sympathetic to the Indian cause than they are at present. We are organizing an extensive caravan tour (see p. 2 of the circular) over a large part of England and Scotland covering about 1200 miles. In this manner we shall be able to carry our message to thousands of British people, who may never hear or read a word about India otherwise.

—

A Musalman Indian Speaks to the British Public

Mr. Hafiz Hidayet-Hosain of Cawnpore, who went to England to attend the Round Table Conference, wrote the following letter to the *Times* (London), which was published in its issue of February 10, 1931:

To the Editor of the Times

Sir,—On leaving the shores of England I write to thank you cordially for the help you extended to the members of the Round Table Conference during their stay in England. Your wide and sympathetic outlook on Indian affairs is most cordially appreciated, and I have personally no doubt that with a little more solicitude in relation to minority questions on the part of those who by their position and standing are able to guide public opinion in England, Indian problems will satisfactorily solve themselves. Questions relating to Moslem minorities are, I am afraid, not having that attention which their importance deserves. *The Musalmans, more by siding with the British element in India than anything else, have alienated the sympathies of the Hindus, and England ought to think many times over before it plays towards them any other than an honourable role.*

Yours faithfully,
Hafiz Hidayet-Hosain (Cawnpore).
S. S. *Kaisar-i-Hind*, Jan. 31.

From this it is evident that a certain section of Musalmans of India sided with the British against the Indian nationalists with some kind of tacit understanding that the British authorities would side with them against the Hindus.

T. D

—

Mahatma Gandhi's War Services

Recently Mr. Wedgwood Benn spoke of Mahatma Gandhi's war services to help the cause of the British Empire, during the dark hours of the world war. Sir Michael O'Dwyer could not tolerate that Mahatma Gandhi, the champion of Indian freedom, should be praised for his past services to the British Empire. Therefore the noble Sir Michael came out with a letter belittling Mahatma Gandhi's services which was published in the *Times* (London).

In the issue of 10th February of *Times* Mr. B. B. Ray Chaudhuri gave the following reply to Sir Michael:

"Sir Michael O'Dwyer thinks that the statement of the Secretary of State for India about Mr. Gandhi's war services is unfair. I appreciate his encomium of Sir Umar Hayat Khan, but at the same time I can give him many examples of great war services done by many followers of Mr. Gandhi, who are now in gaol. My uncle, Rai Shaheb G. N. Ray Chaudhuri, one of Mr. Gandhi's followers, who is in gaol now in Bengal, made a large contribution in men and money during the War."—B. B. Ray Chaudhuri, 17, Crayford-road, London, N. 7.

As a believer in "non-violence," Mahatma Gandhi should not have aided the cause

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of British Imperialism and human slaughter during the world war. However, Mahatmaji must have thought that he was aiding the cause of freedom and justice, when he aided the British authorities in recruiting Indians who fought for Britain.

It is a fact that more than one hundred thousand Indians died during the world war in fighting for Britain and a large number of Indians were wounded. Then Indians contributed large sums to Britain's war chest. What has India got in return ?

—

Dr. D. N. Maitra's Lectures

Dr. D. N. Maitra of Calcutta, after his recent extensive tour in Europe, including Soviet Russia, has been giving some series of lantern lectures in order to make the public share in the lessons and experiences of his tour undertaken to get a direct glimpse of the reconstructive efforts in the European States, re-formed after the Great War and the revolution. These lantern lectures are intended to create an interest and a desire in our men and women for foreign educational travel, to extend the bounds of their mental horizon and widen their outlook on life, and to help them to get a fuller view of truth from different angles,—thus, to help them to live a fuller, truer and a more efficient life for themselves and their country. We are glad to learn that he has been getting big audiences. These interesting and instructive lectures will be continued in April.

"India in Bondage"

Last year in the September 1930 number of this *Review* we criticized Mr. Edward Thompson's criticism of Rev. J. T. Sunderland's "India in Bondage" in the *London Times*. We showed that none of the "errors" pointed out by Mr. Thompson affected the author's main contentions in the least. The critic has not been able to show that they do. Yet, propaganda is propaganda, and so Mr. Thompson's so-called criticism is being circulated in America in pamphlet form as if it were gospel truth. Who pays for all this propaganda ? The following letter of Dr. Sunderland has recently appeared in *The Times* :

In your issue of July 21 you published an extended criticism by Mr. Edward Thompson of my book, "India in Bondage." I find the criticism copied in other papers, and now circulated in America in a pamphlet sent out from England. Will you, therefore, do me the favour and the justice of allowing me very briefly to reply in your columns ? I confine myself to the two most important charges.

(1) Mr. Thompson represents the book as hostile to Great Britain. This is not true. It is hostile to her policy of holding India in forced subjection, but to nothing else. On the contrary it takes pains again and again, in numberless places, to speak in the highest terms of the British Government in England, of the Governments of the different free Dominions, and also of individual Englishmen in India.

(2) Mr. Thompson asserts that the book contains errors of fact and therefore is unreliable. In this the case ? Let us see. "India in Bondage" is a large work. In searching through its 530 pages how many errors does Mr. Thompson think he finds ? Just five, and all of these concerning matters that are absolutely trifling, not one of them affecting in the slightest degree the main contentions or arguments of the book. But are even these really errors ? An eminent scholar in India has carefully examined them all and published the result, showing that in four of the five cases it is Mr. Thompson who is in error and not the author ; and even in the fifth case (the mere time and place, where and when, a body of Indian troops fought in France, a matter of no consequence) it is by no means clear that there is any error. The truth is that whether the work is of value in other respects or not, few books have ever been written with greater care to ensure accuracy.

The following rejoinder by Dr. Thompson has also appeared in *The Times* :

I see no reason why Dr. Sunderland should not be anti-British when the facts justify him. What I do think unfortunate is that American Liberal opinion should be working to wreck the settlement which many British and Indians are trying their hardest to bring about. He is sure that Britain has a "policy," that of "holding India in forced subjection." Meanwhile a Round Table Conference has met, and it is safe to say that its Indian members, who are Nationalists and patriots, even though they are hoping to find a way of peace, do not regard the British people as their enemies.

Dr. Sunderland and his Calcutta publisher, Mr. Chatterjee, both make much of what they presume to be my inability to find more than five errors in so big a book A daily paper has not unlimited space. I quite agree that "India in Bondage" deserved a bulky pamphlet of page-by-page annotation. Fortunately Dr. Sunderland's publishers, the Lewis Copeland Company, 119, West 57th Street, New York, have made the task superfluous. They are distributing gratis a 60-page anthology from "India in Bondage" with an appendix of thoughtful enthusiastic tributes from leaders of thought and great periodicals, which some months ago had sent the book into sales of 20,000. Let anyone who thinks "India in Bondage" has only five errors send for this, and he can judge for himself as to this miscellaneous jumble of prejudice, false premises, and statements of many

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dates flung together as all equally and eternally and unchangingly true. He will then marvel at his moderation.

The critic suggests that Dr. Sunderland's book is part of the American Liberals' endeavour to wreck the settlement sought to be brought about by the Round Table Conference. In doing so he shuts his eyes to the fact that Dr. Sunderland's book appeared in India, first serially, a few years before the R. T. C. began its sittings and then in book form, also before the British Government promised a so-called Round Table conference. In America, too, it appeared before the announcement of the R. T. C. But perhaps Dr. Thompson, the British patriot, thinks that all books criticizing British rule, though published long before the R. T. C. began its work, ought to have been called off from the book market as soon as the R. T. C. had been promised. But Dr. Sunderland and his Indian publisher were not perhaps expected to be so obliging, and hence the book was proscribed in India in anticipation of the birth of the R. T. C. ! It is a pity the U. S. A. Government has not been quite so pro-British as to proscribe the book in America.

Dr. Thompson, like Lord Clive the founder of the British Empire in India, marvels at his own moderation, though in a different sense from Clive's. But Dr. Sunderland's wicked Indian publisher still believes that if Dr. Thompson could have found out more "errors," he would not have been so generous as to spare the American author. And is it quite accidental that not one of the "errors" pointed out by him affects the argument of the book? Why did he not, even in this rejoinder, prove that even one of them is a real and a serious error?

The critic insinuates that the "bulky" pamphlet issued by the American publisher is a collection of errors. Why does he not point out even one error in the pamphlet? We do not believe it is due to his generosity.

—

A Chair of Indian Culture in Britain

In connection with a letter, published in January last in the London *Times* suggesting the foundation of a chair of Indian culture in Britain, it may be noted that many German universities have "*seminars for ancient and modern Indian History and Culture.*" Recently the University of Paris has inaugurated an Institute of Indian History and Culture. Furthermore, one may be inclined to inquire if the educational authorities in India have provided adequate facilities in Indian Universities for research in Indian culture. Indian Universities should become centres for research on problems of world culture. And if a chair for Indian culture be founded in Britain, that country should pay for it. If the Indian public treasury or the Indian princes be required to pay, the occupant of the chair should be an Indian by preference.

—

Celebration of Buddha's Birthday

A few weeks hence Buddhists all over the world will celebrate the Buddha's birthday. In India the celebration should not be confined to the professed followers of the Buddha. His teachings and personality have profoundly influenced others also. And he is the greatest figure in the history of India at least. So all India should take part in some celebrations of a perfectly unsectarian character at Sarnath, Benares, by preference, where the Buddha preached his first sermon.

The whole Hindu and Buddhist world (Siam, China, Japan, etc.) should make an annual pilgrimage to Benares.

Is it not possible to start a movement from this very year, so that the 2500th birthday of Buddha to take place a few years' hence, may be fittingly celebrated in Benares, when the Buddhists from all parts of the world would participate in it?

I believe that by holding celebration of Buddha's birthday, we shall be able to do a great deal to rouse a group consciousness among the Buddhists and Hindus. Lord Buddha was possibly the greatest of the social reformers of the world, who fought against the hereditary caste system and priestcraft and gave human rights to women. We should use Buddhist tradition (India's national heritage) to further the cause of social reforms, especially education of women.

Sir John Campbell—an Anti-Indian Propagandist

Sir John Campbell is notorious for his anti-Indian propaganda in America, through his articles published in the *Atlantic Monthly*

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of Boston and other papers. This ex-Indian Civil Servant some time ago fought against the proposal for the limitation of cultivation of poppy in India solely for medicinal and scientific purposes. He spread the false information that the Indian people do not wish to have their opium taken away, because opium is not injurious to Indians but it is a household medicine!

From recent reports published in the *Times* (London), it becomes evident that this anti-Indian British propagandist is representing the Government of India in matters of drug traffic. There is not the least doubt that many Britishers, enjoying pensions and salaries from the Government of India, are opposed to Indian national aspirations. Has not the time come for taking necessary steps so that these officials should not be allowed to carry on anti-Indian propaganda? Has not the time come for the Indian Legislature to demand that capable Indians, who are in sympathy with Indian national aspirations, be appointed to represent India in the League of Nations? Has not the time come to demand that some worthy Indian should replace Sir John Campbell? Indian self-respect demands that all anti-Indian Britishers be relieved of their privileged jobs in connection with the Government of India.

T. D.

—

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on Workers' Rights

The following is a recent utterance of Sardar Patel:

It has been pointed out that we have not done anything in the interests of the workers. I want to make it clear that I shall not betray them. But I must say that I am not prepared to tell them to fight the Indian capitalist to-day. To-day I want to get rid of the foreign imperialists that are sucking the blood of the masses. If time comes, I shall not stop fighting the Indian capitalists if they do not cease exploiting their workers. To-day we cannot fight two enemies. Let us fight one enemy and then it will not be difficult or necessary to fight the other enemy born in our own land. I am told "Give the land back to the peasants." But may I know where are the peasants who claim that the land should be given back to them. I have not come across one single peasant who has told me to abolish the landlord, the zamindars and the Indian Princes.

We have all along been in favour of doing one thing at a time and that if and when necessary.

Case of Two Indians In China

The following paragraphs have appeared in *The China Weekly Review* of January 24, 1931:

Chanan Singh, one of the Sikhs who was arrested by the British authorities, in December, ostensibly for being drunk and disorderly, but evidently because of seditious activities, later became ill and was lodged in the Isolation Hospital. Chanan escaped from the hospital into Chinese territory and took refuge in the Gurdwara. Chinese and Settlement police took him into custody there but when Chanan called on his countrymen for help, they responded, assaulted the Police, particularly those from the Settlement, and freed Chanan. They later allowed Chapei police to take him. The custody of Chanan then became a "diplomatic" issue between the Settlement and the Chapei authorities, and the latest report is that the latter still hold him.

Kartar Singh was arrested on December 3 together with Chanan Singh. The former, and another Sikh, Surjan Singh, were tried at the British Court on January 6, found guilty, sentenced to two months' imprisonment and to be deported. Surjan Singh tried to get his pamphlet read into the court record, but the British Judge denied the application. The pamphlet, in English and Chinese, is headed, "India Needs Your Help."

Indian Nationalists would want to know more about these countrymen of theirs. A question should be put about them in the Assembly.

—

The Late Sjt. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi

The loss of the life of Sjt. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, Editor of the *Pratap*, while trying to pacify the mob at Cawnpore, will be keenly felt all over Northern India where he occupied a prominent position as a worker and a journalist. Born of poor parents, Ganesh Shankar had to struggle hard and it was after considerable self-sacrifice and incessant efforts that he could make his journal, the *Pratap*, the most influential Hindi paper in India. He was ever ready to espouse the cause of the poor and ran no small risk in doing so. The *Pratap's* entry was prohibited in several Native States and it is said that the unscrupulous rulers of more than one State tried to bribe him. But Ganesh Shankar was an honest journalist and could under no circumstances agree to betray the cause of the suffering people of the States. The Government also tried to ruin his paper but without any success. Ganesh Shankar was a man with a deep sympathy for the masses and though he was once elected to the Provincial Council from his town Cawnpore, he

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had no faith in these bodies and considered their atmosphere demoralizing. He was prosecuted several times by the Government and was sentenced to imprisonment more than thrice. He had a nucleous of workers around him and was really an institution in himself. He was the General Secretary of the Congress held at Cawnpore. He was once elected the President of the Provincial Congress Committee and was occupying the prominent position of the President of the All-India Hindi Literary Conference. Quite unassuming in his manners, with a heart which keenly felt for the oppressed, and a face which spoke of long suffering and transparent sincerity, the personality of Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi had a peculiar charm of its own.

Sjt Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi has met his death nobly while serving his country and his life will remain a great example for the poor aspiring journalist who wants to serve his motherland in her fight for Freedom.

—

The Non-Communal Outlook of the Hindu Mahasabha

The non-communal outlook of the Hindu Mahasabha in politics is well known to impartial observers. Additional proof of that fact is furnished by a statement on the coming constitutional reforms issued by its Working Committee from New Delhi. This manifesto, which is printed below, was very carefully considered and finally, unanimously approved at a meeting of the Working Committee held on March 23, 1931, at which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya took the leading part.

—

The Hindu Mahasabha and Constitutional Reforms

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha has adopted the following statement on the question of constitutional reforms, which is published for general information.

The Hindu Mahasabha desires to point out that it has throughout and consistently taken up a position which is strictly national on the communal issue. It believes that no form of national responsible self-government which India is struggling to achieve, and which England is pledged to agree to, is compatible with separate communal electorate or representation in the legislature and administration, which function for the general good and secular well-being of the country as a whole. It is prepared to sacrifice, and expects all other communities to sacrifice, communal considerations to build up such responsible governments, which can be worked only by a ministry of persons belonging to the same political party and not necessarily to the same creed, so that agreement on public questions, economic, social and political, should be the basis of mutual confidence and co-operation.

The position of the Mahasabha is embodied in the following propositions :

(1) There should be one common electoral roll consisting of voters of all communities and creeds as citizens and nationals of the same State.

(2) There should not be any separate communal electorate, that is, grouping of voters by religion in community constituencies.

(3) There should not be any reservation of seats for any religious community as such in the legislature.

(4) There should not be any weightage given to any community, as it can be done only at the expense of another.

(5) The franchise should be uniform for all communities in the same province.

(6) The franchise should be uniform all over India for the Central or Federal Legislature.

(7) There should be statutory safe-guards for the protection of minorities in regard to their language, religion, and racial laws and customs as framed by the League of Nations on the proposals of its original members, including India and His Majesty's Government, and now enforced in many a State of reconstructed Europe, including Turkey.

(8) There should be no question of the protection of majorities in any form.

(9) There should not be any alteration of existing boundaries of provinces without expert examination of linguistic, administrative, financial, strategic and other considerations involved, by a Boundaries Commission to be specially appointed for the purpose.

(10) In the proposed Federation, residuary powers should rest with the Central or Federal Government for the unity and well-being of India as a whole.

(11) Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Indian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance, admission to public employment, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

It is noteworthy that this statement of the Hindu Mahasabha is in perfect accord with what Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister of Great Britain, said in the course of his last speech on the subject of the Round Table Conference at the debate initiated by him in the House of Commons. Said he :

If every constituency is to be earmarked as to community or interest, there will be no room left for the growth of what we consider to be purely political organizations which would comprehend all communities, all creeds, all classes, all conditions of faith. This is one of the problems which has to be faced, because, if India is going to develop a robust political life there must be room for National Political parties based upon conceptions of *India's* interest, and not upon conceptions regarding the well-being of any field that is smaller or less comprehensive than the whole of India. Then

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there is a modified proposal regarding that: a proposal is made that there should not be community constituencies with a communal register, but that there should be a common register in the constituencies; but that with a common register, a certain percentage of representation should be guaranteed to certain communities. It is the first proposal in a somewhat more attractive, democratic form, but still essentially the same. . . .

'It is very difficult to convince these very dear, delightful people (advocates of communal representation) that if you give one community weightage, you cannot create weightage out of nothing. You have to take it from somebody else. When they discover that, they become confused, indeed, and find that they are up against a brick wall.

Another passage from the Premier's speech requires to be quoted:

It is a very curious problem, and if Hon. Members who are interested in these constitutional and political points care to read carefully the Minorities Committee's Report, I promise them one of the most fascinatingly interesting studies which they have undertaken....

You build up a Legislature, as this is built up, by constituencies. Voting in constituencies is not to take place and cannot at the moment take place in the way that voting in our constituencies takes place, where you might have an aristocrat as one candidate and a working man as another. You would have your constituencies divided up into sections with a certain number of working class constituencies where nobody but working men could run as candidates, a certain number of, say, Church of England constituencies where nobody but communicating members of the Church of England could run, until you filled up the hundred per cent of your constituencies in this way. Then *before* any election took place it would be perfectly *certain* that Church of England people would have, say, 15 per cent of the seats here, working class, say, 25 per cent, and so on....

Another problem that faces us from that point of view is, if your legislature is to be composed in these watertight compartments, those community-tight compartments, whom are you going to appoint your Executive? The claim is put that the Executive, *i.e.*, the Administration, the Cabinet, shall also be divided into watertight compartments."

Mr. H. N. Brailsford, the distinguished British journalist, has written in a similar strain in *The Nation and the Athenaeum* of January 10, 1931, thus:

The advance will be perilous and unhappy unless the new constitution brings with it the reality with the forms of democracy.

On one condition there ought to be no hesitation. Parliamentary institutions cannot function on the basis of separate communal electorates. While these remain, no stable parties can be formed, nor can the electorate be trained to vote on the social and economic issues which clamour for constitutional handling. If the Moslem diehards veto any voluntary settlement with the Hindus, the British Government must be prepared to dictate. That way out of the *impasse* even the Muslims in their hearts might welcome. So much, in a talk which I had at Delhi, their ablest leader confessed. Back and forward we had argued when at last he startled me by blurting out: "A Government should govern. You all believe in a single electorate. Why don't you impose it?"

'With this one change, the possibility of genuine democratic government would begin for India. Parties would be driven to seek support for programmes where today it suffices to appeal to religious prejudices.

—

Evils of Official "Inaction"

The reader is aware that in the Kishorganj sub-division of the Mymensingh District there was widespread plunder, assault, arson and murder by Moslem mobs and that large numbers of offenders were not arrested and tried on the officially declared ground that if that were done agriculture in the district would suffer and there would be local famine in consequence. It is also known that even after the harvest had been garnered these men were not arrested and tried. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that there should be outbreaks of violence again at Kishorganj, *now* against officials themselves.

Mymensingh, March 17.

The Mahomedan Circle Officer of Nikli, in Kishoreganj, is reported to have been assaulted at Itna, where he had gone to distribute agricultural loans.

It is said that the *ryots* were asked to meet the Circle Officer at the house of a local zamindar where, on March 8, a large number of Mahomedans assembled. The Mahomedan *ryots* of Utharpara numbering about 50, demanded that the whole amount of Rs. 4,900 which was with the Circle Officer, was meant for them. But the Circle Officer told them that they could not get more than Rs. 5 per head.

Thereupon the people insisted upon payment of Rs. 20 to every one of them and, when they became boisterous and threatening in their attitude, the Circle Officer asked them to keep quiet, otherwise he would send for the police.

Immediately, it is reported, Sadar Sekh of the party snatched away a *lathi* from a *Chowkidar* and inflicted two blows on the Circle Officer, causing severe injuries to the shoulders. The third blow which was aimed at the head, was warded off by a *Chowkidar* who had two of his fingers seriously injured in attempting to save the Circle Officer.

The infuriated mob thereafter is alleged to have made an attempt to seize the amount which the Circle Officer had with him.

The situation was saved by a pleader of Kishoreganj, who happened to be present there. He closed the door of the room in which the Circle Officer, with the money in his custody, took refuge. The men attempted to break open the doors and began to kick against them but on the arrival of the people of the locality they went away.

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The District Magistrate, Mr. H. Graham who was in the neighbourhood at the time, went to Jhenida on the day following the occurrence. It is reported that the police, with the assistance of the local people, raided Utharpara and succeeded in arresting thirteen men. The others, including Sukhar, had left the village earlier.

The arrested men have been brought to Mymensingh and lodged in the local jail.—*A. P. I.*

—

Soviet Fighting Forces

The Times (London), in its issue of February 27th, 1931, publishes the following interesting news item :

RIGA, FEB. 26

Unschlicht, Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Commission and former Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, has published figures to show that 1930 placed the Soviet fighting forces on a "granite foundation," and that in 1931 we shall raise the fighting power of the Red Army to a still higher level."

He explains that the core of the Soviet military system is the highly trained though numerically not large (562,000) Red Army. "But we do not forget for a single minute that with the Red Army alone we cannot deal the armed capitalist world a crushing blow." But the U.S.S.R. has inexhaustible reserves, particularly Osoaviakhim (the Society for Promoting Chemical and Aerial Warfare), which now has more than 9,000,000 members with ever-increasing training centres for aviation and gas warfare.

Within ten years the Russian Government has developed a Red Army composed of 562,000 highly trained men and officers. This force is supported by about 9,000,000 or more reserve. In India British experts tell the Indian people that it will take more than twenty-five years to "Indianize" the existing Indian army of about 150,000 men ! *Are the British military officials and experts less efficient than the leaders of the Red Army? If they are not, there is only one conclusion—British officials do not wish to hand over Indian national defence in Indian hands.*

T. D.

—

The New President of the Permanent Court of International Justice

Hon. Mr. Adatci, the former Japanese Ambassador to France, has been recently elected the new President of the World Court at the Hague. This is another recognition of Japan as one of the greatest World Powers. It also demonstrates that giving equal opportunity, an Asian statesman can not only hold his own but can also demonstrate his superiority. We congratulate Hon. Justice Adatci in his accession to the post of the President of the World Court.

Japan, with one-fifth of India's population, has become one of the greatest World Powers. Japan, with very little raw materials, has become one of the greatest industrial nations. Japan has developed her army, navy, air forces and merchant marine through her own efforts. Let us hope that India will follow the foot-steps of Japan in asserting national sovereignty.

T. D.

—

The Working of the Imperial Library

We have received a copy of the report on the working of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, for the period from 1st April 1926 to 31st March 1930, and are glad to note that many of the defects referred to in our February issue have been or are on the way to being remedied. The credit for this is entirely due to Mr. K. M. Asadullah, to whom we did an unintentional wrong in our ignorance. At the time of writing the previous note we were not aware that he had been holding temporary charge of the library for the last two years, and had not also received a copy of the report which shows the record of his work.

The slackness in the working of the Library has, it seems, been long-standing. The resulting abuses will therefore probably take a good deal of time to be irradicated completely. We are, however, glad to see that among the many reforms introduced by Mr. Asadullah the quickening of the process of acquiring and cataloguing books has been one which will be most appreciated by the users of the library. The League of Nations publications to which we alluded have now been catalogued. It is a pity that they are not yet available to the public.

The root cause of all the handicaps of the Library is, of course, the stinginess of the Government in all matters of public utility. This is a drawback the blame for which can certainly not be laid at the doors of its employees. But it is satisfactory to learn that Mr. Asadullah has been able to pursuade some Government Departments at any rate to supply the Library with their publications free, which has meant a saving of about five thousands rupees for it.

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Pandit Jawaharlal on Indian Economics

The economic exploitation of India has been in the forefront of Indian political agitation for more than half a century. It was only with the Swadeshi movement in Bengal about three decades ago that it found its active expression. In those days Bengal took up the cause of controlling Indian banking, insurance, trade and manufactures with a vigour and enthusiasm which unfortunately was far in excess of our business ability and resources. As a result many of the great economic institutions then started, do not exist today. Some no doubt have prospered, others are still carrying on somehow. In those days however it was Indian idealism which tried to fight foreign capitalism. Taking this fact into account, our success was phenomenal. To-day, Indian capital has seen the patriotic and economic necessity of fighting foreign capitalism and great financiers are entering politics wholeheartedly. This is symptomatic of the doom of foreign capitalism in India.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a recent article in the *Hindustan Times* has exposed the whole thing thoroughly. This deserves the intelligent appreciation of all Indians who contribute in one way or another to the economic exploitation of India by scheming foreigners. We reproduce his article in part below for the information of those who have not yet seen it. The article reads as follows:

For the past ten years India has worked for the boycott of foreign cloth. The exploitation of India has been carried on for long in a variety of ways, some obvious enough, many others veiled and deceptive. Cloth was chosen as the major item of our boycott not only because it represents a great drain from India but also because it has been the classic example of exploitation in India. On the boycott of cloth, therefore, the nation concentrated specially in the course of the last year and met with very great success. Congress stood primarily for khaddar so that millions of spinners and weavers might profit by the boycott and develop their ancient subsidiary industry again. But in order to make the boycott a complete success every effort was made by the Congress to secure the co-operation of Indian cloth manufacturers and to this co-operation was due largely the success of the boycott of foreign cloth. Indian manufacturers of cloth have naturally profitted by the boycott which was to their advantage.

Congress has hoped that the profits secured by them would not be used for personal advantage, but would go towards the betterment of labour which so sorely needs better conditions. Congress also hoped to induce them to promise to assist in every way in freeing India from other forms of foreign exploitation.

Insurance

One of the directions in which leakage of national resources is taking place is the field of insurance. I understand that under this head alone there is a net drain, from this country, of something like Rs. 5 crores a year. It is deplorable that this should be so in spite of the fact that several very reputable insurance institutions exist in this country. It is further deplorable that in this drain many an Indian assists the foreigner and reputable and otherwise patriotic firms of Indians are acting as the agents or rather as the brokers of alien insurance companies. For the sake of some personal advantage the economic and political freedom of the country is thus put in jeopardy. I hope that all Indians will realize the importance of stopping this drain of insurance money and patronize only Indian institutions.

Foreign Banks

Foreign banks work in this country as a part of the commercial operations of their own nationals. The British Banks are members of the British Chamber of Commerce and they share their outlook. British trade helps British banking and British banking helps British trade. There are at present as many as 19 foreign banks in India. They have a monopoly in the field of foreign exchange and the financing of foreign trade. They work in this country in a closed ring through an association of their own. They have developed such strength that it is impossible for any Indian institution to come on the scene and to expect to operate without heavy losses being inflicted on it. Not being content with their activities at the ports and in the field of foreign trade, the foreign banks have invaded the interior of India and they are now engaged in the operations of ordinary commercial banking with reference to internal trade. They have opened more branches and have increased their activities at the older branches in such a manner that they not only compete seriously with all Indian institutions but have also inflicted a definite set back to the Imperial Bank of India. Towards Indian institutions they have been notoriously hostile. They refuse all co-operation and they have shown a spirit of intolerance of Indians not only in the field of banking but also in shipping and insurance. Before giving assistance to their clients they demand assurances that the shipping and insurance would be effected through foreign institutions. In their personnel no Indian finds a place either of honour or dignity. It is very doubtful it they are even paying proper taxes in this country on the heavy profits which they should be making.

A Monstrous Situation

The tragedy of the whole situation appears to be that their people operate in India not from monies which they bring over from abroad but from money deposited with them by our own people. The amount of such deposits, I understand, has increased in the last 30 years by over 70 per cent. and they have to-day between Rs. 70 to Rs. 80 crores of Indian money in their hands. With his money they have helped the effective transfer of trading operations from Indian hands into foreign hands. The continued existence in this country of these foreign banks in their present position must result in the continued exclusion of Indians from the legitimate handling

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of the trade of their own country. With resources which they gather in India they are in a position to secure not only banking profits but trading profits for their own nationals with all the harmful effects on Indian aspirations and Indian enterprise. This is a monstrous situation calling for immediate notice and action. No free country would permit this for any length of time. The foreign banks have found a ready and over-generous hospitality in India but many of them have not scrupled to abuse it by a systematic weakening of Indian institutions and by engineering attacks on them

It is stranger still that monies are deposited by Indians with these foreign banks actually at a rate lower than they are able to obtain from Indian institutions. Apart from an item of profit of Rs. 80 lacs on this account alone, these foreign institutions levy a charge on the entire foreign trade of this country ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 crores

Economic Freedom

We are carrying on a great struggle for political freedom. It is well to realize however that political freedom is a delusion without economic freedom. If we merely concentrate on the political side of freedom we shall find our exploitation to continue and our last state will be worse than the first. A time will come, I hope, when a politically free India will control her economic resources and will not permit anyone to exploit them for the benefit of a few. The key industries, I hope, will be controlled by the state. To-day even the state is not ours, so there can be no question of its controlling them. But even today we must be clear that economic exploitation is the real thing to be aimed at and put an end to. Every Indian should give undoubted preference to an Indian institution and should lay stress on the fact that it is run for the good of the many and not merely for the good of the few. No foreign institution should be allowed to function in India to the detriment of the Indian people.

We note with pleasure the advent of a man like Pandit Jawaharlal in the field of building up an economically free India. Insurance companies and banks could be built up by Indians very quickly and successfully. They should only be inspired to work for the betterment of the whole of India and not for the benefit of particular communities or provinces. Even now some Indian banks show an undue preference for the members of one community or province. This should stop and all genuine business ventures of all Indians should be backed up by our national institutions impartially. Otherwise foreign bankers will readily take advantage of all economic rifts. Indian capital must be stimulated to work for maximum production at a minimum of profit and not for a maximum of profit based on monopolistically controlled production. All economic institutions (some of which have religious origin and sanction) should work with a view to establish fullest social well-being. Those that share in the national dividend of India without contributing towards it proportionately, will have to change over to a new policy or go.

As to the betterment of labour conditions, all workers should realize that they also must work to their fullest ability. Just as there is no divine right of capital, there is, similarly, no divine right of the proletariat.

A. C.

—

The Presidential Address

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel's presidential address is brief, to the point, and business-like. He is above all a man of action. And his address is, therefore, characteristic of him. It is devoid of any oratorical flights, and is quite lucid.

After appropriate and respectful feeling of references to the late Pandit Motilal Nehru and Maulana Mahomed Ali, Mr. Patel observed :

> In this connection I would couple those nameless heroes who unknown to fame, and never caring for it, laid down their lives in the non-violent struggle during the past twelve months. May their souls rest in peace and may their lives chasten us and spur us to greater sacrifice and greater effort for the cause for which they died.

Then there was the following reference to the recent Panjab executions :

> The execution of young Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru has filled the country with deep resentment. I cannot identify myself with their methods. I have no doubt that political murder is no less reprehensible than any other ; but the patriotism, the daring and the sacrifice of Bhagat Singh and his comrades command my admiration. The heartless and foreign nature of the government was never more strikingly demonstrated than in their carrying out of the executions in the teeth of the all but universal demand for the commutation of the death sentence. Let us not however be deterred from our purpose in a fit of resentment. This insolent exhibition of their armed power but adds to the heavy indictment against the soul-less system and increases our capacity for vindicating our position if we would refuse to be deflected from the straight and narrow path we have chosen. May the souls of the brave patriots rest in peace and may their families find comfort in the fact that the nation is a sharer in their mourning.

In his opinion,

> Though there have been aberrations, it is a fact beyond challenge that India has given a singular proof to the world that mass non-violence is no longer the idle dream of a visionary or a mere human longing. It is a solid fact capable

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of infinite possibilities for a humanity which is groaning, for want of faith, beneath the weight of violence of which it has almost made a fetish.

He paid a due mead of praise to the peasants, the women and the children for their part in the non-violent struggle and said:

I think it would not be at all wrong to give them the bulk of the credit for preservation of non-violence and the consequent success of the movement.

He considered the Gandhi-Irwin truce perfectly honourable for both the parties and said:

Your Working Committee has entered into the Settlement in anticipation of your approval. You are now invited formally to endorse it. The Committee having accepted it as your accredited representatives, it is not, I take it, open to you to repudiate it; but it is open to you to pass a vote of no-confidence in the present executive and appoint better agents.

According to his interpretation of the truce terms,

Under the constitution clause of the Settlement it is open to us to press for Purna Swaraj, to ask for complete control over our defence forces, foreign affairs, finance, fiscal policy and the like. There would be safe-guards or reservations, or as the late Pandit Motilalji called them, adjustments, conceived in our own interest. When power passes from one to the other by agreement there are always safe-guards in the interest of the party in need of reparation or help. The continued exploitation of India for close on two centuries renders it necessary for us to seek assistance in several respects from external sources. This we would gladly take from Britain, if she is willing to give.

He then entered into details. Regarding defence, he held:

Thus we would need military skill and there is no reason why we may not receive English assistance in this direction. I have taken only one telling illustration out of others that may be suggested. The defence safe-guard may therefore be the retention of British officers, or, as some would say, even privates; but we could never let our defence be controlled by the British. We must have the full power to make mistakes. We may gratefully receive British advice; never dictation. The fact is that the British army in India is an army of occupation. Defence is a misnomer. Frankly, the army is for defending British interests and British men and women against any internal uprising. I cannot recall a single instance in which the Indian army was required for the protection of India to fight a foreign power. True, there have been expeditions on the Frontier, wars with Afghanistan. British historians have taught us that they were wars more of aggression rather than of defence. We must not therefore be frightened by the bogey of foreign designs upon India. In my opinion if we need an army, we certainly do not need the octopus we are daily bleeding to support. If the Congress has its way, the army will suffer immediate reduction to its desirable proportion.

On the financial safe-guards his opinion is:

Nor can we divide financial control with the British Government. The nation cannot grow to its full height if it has not exclusive control over its finance.

As for the civil administration,

We have been taught to think that our civil administration will be inefficient and corrupt if we give up the able assistance of highly paid British civilians. The administrative powers that the Congress has exhibited during recent years and the fact of its having on an ever-increasing scale drawn to its assistance some of the best young men and women either without pay or on a mere pittance should sufficiently dispose of the fear of corruption or inefficiency. It would be too great a strain upon our poor purse to have to pay by way of insurance against corruption a premium out of all proportion to the highest possible estimate of corruption that may ever take place. It will therefore be necessary, if India is to come to her own to demand a heavy reduction in the Civil Service expenditure and thus a consequent reduction in the emoluments of the Civil Service.

His opinion on the question of public debts is as follows:

We have claimed that many of the charges laid upon India are wholly unjust. We have never suggested repudiation of a single obligation. But we have asked and must continue to ask for an impartial investigation into the debits against us wherever we cannot agree.

The President has declared that

There is no receding from the Lahore resolution of Complete Independence. This independence does not mean, was not intended to mean, a churlish refusal to associate with Britain or any other Power. Independence therefore does not exclude the possibility of equal partnership for mutual benefit and dissolvable at the will of either party. If India is to reach her independence through consultation and agreement, it is reasonable to suppose that there will be British association. I am aware that there is a strong body of opinion in the country to the effect that before a partnership could possibly be conceived there must be a period of complete dissociation. I do not belong to that school. It is, as I think, a sign of weakness and of disbelief in human nature.

The President's observations on the question of Federation represent sober sense.

Federation is a fascinating idea. But it introduces new embarrassments. Princes will not listen to severance. But if they will come in the true spirit it will be a great gain. Their association must not be to impede the progress of democracy. I hope therefore that they will not take up an uncompromising attitude that may be wholly inconsistent with the spirit of freedom. I wish they would without any pressure give us an earnest of their desire to march abreast of the time-spirit. Surely the fundamental rights of their subjects

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should be guaranteed as of the rest of the inhabitants of India. All the inhabitants of Federated India should enjoy some common fundamentary rights. And if there are rights, there must be a common court to give relief from any encroachment upon them. Nor can it be too much to expect that the subjects of the states should be to an extent directly represented on the federal legislature.

Regarding the separation of Burma, Mr. Patel said :

Whether Burma should be separate from India or should be part of a Free India is for the Burmese alone to decide. But it is our concern, indeed it is the world's concern, to see that all sides are heard. It is well known that there is a unionist party in Burma. It is as much entitled to freedom of opinion as the separatists. If therefore the information given to the Congress that unionist opinion is strangled be true, the injustice must be resisted. The proposition that there should be a referendum of Burmese opinion seems to me to be eminently reasonable.

The President recited the Lahore Congress resolution on communal unity, ending with the sentence,

this Congress assures the Sikhs, Muslims and other minorities that no solution thereof in any future constitution can be acceptable to the Congress, that does not give full satisfaction to the parties concerned."

He proceeded to observe :

Therefore the Congress can be no party to any constitution which does not contain a solution of the communal question, that is not designed to satisfy the respective parties. As a Hindu I would adopt my predecessor's formula and present the minorities with a swadeshi fountain pen and paper and let them write out their demands. And I should endorse them. I know that it is the quickest method. But it requires courage on the part of the Hindus. What we want is a heart unity, not patched up paper unity that will break under the slightest strain. That unity can only come when the majority takes courage in both the hands and is prepared to change places with the minority. This would be the highest wisdom.

We propose respectfully to make a few observations on the passage quoted above and on the passage in which Mr. Patel says :

The foregoing perhaps shows you how uninterested I am in many things that interest the intelligentsia. I am not interested in loaves and fishes, or legislative honours. The peasantry do not understand them, they are little affected by them.

As in the proposed All-India Federation the provinces may become practically autonomous in administration we should consider the cases of the All-India majority community and minority communities and of the majority and minority communities in the different provinces separately. That will show that the Hindus, though an All-India majority, are minorities in some provinces. So it is not the Hindus alone who have to be generous and courageous both in All-India affairs and in the affairs of *all* the provinces.

From our point of view justice is better than generosity. We may be considered to have a peculiar mentality ; but we think generosity, which is akin in some cases to charity, hurts the self-respect of the recipient of charity and perhaps affects the development of his capacity, too. So we would rather have justice all round than have generosity or be generous to anybody. We do not wish to humiliate anybody by being generous to him.

As regards "loaves and fishes" and "legislative honours," we also are not interested in them as such. But all public offices, from the highest to the lowest, not only carry emoluments but have duties attached to them. We may not care for the emoluments but we should certainly care for the opportunities for serving the country which all offices offer. We do not see any reason why in a free India it cannot be the legitimate ambition of any person of the younger generation to serve the public in any salaried or unsalaried capacity for which he or she may be fit.

"Legislative honours" may be practically mere "honours" now. But in a free India they will not be mere honours. The welfare of India will depend to some extent at least on the quality of the men we send to the councils. And the lot of the peasantry will certainly be affected by the integrity and ability or the reverse of our councillors, judiciary, magistracy, police, clerkdom, etc.

We humbly beg to differ from Mr. Patel when he says,

"It it useless to attend any conference unless that unity is achieved."

We do not see any reason why our Congress leaders should fight shy of the League of Nations Minorities solution. Germans and Poles, Czechs and Germans, Turks and Americans, etc., did not show by being obliged to accept the League Minority treaties or voluntarily accepting them that they were unfit for freedom and independence.

We whole-heartedly support what the President says relating to foreign cloth boycott and picketing and other cognate matters.

We endorse his observations on the equality of treatment between Indians and Europeans in "business."

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Equality of treatment in the case of hopeless unequals ought to mean raising the less favoured up to the level of the most favoured. Thus equality of the treatment for suppressed classes on the part of the so-called superior classes means raising the former to the latter's level: the latter sacrificing their substance and stooping to conquer. In relation to the British we have hitherto occupied a position in some respects lower even than the supressed classes. Protection of Indian industries and enterprise to the exclusion of British or foreign, is a condition of our national existence even under a state of partnership. Protection within even the British Commonwealth is no new-fangled notion. It is in vogue in the Dominions to the extent necessary for their growth.

It is not accurate to say that

the poorest on whose behalf the campaign was undertaken are now virtually free from the tax.

It is true only of the salt areas, which are a mere fragment of the country.

—

The Work of the Reception Committee

What the Reception Committee has done in a space of about three weeks is a wonderful achievement. We say this from personal knowledge on the spot.

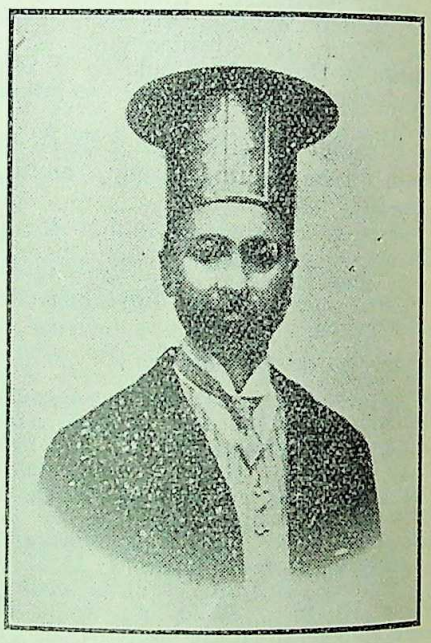
The Congress camp has been named after the veteran Congress leader of Sind about whom the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Dr. Choithram Gidwani says in his speech :

Seth Harchandrai who organized the last Karachi Congress, as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, we proudly recollect as the first martyr, in the present campaign that started with the national boycott of the Simon Commission against which he was going to register his vote in spite of the protest of his medical advisers, when he met his death.

Dr. Choithram pays a tribute to the Karachi Municipality and the merchants of Karachi for their co-operation, and to the volunteers, many of them fresh from prison, who have spent sleepless nights working under tremendous pressure to make the arrangements complete. Great praise is indeed due to all of them for the results obtained.

Dr. Choithram's address is short, and he has had to perform a host's duties in it. But he has not on that account overlooked the momentous questions which must have been engrossing the minds of his audience. Referring to the height of emotional exaltation of 1920-21 which has been translated ten years later into heroic action, Dr. Choithram says :

During those ten years of probation there has been a steady absorption of the teachings of our great souled leader Mahatma Gandhi to whom the world pays homage today for having successfully evolved a matchless weapon that provides for righteous warfare, a righteous method. It is nothing short of a New Dispensation in which brute force will no longer be the final arbiter in human affairs and Might will not be acceptable as indisputable evidence of Right. Mahatmaji's message is not for India alone. The evolution of that technique of satyagraha in the course of this struggle is leading the world to claim the message as its own and from far-off lands are heard echoes of the great message. What sounded like only a creed ten years ago at Nagpur has been proved to be a potent practical weapon that claims superiority over steel and demands for its effectiveness



Seth Harchandrai after whom the Congress Camp has been named

its exclusive use relegating old-world steel to rust. Undreamt of powers of endurance and resistance have been brought out by the exercise of this new instrument that brings a new hope to those that suffer from oppression and inequity anywhere. Indian women, who the world has been taught to believe, were only domestic chattel or harem toys have established records of heroism for which history will find it difficult to find a parallel and even children have found a scope in the movement that has acted as a corrective to a century of denationalizing education. Peasants and farmers to whom British rule has brought only hunger and starvation have felt the glow of freedom and made sacrifices before which the better advertised woes of liquor dealers and foreign cloth merchants pale into insignificance. The nation has successfully stood brutal *lathi* charges and trampling under horses' hoofs which are ingeniously described by our alien rulers as the exercise of minimum

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force, leaving it to stagger imagination to conceive what the maximum of that brutality could achieve.

After this he insists on some home truths by saying that central responsibility is not a mere detail of the Indian constitution, the inclusion of which can be treated as hypothetical and conditional. It is the essence of the demand :

Britain must acknowledge our inherent right to be masters in our own home. She must abandon the insolent theory of trusteeship, agreeing to no longer lecture to minor wards—but to talk on equal terms to people who are her equals in nature and who claim their rightful equality in status. All reservations and safe-guards must be ruled out if they violate that fundamental basis of any honourable negotiation. No curtailment of our inherent and inalienable right to manage our own affairs can be accepted merely to suit Tory prejudices or vested interests of England. Every safe-guard must be in India's interest. The Army of occupation as such must go and our financial administration must be as unfettered as that of Britain. England's management of Indian finances has not been so honourable that she can claim to retain control over them even in part, in *India's* interests.

About the Lahore executions and the detenus Dr. Choithram says :

I cannot help thinking that the Lahore executions represent a grave error of judgment on the part of Government. Mahatmaji agreed to forgo the inquiry into police excesses in order that atmosphere may not be vitiated for a peace effort by mutual recrimination. We had a right to expect that spirit of comradeship to be reciprocated. But now Government have made it difficult for us to believe in their desire to part with power. The continued detention of the detenus who have certainly not been convicted of any crimes of violence is also a source of greater discontent than ever. I am willing to place implict faith in Mahatmaji's leadership but I must say that signs do not appear to be propitious for the conclusion of an honourable peace that would leave us masters in our own home.

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Bengal Muslim Education

Last year Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, M. L. C., D.Litt., presided over the Bengal Muslim Educational Conference at Chittagong. His presidential address contained many things which require to be commented upon. His main idea of course had been to see all followers of Islam combine and act as one single group throughout India. In order to put "heart" into the Muslims of Bengal, he began his address by talking eloquently about the greatness of the Bengal Muslims. He said for instance :

I have heard even learned persons maintain, with an air of queer solemnity, that there is no prospect for the Muslims in Bengal. I assert, on the other hand, that the Muslims of Bengal will be the mightiest link in the chain that binds Muslim India. I have no hesitation in saying that our great and glorious community in Bengal will be the impregnable rock of Muslim India, and it will mould in future, as it has moulded for centuries in the past, the character and moral ideal of Islam in this land.

Of course Bengal Muslims have all along been Bengalis first and Muslims next. Their cultural inclinations and connection with the traditions of the soil have contributed largely to the civilization of Bengal. Had they been Arab-mongerers instead, they would probably have done nothing beyond making a glorious and unsuccessful experiment at transplanting an alien culture to the soil of Bengal. The present attempt at turning Muslim Bengalis into imitation Arabs is detrimental to Bengal's social, economic and cultural life. Religions all over the world are losing their hold upon man. At such a juncture, any attempt at creating religious groups and sub-groups is sure to fail. If the Muslims of Bengal are backward, they will go ahead along with other backward Bengalis ; perhaps do it better than they would if they followed the flag of religion.

Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan found that the backwardness of the Bengali Muslims was somehow or other connected with their being Muslims. Strange to say he also thought that this could be remedied if they acted in a group as Muslims. He, however, said in one place :

Compare the economic condition of the students of the two communities, and you will find that the educational backwardness of our community is due mainly to its poverty. Analyse the Census Report of Bengal for 1921, and you will find therein figures for the landholding, commercial and professional classes of the two communities which will convince you that the insistent need of the hour is the relief of poverty among members of our community. That we can progress rapidly will be clear to any one who studies the record of Muslim students in the Dacca University. Muslim students in that University have shown that they can hold their own if they are given facilities for advancement.

We also agree that much of Muslim backwardness is due to poverty. We also think that this poverty would not be removed by their combining with other Muslims all over India. For this poverty is due to economic causes for which Islam has no cure. Moreover other Muslims in other parts of India will not and cannot follow any policy by which Bengal Muslims could be made prosperous. They will rise or fall with all

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Bengalis, Hindus and others. The exploitation of Bengal is often carried on by Muslims from other provinces and countries *viz.*, Panjab, Bombay, N.-W.F. Province, Afghanistan, Persia, etc. These people do not make a special treatment in the case of Bengali Muslims. The Bengali Muslim can have a better chance through better labour and tenancy laws, better education, industrial training, banking facilities, etc., These cannot come through any Islamic organization. On the other hand, many followers of Islam would stand firmly against the introduction of suitable remedies into these fields : Muslim landlords and capitalists for example. If Bengal tried to keep more of her own money for her own, such money as goes out through export and import duties, income tax, etc., non-Bengali Muslims would not try and help to have such measures passed. In short, poverty is a disease which has no religious or communal cure. The same is true of illiteracy.

The learned Doctor next pointed out :

The history of Muslim education during the last seven and eight years makes depressing reading. It is true that the number of Muslim pupils enrolled in all types of educational institutions rose from 1,139,949 in 1926-27 to 1,235,706 in 1927-28. Again, I admit that the proportion of Muslim pupils to the total number of students under instruction on March 31, 1928, was 49·6 per cent, as compared with 48·8 per cent in the preceding year. When, however, we study these figures closely, we are struck not by progress, but actual retrogression. In arts and professional colleges the proportion of Muslims to the total number of students in the rolls was 13·7 and 14·8 per cent as compared with 15·5 and 19·3 per cent in the preceding year. In other words, Muslims have actually declined. Indeed, not only in University, but also in secondary education, Muslims have not only made no progress, they have declined.

This shows that during the period which saw the most vigorous communal activity, the Muslims in Bengal made no advance, they rather went back.

Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan wanted more representation for Muslims as Muslims everywhere. About the University he said,

We do not go before the Government with a beggar's bowl. We go to it with the firm coviction that our demands are based on the impregnable rock of equity and justice. We demand—and in this demand I am perfectly certain every Muslim from the length and breadth of India will join me—that the monopoly of the University should be abolished, and our community should be given its due. While Muslims form 54 per cent of the total population, they form only 13·7 per cent of the students in arts colleges. Their percentage ought to be at least according to population. In the United Provinces, they are only 13·9 per cent of the population, though in the colleges they are 24 per cent. This is a state of affairs which behoves the community, the Government and the University to reform without further delay.

And questioned :

Do the Government want us to progress ? Are they sincerely and genuinely anxious that the Muslims should come up to the level of other communities ?

As if votes were the magic lamp which would bring the Muslims of Bengal education and economic progress ! On the other hand, the more the Muslims seek for votes and clerical posts, the more they would go back in the field of real progress. Votes cannot bring a people general upliftment. If the Muslims of Bengal supplied all the clerks, sub-deputy magistrates and make-believe legislators, would that make them more prosperous? No. The Bengali Hindus are now, fortunately, coming out of their traditional (for some generations) vocations. While they were getting all the "jobs" the Bengali Hindus were going backwards all the time in trade, commerce and manufactures. Now that they are being driven out of these jobs, they are finding a new backbone and trying to make up for the losses suffered by them during 150 years. Will the Muslims of Bengal repeat the mistake of their Hindu cousins ?

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New Post Office Rules

Recently the Post Office introduced a new system in connection with the 'cash on delivery' or v. p. packets. Hitherto value payable packets were kept at the delivering post office for ten days for the convenience of the receiver, who during this period could make payment for the packet and take delivery of the same *free of any extra charge*. The new system allows the receiver only three days instead of ten and subjects him to the payment of a demurrage if he keeps it longer at the post office. As a result most firms using the 'cash on delivery' method for selling goods by post have suffered badly. Publishers of all classes of printed goods have suffered most as a result of this novelty which has been introduced at a time of great trade depression, may be, as an ameliorative measure thought out by the officials. The Indian Journalists' Association passed a resolution on the 7th of March last in order to enquire into this and carry the matter

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gether up for remedy, if necessary. The Post Office, we are informed, has desired those whom it may concern to understand (1) That when a V. P. is sent on a clear and distinct order from a person he is expected to take delivery as soon as it arrives and therefore under the new rule if Post Office refuse to keep the article free in deposit, this should constitute a grievance, (2) that the Post Office should not be a party to allow any one to turn it into a warehouse while he is raising money to pay for the article ordered, (3) that the Post Office feels that a long deposit causes loss and inconvenience to the sender, (4) that the three clear days are sufficient for taking delivery, (5) that the real effect of the new rule has been to reduce unnecessary work and space and to minimize trouble and abstraction as the similar system has helped the Railways to keep down the work of booking and accounting for goods in their charge.

As to (1), it is well known that all buyers are not quite so solvent as the Post Office and for that reason some of them do not have ready cash at all times to pay for whatever they may order "distinctly" or *customarily* (such as periodical instalments, subscriptions, stores, etc.). Even the Government of India have been known to make payments for goods which they order some time after delivery of the same. It is absurd to talk about "as soon as it arrives" when for ages the Department has allowed ten days for making payment and when they allow three days even now. As for (2) the Post Office *is a warehouse* technically even if for a limited period. It receives goods and is responsible for the safe custody of the same during transit and up to the time of delivery. *It does not render this service as a favour* but charges a *profitable fee* for whatever it does. Therefore the Postal Officials need not assume an air of superiority over ordinary warehouse-keepers and express contempt for those who are not in charge of the peoples' savings banks and have to "raise money" while the goods wait. (3) The senders appreciate the concern of the Post Office. They however note with regret that delay in payment for goods despatched by post is due as often as not to the Post Office itself. Even after the introduction of their new regulation, senders are not getting their money much earlier than before. The "long deposit," it is feared, is not applicable to the V. P. packet but to the cash after it comes into the coffers of the Post Office. (4) The best judge of this is the receiver and the sender. As more V. P. P.'s are now being sent back by the addressees, it is evident their idea of sufficiency does not tally with that of the *subjanta* Post Office. Regarding (5) it is of course true that the Post Office could sell stamps without doing any corresponding work or wasting any space anywhere, that would be ideal. That they have done some "unnecessary" (not unpaid) work and given some space to the goods hitherto is evident from the profit they made so far from the Postal Department. If along with saving work, space, cost of accountancy, etc. they had also reduced postage, the whole thing would have been appreciated by the public. But the idea of taking the same (or more) fees and giving less service does not appeal to ordinary minds. We hope the Post Office will see that it is a public utility organization run by the State. Its first duty is service; profit-making and an easy life for its officials come later.

A. C.

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Minorities and the League of Nations

It has been all along urged repeatedly by Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, and to some extent partly by others, that (1) the best possible solution of minority problems in all their conceivable complications is that produced by the League of Nations representing the collective wisdom and statesmanship of practically the whole world; (2) that solution now embodied in Minorities Guarantee Treaties is now operative and enforced in more than 20 States of Europe involving millions of people which include 23 per cent German Minority in Czecho-Slovakia; and (3) these Treaties signed by the original members of the League including India, England, and the Dominions of the British Empire, have now received the character of an international settlement. In support of the third proposition it is interesting to note what the present foreign Secretary of His Majesty's Government, Mr. Henderson, stated, as Chairman of the League Council meeting held in last January, that he expressed his satisfaction that *the system of the protection of Minorities, now a part of the public law of Europe and of the world*, had been so firmly held by the Council (in regard to questions raised by the German minority in Poland). Questions concerning the application of the Minority Treaties were, he said, not national questions, they were international questions; they were League of Nations questions; they were questions

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in which all had a common duty and a common interest.

In the light of this pronouncement by a British cabinet minister, it would have been best if the British Labour Government had, of its own accord, applied the League solution to the minorities problem in India, instead of throwing the burden of the solution on the parties themselves. This has complicated the situation, instead of easing it, and created some excitement and bitterness. But it is useless to dwell on what has happened and to cast wistful looks at what might have been. As things stand, it can only be hoped that if the Hindus, Moslems and other minorities fail to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the communal problems, they would submit to a settlement on the lines laid down by an impartial tribunal like the League of Nations, a settlement to which both India and England are parties and signatories, and which has been applied to Turkey and has reconciled even the powerful German minorities of Europe.

The communal problem in its present aggravated political form is a creation of British rule. That is why we have said above that the British Government ought to have voluntarily applied the League solution to it. It is difficult to be convinced that there was either goodwill or true statesmanship in the official insistence on the Hindus and Moslems themselves arriving at a settlement themselves, when there is so sound a settlement available in the League Minorities Treaties.

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The Congress and the Agreement

The Karachi session of the Congress has ratified the Gandhi-Irwin pact. This ratification has, of course, no significance beyond sending the Congress leaders to London. Whether they will be able to get anything out of the British will depend not so much on their statesmanship or diplomacy as on their determination and courage to make it quite clear to the British public that without the substance of independence there shall be no peace in India.

The attempt of the Bombay group of left wingers to have the ratification resolution rejected was at least sincere and, as such, deserves to be respected. Mr. Mehta, who so ably criticized Mahatma Gandhi, thought that even Aristotle would have failed to understand what Gandhiji meant by independence. This, of course, is no indictment of the Mahatma, for Aristotle was a man, and no man knows what independence really means. The members of the so-called independent races of the world are not all independent in exactly the same way. All nations *suffer* more or less from the domination connection or influence of other nations. What India desires is the *immediate* removal of all flagrant infringements of her own political and economic rights by foreigners and a progressive removal of such infringements as time passes. The principle of Indian independence must be now at once accepted by the British. They must cease immediately to exercise all those rights the surrender of which has reduced us to the present state of political and economic degradation. If Mahatma Gandhi and his followers can achieve this, they would have done something to be recorded on a special chapter of Indian history. A. C.

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Vallabhbhaiji on Untouchability

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in his presidential address referred to the problem of untouchability in the following terms.:

There is one part of the constructive programme which I have not dealt with already; that is the all important work of removing untouchability. It is no use tinkering with the problem. The recent heroic struggle on the part of the nation would have been more glorious if Hindus had purged Hinduism of this evil. But heroism or glory apart, no Swaraj would be worth having without this supreme act of self-purification; and even if swaraj is won whilst this stain continues to blacken Hinduism it would be as insecure as a Swaraj without a complete boycott of foreign cloth.

Sardarji is quite right in his estimate of the urgency of removing untouchability once and for all. Only the urgency is even greater than that of boycotting foreign cloth. One can imagine an India great, self-reliant and progressive, which is wearing foreign cloth; but an India ridden with untouchability can remain nothing but fallen and degenerate.

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Sardar Patel on Indians Abroad

Sardar Patel did not forget the Indians overseas. He said,

In conclusion I may not forget our brethren overseas. Their lot in South Africa, in East Africa

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and in the other parts of the world is still hanging in the balance. Deenabandhu Andrews is happily in South Africa helping our countrymen. Pandit Hridaya Nath Kunzru has specialized in the Indian question in East Africa. The only consolation the Congress can give is to assure them of its sympathy. They know that their lot must automatically improve to the extent that we approach our goal. In your name I would appeal to the Governments concerned to treat with consideration the members of a nation which is bound at a very early date to enter upon her heritage and which means ill to no nation on earth. We ask them to extend to our nationals the same treatment they would give us, when we are free, to extend to theirs. This is surely not asking too much.

No doubt while a single Indian remains in any corner of the earth who is not treated as an equal and as a free man by members of more arrogant races we cannot boast of having attained swaraj.

—

League's New Measures to Combat the Drug Evil

There was a great deal of activity at Geneva during the month of January in the consideration and recommendation of measures for fighting the drug traffic.

There were meetings of the Central Opium Board and of the Opium Advisory Committee (which has been preparing the way for the Conference on Limitation of Manufacture in May), and the reports of both these bodies, together with the report of the Commission on Opium-smoking in the Far East, were considered by the Council of the League.

In commenting on the figures in its possession, the Board stated that, considering the alarming dimension of the illicit traffic, it is bound to ask whether the abnormal consumption of narcotic drugs in certain countries may not be partly due to drugs ostensibly for medical purposes escaping into the illicit traffic.

With regard to the incredible amount of drugs alleged to be consumed for medical and scientific purposes in certain territories under the authority of Governments parties to the Convention, the Board is confident that these Governments have realized the danger and have taken the necessary steps to remedy it. There is, for instance, satisfaction in learning that the Japanese Government has itself notified the League that the quantity of cocaine manufactured in Japan was recognized to be excessive and was being reduced.

The Chairman of the Opium Central Board (Mr. Lyall), who attended the Council, said that the illicit traffic continued on an immense scale. The seizures recently made in America, Asia and Europe. were no longer counted by the ounce, but by the hundredweight. It was extremely probable that in the near future the Board would be compelled to make use of its powers and might have to denounce a country as being in danger of becoming a centre of the traffic and of not fulfiling its obligations.

The Commission of Enquiry into Opium-smoking in the Far East visited all the territories in the Orient where opium-smoking occurs to an appreciable extent, except China. Its report gives a detailed description of the extent of opium-smoking in each of the districts visited, of special local conditions which affect the habit, and of action taken by the Governments concerned to control it.

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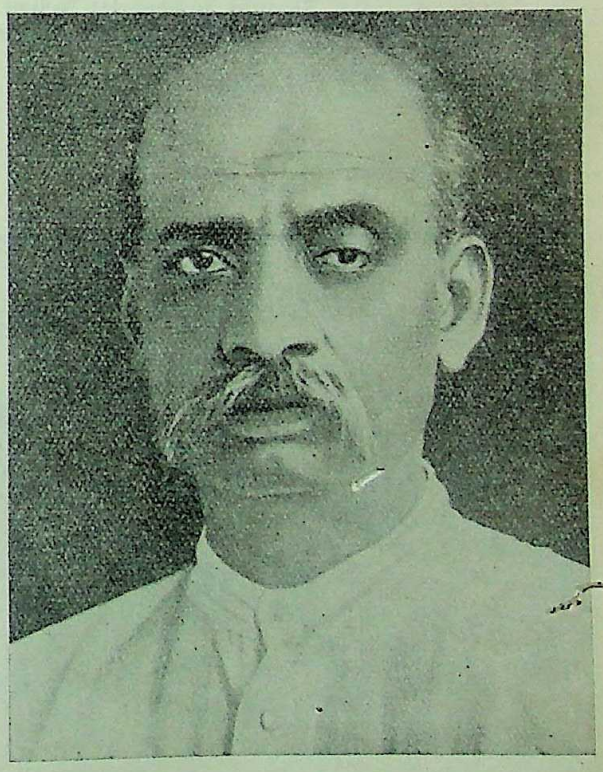

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru standing in the President's Camp in Harchandrai Nagar. Behind him is Mahadev Desai

Congress Leaders seated on the dais in the Motilal Pandal

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THE HUNT
By Sheila Banerji

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

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Gurukula Library Kangri

Voiceless India

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

HUMAN facts are living facts, they offer experience to us and not merely knowledge, they rightfully claim our understanding for which is required the mind that is sympathetic and naturally charitable. There is no race in existence which is not in need of charity for its introduction to the world, or which can with impunity indulge in the luxury of judging others without any fear of being liable to be even more seriously judged than its victim.

Miss Emerson in her *Voiceless India* has amply proved that she has her own natural right of a sensitive mind to come to a people who happen to be foreign to her and in judging whom she has done herself justice.* The bond of kinship that prevails within a community not only protects it from wanton cruelty and injustice from inside but is the natural nerve channel through which we directly feel our own race in its entirety. But the stranger from outside can easily be unjust owing to the fact that he has not to pay for his conduct in his own feeling and be checked by that deeper sensibility which goes directly beyond the miscellany of facts into the heart of a living unity. And for the sake of his own benefit and others' safety he must bring with him his inner light of imagination so that he may *feel* truth and not merely *know* facts. It is fully evident that Miss Emerson is gifted with this rare faculty, that she has realized a complete vision of an alien life by making it her own and presented a living picture of it with a simplicity which is one of the most difficult of all qualities that an artist must have.

It is a very hard trial for a Western woman to have to spend long lonely months in an environment where most things conspire to hurt modern taste and modern standard of living. The author did not choose the comfortable method of picking up information from behind a lavish bureaucratic hospitality, under a revolving electric fan and in an atmosphere of ready-made official opinions. For the materials of the present book she did not move about among the upper circle of the modern sophisticated India where communication was through her own language and tendencies of mind were not wholly unfamiliar to her. She boldly took it upon herself unaided to enter a region of our life, all but unexplored by the Western tourists, which had its one great advantage, in spite of its difficulties, that it offered no other path open to the writer but that of sharing the life of the people. In fact, in this adventure of hers she followed the examples of the true born

* *Voiceless India*: by Gertrude Emerson (Doubleday Doran, New York.)

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travellers of that golden age of travelling when the pilgrims across the seas and mountains did not carry with them their own mental and physical habits, the barricading aloofness of their own race and culture. And I can easily imagine what the author had to pay for her experience, not in money but in a part of her life itself. The constant toll that a pitiless climate exacts from our vitality for the barest privilege of living, the mean tyrannies of the tropics that often cause desperate discomforts, and what is worse, a perpetual state of sub-conscious irritation in our mind, are enough provocation for a foreigner to make him unreasonably vengeful in his judgment and language. There is no sign of that in Miss Emerson's writings, not even of a temptation to be superciliously funny at any awkwardness of the simple village-folk among whom she lived. These villages had no allurements of the romantic India, incomprehensibly mystic in her ritualism, or ineffably grand in her relics and ruins. The background of life they had was dull and drab, with no lurid fascination of vice so important for making its detailed descriptions gratifying to some readers in their search for a vicarious enjoyment under the cover of moral indignation. All this have given an opportunity to disclose the personality of the writer herself not only through the intellectual sanity displayed in this book, but what is more precious, in her depth of human sympathy. She never idealized, not even for the sake of literary flourishes, any aspects of the village life to which she was so intimately close. She never minimized the primitive crudities of its features, things that were stupid, ungainly, superstitious, or even evil in their moral ugliness, but her narration, in spite of its unmitigated truth, never hurts, because all through it runs the gracious touch of the woman, the pure instinct of sympathy which, while it bares and handles the sores, is yet tender to them. And these unfortunate Indian villages deserted by their own capable men, neglected with scant notice by their politicians, cruelly ignored by their government, dumbly suffering unspeakable miseries, putting all the blame upon their inexorable fate, being down to the dust by the load of indignities, deprived of education, sanitary or medical help, living upon a pitifully meagre ration of food that has hardly any nutrition, and a scant supply of water full of microbic menace—they need a true woman's heart to give them voice, for they are like children in their utter helplessness disowned by their parents.

I feel personally grateful to Miss Emerson for the masterly picture she has drawn of our pathetic village life so vivid and yet sober in its colour, the honest colour of truth ; for I myself had spent some part of my youth in its neighbourhood and have made it my mission with all my inadequate individual resources to befriend them who are friendless, who are eternal tenants in an extortionate world having nothing of their own.

What Miss Emerson has discovered concerning the poverty of the Indian village causing it to sink down under the weight of a land tax too heavy to be borne, has been openly acknowledged, to their credit, by a small band of Indian Civilians who have been obliged to administer the system which they saw actually crushing the poor. Sir William Hunter stated many years ago that "the Government assessment does not leave enough food to the cultivator to support himself and his family throughout the year." Sir Henry Cotton and Sir William Wedderburn, both high officials, have confessed the same unpalatable truth. More recently still, Mr. C. J. O'Donnell who held in his own day one of the chief administrative positions in the Government of India, has declared, "It makes little difference to three hundred million Indian peasants what the Simon Commission may recommend but I fear that the ryot will remain 'the most pathetic figure in the British Empire' for 'his masters have ever been unjust to him' and Christendom will have one more failure to its discredit." Miss Emerson in her new book *Voiceless India* is echoing in a new and poignant manner the same truth which these earlier investigators discovered.

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Two Eminent American Women

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

I want to tell the readers of *The Modern Review* about two distinguished American women whom I think they would like to know. I refer to Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, one of the leading women of this country today, who, besides her interests and activities in many other directions, has for many years been in warm sympathy with India's struggle for freedom, and by her writings in our periodical press has done more than any other woman, and more than any man with the exception of three or four, to commend India's case to the American public. The other is Miss Blackwell's distinguished mother, Mrs. Lucy Stone, who is not now living, but who for nearly fifty years, until her death in 1913, was a prominent leader, first, in company with Garrison, Theodore Parker, John Brown and Abraham Lincoln, in work for the abolition of American slavery, and later, in company with Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Miss Susan B. Anthony and others, was an even more prominent leader in the cause of woman suffrage, woman's education and the gaining of a larger life for women. Let me speak a little further of the mother before coming to the work of her daughter.

Mrs. Lucy Stone was eminent both as a public speaker and as a writer. As a speaker she was one of the most eloquent and effective we have ever had in America; indeed among women speakers, of whom we have possessed many of ability, it is not too much to say that none has ever surpassed her in charm, in attractiveness or in persuasive power. Many times she travelled over nearly all parts of the country speaking to congregations that crowded the largest halls; in several of the earlier years of her career pleading with amazing effectiveness for the freedom of America's three million negro slaves, and after that, throughout the rest of her life, pleading with even greater eloquence still for the rights of women.

The women of India will be interested to know something of the social and educational hardships and especially the legal disabilities and injustices which were suffered by the women of America at the time when Mrs. Stone and the other early suffrage leaders began their work. And it should be borne in mind that America was not worse in these respects than England and the countries on the continent of Europe. Indeed, in many matters, women's lot here was distinctly better than in most other Western countries. Yet even in America there were serious injustices. At that time women, legally speaking, were still chattels. The law allowed husbands to beat their wives A married woman's property and earnings belonged legally, not to herself, but to her husband. The husband was the sole legal guardian of their children; if he died before her, he could bequeath them to whom he pleased. A wife could not sue or be sued, and could not make a will or a contract.

Besides these legal disabilities women suffered much because there were almost no opportunities for higher education. The first college in America to admit women was not opened until 1832; and there were no free public high schools for girls. There were no literary, social or philanthropic associations or organizations which women could join except sewing societies in churches. It was thought unwomanly for a woman even to become a member of a temperance society. Women were shut out from all except a few ill-paid occupations: and the learned professions were entirely closed against them. It was thought wholly improper for women to speak in public, or even in religious meetings in churches.

As a child Lucy Stone wanted to go to college, as her elder brother had done, but was refused this desire by her father. Wanting books, she picked berries in the fields and gathered nuts in the woods and sold them for money with which to buy the few which she was able to obtain. It took her nine years, doing housework in neighbours' homes and teaching school, to earn money sufficient to enable her to go to college; and she was twenty-nine years old when she received

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her degree. When at the close of her college course she announced her determination to devote her life to the task of helping to free the nation's slaves and to win a larger and better life for women, and to do this largely by public speaking, her family and friends and all who knew her were shocked. But by her intelligence, her patience, her womanly modesty and refinement, her sincerity and earnestness, her charming voice which won all who heard it, and her eloquence, she was able at last largely to overcome this prejudice.

As a writer Mrs Stone was very prolific and hardly less effective than as a speaker; but her writings did not take the form of books. Very early in her public career she joined with others in establishing a weekly periodical for the advocacy of women's interests, called *The Woman's Journal*, of which she soon became the editor, and continued as such all her life. The paper at first struggled for existence, but by degrees attained a wide circulation and became a great power. After her death, it was edited by her husband and daughter and later by her daughter alone From the first, it was absolutely indispensable to the woman's cause. For seventy-two years it has been the leading and most important high-class woman's paper in America.

I am glad to say that a very fine life of Mrs. Stone, written by her daughter, has just been published in Boston. It is one of the very valuable American biographies. As I have read its interesting chapters, I have said to myself again and again: "If Lucy Stone were alive today, what an ardent and powerful supporter she, too, as well as her distinguished daughter, would be, of India's just struggle for freedom!"

With such a mother and with a father almost equally eminent as a philanthropist, it is no wonder that the daughter is an ardent friend of India.

Alice Stone Blackwell has had a distinguished career in many directions. As already has been said, she succeeded her mother as editor of *The Woman's Journal*, in which capacity she soon made herself nearly or quite as influential as her mother had been. She opened the pages of the paper, or rather kept them open, not only to woman suffrage, woman's education and everything conducing to the higher and larger life of women, but also to everything bearing on the interests of children, the home and society, and indeed to all worthy social, industrial and moral reforms. No public wrong or social injustice in all these years has escaped her notice and condemnation, and no movement for social uplift or human betterment has failed of her support. She believes that the world can advance, and that better homes, better communities, better governments and better nations can be created only by the intelligent efforts of women as well as men, indeed only by the intelligent and earnest co-operation of women and men.

Miss Blackwell's service to the cause of women has not been confined to *The Woman's Journal*, or even to the products of her ever active pen. For forty years she has been, and still is, one of the most efficient organizers that the women's cause has produced. During long periods she has been President of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, and of that of New England, and also Secretary of the Woman Suffrage Association of the Nation.

As the cause of woman suffrage advanced and the individual states and the nation began to enact laws to cure the legal injustices which existed against women, Miss Blackwell began to be called upon, and came more and more to be called upon, to address the legislature of her own State, Massachusetts, and Committees of the National Congress in Washington, at "hearings" given to advocates and opponents of these proposed enactments. Her addresses at these "hearings" became famous, so intelligent, fair, just and powerful were they.

Miss Blackwell's sympathies and interests have not been limited to America. At the time of the terrible persecutions and pogroms in Russia under the Czars, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Miss Blackwell's father and mother, and other philanthropic Americans organized an association called "The American Friends of Russian Freedom." In this association, Miss Blackwell became very active. In co-operation with Mr. George Kennan who travelled extensively in Russia and among the Russian exiles in Siberia and wrote startling reports of what he had found there, she filled the papers of America with accounts of the horrors perpetrated in those lands, and created here such a wide public sentiment of condemnation and protest that it seemed to have an effect upon the Russian government, causing a mitigation of the horrors. A little later when Catherine Breshkovsky

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Mrs. Lycy Stone

Miss. Alice Stone Blackwell

called "The Little Mother of the Russian Revolution") came to this country, Miss Blackwell befriended that noble and heroic woman in every possible way, helping her to get great audiences to whom she told her thrilling story and thus was able to raise considerable sums of money in aid of the suffering Russians.

Immediately after the Armenian massacre in 1894, an "American Society of Friends of Armenia" was formed. In this Miss Blackwell took a very active part, assisting Armenian refugees to come to America and finding work for them here.

She has been an earnest friend of the Jews, using her pen vigorously in condemnation of the persecutions which they have suffered in various lands. She has been a no less earnest friend of the Negroes of this country since their emancipation from slavery.

Miss Blackwell has done much literary work outside of her writing for *The Woman's Journal* and other periodicals and the large number of woman suffrage and other leaflets and tracts that have come from her pen. I have already mentioned her excellent life of her mother. She has also written a life of Catherine Breshkovsky, which has attracted wide attention and reached a large sale. Her sympathy with suffering peoples has caused her to make and publish important translations from their literatures. Among these are "Songs of Russia," "Songs of Grief and Gladness," from the Hebrew and Yiddish, "Armenian Poems," and "Poems of Petofi," the Hungarian national poet of freedom. She has also made extensive translations from the Spanish and published a volume entitled "Some Spanish American Poets."

I have already told of Miss Blackwell's deep interest in, and active support of, India's great struggle for freedom. Ten years ago she wrote for *The Christian Register*, of Boston, a long and carefully prepared article entitled "British Rule in Disturbed India," which was one of the most illuminating presentations ever published in this country of the tyrannies and wrongs suffered by the Indian people under that rule, and of their right to freedom and a place among the world's great nations. Since then her pen has been constantly active on behalf of India's cause. There are few papers of importance in this part

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of America to which she has not contributed articles or letters, long or short, correcting misrepresentations regarding India, or presenting arguments in favour of its struggle for self-government. Especially has India's brave and noble endeavour to gain freedom not by war but by non-co-operation, by self-suffering, by "soul-force," won her ardent admiration and support.

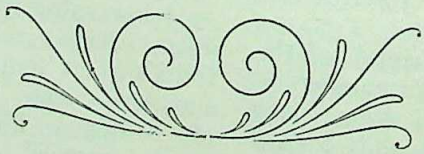
Miss Blackwell's admiration is very great for the women of India, who are fighting the same great battle in which the women of America have so long been engaged, to liberate themselves from the social and religious tyrannies of the past, to gain adequate and unfettered education for their sex, to create better conditions for their children, and now, added to all the rest (in the case of India), to free their country, their beloved motherland, from the depressing, degrading, deadening influence of foreign domination. The struggle of the women of India is more severe than that of their American sisters has ever been. Our women have shown splendid heroism. But this heroism of India's women is greater still. Little by little we in this country are beginning to see this. The time is coming when all the world will see it. I want the people of India to know how much Alice Stone Blackwell is doing to open American eyes to their self-sacrifice and their heroism.

If she knew I was writing this article I am sure she would desire me to send a message from her to the women of India. What would it be? It would be a warm heart-message, a sisterly message, of sympathy, love and admiration; and also ringing exhortation to hope, patience, faith in their great cause, and determination and courage that will never surender, but will fight and suffer on until victory is won.

A few weeks ago, as the New Year came in, I received from Miss Blackwell a beautifully printed New Year's Greeting Card, which contained the following lines from the English poet, Gerald Massey:

"High hopes that burned like stars sublime,
Go down in the heavens of freedom,
And true hearts perish in the time
We bitterliest need 'em;
Yet never sit we down and say
There's nothing left but sorrow,
The powers of hell are strong to-day,
But God shall reign to-morrow."
Yes! Truth, justice and right cannot be
permanently defeated!
"God's ways seem dark, *but soon or late*
They touch the shining hills of day."

I am sure that the above is essentially the word which Alice Stone Blackwell desires me to send, from her, to the heroic women and also to the brave men of India, in this crisis of their history.



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Rammohun Roy as a Journalist

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

II

THE "TURSA" CONTROVERSY

ON 29th August, 1822, the *Harkaru* published the following translation of a paragraph from the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*, No. 20 :

"*Fatal Accident.* The three-story house of Mohummed Hossain Khan, which stood near the burial-ground of the Infidels, fell down and 15 persons (passengers and those who lived near its bottom) were killed outright by this unexpected event, and six of other seven men, who were with great difficulty taken out half dead from the ruins, died subsequently. After a few days, when they removed the bricks, they found one woman still alive with a dead child by her, but she was rendered so feeble that there was scarcely any hope of her recovery. Two persons who were passing by, died by the fall of the wall. The family experienced no danger nor any great loss, except in glass and other such articles of furniture as are most apt to be injured. It is a matter of astonishment that a house so firmly founded should fall, except by constant showers of rain, or the ravages of time."

This paragraph was reprinted as a "Selection" in the *Calcutta Journal* on the following day. The rendering of the word TURSA as 'Infidel' in the foregoing paragraph, provoked strong criticism and the *John Bull*, which was regarded as a rival to the *Calcutta Journal*, took up the attack, as will be seen from the following passage in the *John Bull* of 31st August, 1822 :

INFIDELS.—We believe it has not, hitherto, been the custom for the natives of this country, when speaking of Europeans, to call them *Infidels*, or *Pagans*, at least we never remember to have heard them so called by any respectable Mohammedan or Hindoo. We find, however, that the word *tursa* is now regularly applied in one of the Persian newspapers here, (the *Mirat-ool-Akhbar*) to designate our countrymen, and we see this very word translated *Infidel* in the *Calcutta Journal* of yesterday. Perhaps the Editor of the *Mirat-ool-Akhbar*, will say that this is a mistake of the translator, and that the word *tursa*, can only be correctly employed to denote a Christian. We confess we do not think that this is actually the case, and we rather believe that the word when originally applied to Christians, was applied in a low, degrading and contemptuous sense ; in the very same way indeed that *kafir* was applied to them occasionally. Both *kafir* and *tursa* are used by Saadee, to denote the lowest classes of infidels or enemies of God, as may be seen in the following well-known verse :

* * *

"O merciful God, who out of thine hidden treasures affordest daily sustenance to the *Guebre* and the *infidel* ; how canst thou exclude thy *friends*, thou who deignest thus favourably to regard thine *enemies*."

It appears to us, therefore, that the word *tursa* was not originally used in any other than a degrading sense, and that it cannot be respectfully employed to our countrymen in India, however low their condition may be. *

On the 2nd September following, Mr. Buckingham pointed out to his contemporary "the simple fact that the paragraph was *not* translated for the *Calcutta Journal*, nor did it first appear in our columns." He, however, published on the following day a reply from Rammohun to the comments of the *John Bull* which is reproduced below :

"JOHN BULL

A Native Gentleman's Opinion of John Bull's Learning and Candour.

To the Editor of the Journal.

Sir,

In the JOHN BULL of yesterday (August 31st), the Editor accuses the Proprietor of the Persian Newspaper (the MIRATOOL UKHBAR) of having '*regularly* applied' the term "Tursa" to designate his countrymen, as a mark of disrespect to them. I felt indeed surprised and shocked at this *groundless*, *illiberal*, and *hurtful* charge of the Editor, in a Public Paper.

I say GROUNDLESS, for several reasons ; the *First*, that in all the Numbers of this Persian Paper, which amount to 21, the Persian words signifying Christians are found used 23 times, among which the term "Tursa" is only *twice* mentioned, and that in Number 20th, on two particular occasions ; one is, that the Proprietor having received from a friend an article of news, respecting the downfall of a lofty house at Patna, situated near the Burying-ground of the "Tursas," gave it insertion as he found it in his writing, being thoroughly convinced

* Cited in the *Calcutta Journal*, 2nd September 1822, p. 15.

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of the accuracy of the expression ; and the other is, that in speaking of the two country-born Portuguese, who are said to have used cruelty to a Native, the term "Tursa" is once more thus used in that day's Paper, "an Tursayan khodana Turs," for the beauty of construction, from the repetition of a single word "Turs" bearing two meanings, something similar to this phrase in English "those Christians of un-Christian-like conduct." Now the Public may judge, whether a single repetition of the term "Tursa" out of twenty-three instances, can justify the Editor in saying, that the word Tursa is '*regularly* applied' to the countrymen of JOHN BULL.

Secondly, that the word "Tursa" does not signify Infidels, but according to the general usage of the word, it means Christians, without conveying any more disrespect to the minds of Moosulmans than the very term "Christians." To convince the Public of the misrepresentation of the term by JOHN BULL, I quote the "Boorhan Qatiuu," the standard Dictionary of the Persian language, which was some time ago printed by the late Capt. Roebuck, with the assistance of the *principal officers of the College of Fort William*, (page 236) after giving the meanings derivable from the root, to wit, "fearer, fearful, fancy-sick," the author says, "it also signifies Christians and worshippers of fire," without confining the application to a degraded sense. SOORAHH, esteemed as the first Arabic Dictionary, with Persian explanations, immediately after the word *Nassara*, Christians, says "*Tunnussoor Tarsashoodun*, to become a Christian—*Tunseer Tursagurdaneedun*, to make one a Christian."

The verses of Saadee, quoted by the Editor, illustrate the subject beyond doubt, 'Who out of thy hidden treasures affordest daily sustenance to the "Gubre" or Magians, and to the "Tursa" or Christians, both of whom are equally by Mahomedans considered as enemies of God.

The Editor of the JOHN BULL leaves the word Gubre in the foregoing verse, untranslated ; in the event of his translating Gubre into English, the line would have thus stood "the Magians and the Infidels" which would bear the construction that Magians are not included among Infidels, contrary to the Mahomedan creed professed by Sadee.

Thirdly, Persian Poets and Historians, such as Hafiz and others, invariably use "Tursa" for Christians, without manifesting any other disrespect than what they universally wish to shew to Christians. Thus Hafiz.—

"Een hudeesum chi khooshamud ki
suburguh me gooft;
Bur dur i muy k udue ba duf, o nuy
Tursae"

"How pleasant to me was the sentence which a Tursa uttered in the morning at the door of a wine-cellar, with a small drum and flute *in his hand*."

Again Shums Tabreez says :—

"Chi tudbeer ae Moosulmanan kieemun khoodraa nu mee danum Nu Tursa nu Yehoodee um-nu Gubur-um, nu Moosulman-um"

"What remedy, O Moosulmauns; since I do not know myself. I am neither a Christian (Tursa) nor a Jew, nor a Gubre (Magian) nor a Moosulmaun."

I say that his charge is ILLIBERAL; for, since the Proprietor of the MIRUTOOL UKHBAR had the honor of knowing personally the Editor of the JOHN BULL, and a great many of his friends and acquaintances have been in the habit of seeing that gentleman, it is presumed that when he first saw the term "Tursa" used in the Persian Paper, which he supposes synonymous with "Infidel," common liberality ought to have suggested to him to caution the Proprietor of the Persian Paper, either directly or through some of his friends, against the use of such a term. But I am sorry to observe, that instead of this charitable act, the Editor accuses him of insolence, in the most conspicuous part of his Paper, in a manner calculated to prejudice the whole European community against him, both as it respects his religious principles, and his ignorance of the rules of common decency.

I say that his charge is HURTFUL; for, the Proprietor of this Persian Paper, to the best of his recollection, never wilfully used a harsh term during his life, even to the meanest individual. How must his feelings then be hurt, when he finds himself thus charged in a Public Paper with the application of an abusive term to a body of men for whom he always has professed regard, respect and love, on account of their superiority in domestic and political concerns, and in scientific and literary acquirements,—by an Editor who is celebrated among *that* body for his knowledge of the Persian language, and consequently whose opinions respecting

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Oriental subjects will be much regarded By them.

I do not wonder at the mistake which the Translator for the HURKARU made in his translation, when I find that the Editor of the JOHN BULL half translated the Persian line "Gubre and Tursa" as Gubre and infidels, *leaving* the other half as untranslateable.

Finally, the Proprietor of the MIRATOOL UKHBAR appeals to the judgment of those who have read the 21 Nos. of that Paper now before the Public, whether he has abstained from bestowing on the English nation that praise which they deserve, although without compromising his own character by adulation.

The Editor of JOHN BULL concludes with the following remark, in a triumphant tone, "It (the word Tursa) cannot be respectfully employ[ed] to our *countrymen in India* however low their condition may be!" But JOHN BULL should know that there *are* countries where neither the Conductor of an English nor of a Persian Paper would feel himself at liberty to use disrespectful or insolent expressions towards persons of *any* faith or complexion, of *whatever country* they might be, in violation of the rules of politeness, and of that courtesy and liberality which are reciprocally due from persons of all creed and climes.

THE PROPRIETOR OF THE MIRUTOOL UKHBAR."

But the controversy did not end there. Rammohun had to publish another reply to an anonymous letter, headed "Disputed Meaning," which appeared in the *Calcutta Journal* of 7th September (p. 93):

TO THE EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL

Sir, I perused this morning an article in your Journal of yesterday, (Saturday, September 7), under the signature of A—, acquitting the Proprietor of the *Mirut-ool-Ukhbar* from any intended disrespect towards Christians. I thank the author of that article for his kind acquittal; but I regret that I should be compelled to differ from him in the opinion, that "*Tursa* did not *originally* mean 'Christian', altho' it may have been *ignorantly* so applied in later ages." To corroborate his opinion, the writer of the article quotes a verse of a Persian poet, which contains, as he supposes, the word Tursa, signifying a Worshipper of Fire. I will therefore in the *first* place shew, that the most celebrated Persian authors, more ancient than the Poet spoken of by the writer of the article, and who are universally called "Mootuquddameens," or ancients, used the word Tursa for Christians. And in the *second* place, I will point out, that those learned moderns, whom we cannot charge with ignorance of the original meaning of the word, apply it to the professors of the Christian religion.

I will begin with Moulana Julalooddeen among the ancients, of whom the celebrated Moolla Jamee thus says,—"Mun chigoum wusfe an alee junab—Nest poighumbur woley darud kitab—" "What can I say in praise of that personage? (Moulana Julalooddeen), he is not a Prophet of God, but he is the author of a Sacred Book," alluding to his work.

In the sixth book of his work, he thus writes,—"An Juhoodo Momino TURSA Mugur, humruhee kurdund bahum dur sufur. Pus yuhood awurd oonch o deeduh book, takooja shub roohhe o gurdeeduh bood. Dur pue Mossa shoodum ta kohe toor, hur do goom gushtem wz eshraq noor. Bued zan Tursa dramud dur kulam, ke Musseehhum roo numood undur Muqam Pus Mosselman gooft ue yaran-i-mun, Peshum amud Moostufa sooltani mun."

"A Jew, a Moosselman, and also a Christian, (Tursa) journeyed together in their travels. Then the Jew related what he saw *in a vision*, how far his ghost travelled at night: saying, I followed Moses as far as Mount Sinai, we were both stupified with the splendid light. Afterwards the Christian (Tursa) began to speak, saying that the Messiah appeared to me in this place. Then the Musselman said, "O my friends, my king Moohummud came to me."

In the course of the same anecdote, the author says, "Moomeno Tursa Yuhoodoo nek-o-bud, Joomluganra hust Roo sooe ubud."

"Moosselmans, Christians, (Tursas), and Jews, as well as every good and bad man—all direct their face to that ONE God." He again says—"Momino, Tursa, Yuhoodo Gubre, Moogh, Joomlara Roo sooe an Sooltan Ooloogh."

"Mosselmans, Christians, (Tursas,) Jews, worshippers of fire in general, and Magi, all have their face directed to that great King.

Ufzoolooddeen Khaqanee honored with the title of the Emperor of Poets among the

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ancients, complains of the ill use of his King's Minister who was a Christian. "Fuluk Kujrow turust uz Khuttle Tursa, mura darud Moossulsul Rahib Asa, Bumun namoosh-fiqund 'Abae Oolvee, Choo Eessa zan eba kurdum zi aba."

"The heavenly bodies which move more obliquely than the alphabetic characters of Christians (Tursas) have kept me chained like a monk. The heavenly fathers are unfriendly towards me, I therefore have denied like Jesus any paternal connection.

The author of the Soorahh, who lived upwards of five hundred years ago, declares Nusara in his celebrated Dictionary to be synonymous with Tursa or Christian. The venerable Saadee says in his Bostan, "Khooda ra ke manund o umboz o jooft, nudarud shuneedee ke Tursa che gooft." "Hast thou heard what a Christian (Tursa) said of God, who has no *similitude*, no *partner*, nor *wife*?"

I now notice modern authorities: Moohummud Husun-Khan-quteel, well known in the literary world—"Muhvum meane koofro deen dur Ishqe tursa-zadue, mehrab ubroo ekturuf zoolfee chaleepa ekturuf." "I am lost between infidelity and religion in the love of a Christian (Tursa) child; the eyebrow resembling the arched altar of a mosque *pulls me* on one side, and the curling lock resembling the cross on the other."

Captain Roebuck, in common with all the principal Native Officers of the College of Fort William, thus explains the term Chuleepa.

Boorhhan Qatiuu p. 307. Chuleepa,—"suleeb nussara bashud, oan ra tursaan uz tila o nooqra me suzind" "chuleepa is the cross of Christians which the Christians (tursas) make of gold and silver." I now beg to leave to the candour of the author of the article in question to judge whether the word Tursa is "ignorantly" applied to Christians in later ages, or whether it is used by moderns for Christians in perfect consistency with the usage of the ancients.

The line of the Persian poet which the writer of the article quotes, does in fact thus stand. "Dur toufe hurum boodum dee *moogh*, buchae me gooft, een khanuh bu een khoobee atush-kuduh baeste" *i.e.*, "Whilst I was yesterday engaged in going round the Temple of Mecca, a *Magian* child said,—"This house, with such beauty is fit for a fire-worshipper's Temple." agreeably to the manner in which I constantly hear the natives of Persia read it. Even, however, if a single use of this term, contrary to that which I have assigned could be produced (of which I am not aware), this still could never be put in competition with the numerous instances from ancient and modern writers of its application to Christians. Self-defence alone has obliged me to contradict the author of this article, but I hope his liberality will make due allowances for this want of politeness.

I am, Sir, Your most obedient servant,
THE PROPRIETOR OF THE MEERUT-OOL-UKHBAR."*

Rammohun conducted his Persian paper with conspicuous ability. But neither the *Mirat*, nor any other 'Native' newspaper of the time could secure adequate support from the then public. In an editorial entitled "Danger of the Native Press," published in the *Calcutta Journal* of 14th February 1823 (p. 619), Mr. Buckingham remarked:

"The other three Native Newspapers, which started after the *Cowmuddy*, or about February 1822, are still kept afloat, but none of them, as far as we can understand, enjoys any great degree of support, ranging from considerably under a hundred to perhaps two hundred Subscribers. Their names are the *Mirat-ool-Ukhbar* in Persian, the *Jam-i-Juhan-Nooma* in Persian, and the *Summochar Chundrika*, the victorious rival of the *Sungbad Cowmuddy*."

The *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* did not run for more than a year for reasons which will be explained later. For a summary in English of the contents of Nos. V, and VI to X of this Persian paper, the reader is referred to the *Calcutta Journal*, dated 14 May 1822 (p. 196), and 22 June 1822 (p. 740) respectively.

If the files of the *Bengal Harkaru* and the *John Bull* for 1822-23, as well as those of the *Calcutta Journal* for 1823, are scrutinized, much useful information relating to the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* is likely to be unearthed. But unfortunately these old papers are not available in Calcutta now.† It was evidently from one of the first two newspapers that Miss Collet gathered

* The *Calcutta Journal*, 12th September, 1822, p. 153.

† I have been informed that the India Office Library (London) possesses the old files of the *Harkaru* and the *Calcutta Journal*.

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the following English translations of articles published in the *Mirat* :

"The style of the new weekly may be gathered from an article which appeared in its issue of Oct. 11, 1822, on 'Ireland: the Causes of its Distress and Discontents.' The article opens with a short statement of the geographical position and political history of the island. 'The Kings of England having shut their eyes against justice, gifted away to their own parasites the estates of the Irish noblemen.' The account of the causes of Irish discontent is given with grave naïveté :

Although all the inhabitants of this island call themselves the followers of the religion of Jesus Christ (upon whom and the rest of the prophets of God be peace and blessing !), yet a great number of them on account of their differing in some particular points of faith from the religion adopted by the King of England, follow their own clergymen and Pope in the performance of religious duties, and refuse adherence to the royal divines of the Established Church of England: and in consequence the stipends of their own divines are not defrayed from the revenue of the land but depend on the contributions of private individuals. Besides this, on account of the stipends of the royal clergymen who are appointed to officiate in Ireland, the Government of Ireland exact taxes every year from those who positively refuse to be led by these clergymen in religious matters. How admirable is the observation of Saadi (on whom be mercy !)—

Do not say that these rapacious Ministers are the well-wishers of his Majesty ;
For in proportion as they augment the revenue of the State, they diminish his popularity ;
O statesman, apply the revenue of the King towards the comfort of the people; then during their lives they will be loyal to him.

"This Persian poetry Mr. Gladstone only succeeded in translating into Parliamentary enactment in 1869. The second cause adduced is still (1897) an unsolved problem :—

The nobles and other landed proprietors of Ireland pass their time in England, either with a view to raise themselves at Court, or to have all the luxuries of life at their command. And they spend in England an immense sum of the revenue of their lands, which they collect by means of stewards or farmers ; and consequently the tradespeople in England benefit by the liberal manner in which they spend their money, instead of the people of Ireland. And their rapacious stewards or farmers, for their own advantage and in order to show their zeal for the interest of their masters unmercifully increase the rent of the land and extort those rents from the peasantry. So that many from their improper behaviour are now deprived of the means of subsistence . . .

The natives are noted for their good natural abilities and open disposition, as well as for their generosity and hospitality. Foreigners are of opinion that from the climate of Ireland the people are of quick apprehension and easily provoked. (God knows best !)

"The practical upshot of these explanations of the situation is to announce the ravages of famine in Ireland and to give the names of "a number of respectable European gentlemen of liberal principles and a body of liberal natives of this country," who have, "for the love of God," subscribed for the relief of the starving Irish. Irishmen who are proud of their nationality will not readily forget this tribute of appreciation and succour from one of the earliest pioneers of the National movement in India.

"The National aspirations of Greece were not, however, favourably regarded by the *Mirat*. In an article published in November, 1822, quoted by a Calcutta paper as "expressing the feeling of the thinking part of the natives generally," the writer rejoices in the receipt of the news of Turkish victory over the rebellious Greeks. He is manifestly jubilant that the Tsar with his grand army and his resolve "to conquer Turkey and destroy Islamism" was held back by Austria and England. Of the Greeks it is said, "Having returned from the deserts of rebellion, they have now taken up their abode in the city of comfort and obedience."*

Bayley's Analysis of the Vernacular Newspapers in 1822.

But the Press in Bengal enjoyed its new freedom for a very short time. Some of the articles published in the then newspapers—particularly in Mr. Buckingham's *Calcutta Journal*, appeared to the Government to be of an offensive and mischievous character, and minutes were recorded by members of the Governor-General's Council suggesting the necessity of checking the excesses of the Press by law.

On 10th October, 1822, Mr. W. B. Bayley delivered in Council a lengthy minute regarding the tendency of the Native Press. This state-paper gives full details about Rammohun's *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* and tells us why some of its articles were considered as of an "objectionable" nature.

Feeling as I do that the Native Press may be converted into an engine of the most serious

* *The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy* by Sophia Dobson Collet, (1900), pp. 64-66.

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mischief, I shall submit to the Board some brief remarks on the recent establishment in Calcutta of newspapers in the Native languages, and shall state the grounds on which I consider it essential that the Government should be vested with legal power to control the excesses of the Native as well of the European Press....

There are at present four Native newspapers published weekly in Calcutta, two in the Bengallee and two in the Persian language. Proposals have also been recently circulated for the establishment in Calcutta of another Persian newspaper and it is stated in the proposals, that this paper is set on foot in conformity with the wish and intimation of certain English gentlemen.* A Native paper has also just appeared at Bombay.† I shall confine my remarks to the Persian ones already published in Calcutta. They are called the *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* and *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*, epithets both implying 'the Mirror of News.' The first is understood to be the property of, and to be principally conducted by an English Mercantile House in Calcutta. The second is the paper of the well-known Rammohun Raee.

The *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* made its first appearance on the 28th March last, with a notice, that it would be published weekly at a charge of two Rupees per mensem. . . .

The contents of the other Persian paper the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* have been much in the same style as the above, but the editor's known disposition for theological controversy had led him to seize an occasion for publishing remarks on the Trinity, which, although covertly and insidiously conveyed, strike me as being exceedingly offensive. The circumstance in which the discussion originated was a notice in the above paper on the subject of the death of Dr. Middleton, the late Bishop of Calcutta. After some laudatory remarks on his learning and dignity the article concludes by stating that the Bishop having been now relieved from the cares and anxieties of this world, had 'tumbled on the shoulders of the mercy of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.'

The expression coming from a known impugner of the doctrine of the Trinity, could only be considered as ironical, and was noticed in one of the other papers as objectionable and offensive. It might have been sufficient for the editor of the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* on finding that he had given offence to have expressed his regret, to have disclaimed all such intention and thus to let the subject drop. But this course was not suited to the polemic disposition of the editor. In the paper of the 19th July he enters into a long justification of his obituary notice and affectedly misunderstanding the real purport of the objection taken to his introduction of the mention of [the] Trinity, he makes use of observations which in my mind constitute an aggravation of the offence. He says 'with respect to what was said of God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, since the Preachers of the Christian religion constantly in every Church throughout the year read their articles of faith with a loud voice, not regarding the presence of either Hindu or Musalman, and declare their conviction that salvation is to be found only in the belief of the Three in One, what doubt can there be then, but they believe in the Three whom I have mentioned.' And again 'But since it seems that the mere mention in the Persian language of the essential principles of the Christian religion is an aspersion of the faith professed by the *Governor-General* and all its followers, I shall therefore avoid this fault in future.'

In the paper of the 9th August, the discussion is revived and the objections are treated in the same style.

It is asked 'if any one in inditing an obituary notice of a Hindu should mention the Ganges or other object of worship of that nation would the Hindus take offence,' and afterwards the editor quotes a verse which he ascribes to some Persian poet, meaning as follows:—'Whose-ever religion is such that the mere mention of the God of it is a cause of shame, we may readily guess what kind of a religion that is, and what sort of a people are its professors.'

A striking instance of the idle and groundless nature of the stories put forth in these intelligencers is afforded in the account recently given in the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* of an occurrence of importance at the Presidency itself—*viz.*, the visit of the Persian Prince to the Governor-General. It is said that the Marquis of Hastings sent out a *Battalion of European troops* to meet him and conduct him to the Government House, and himself received the Prince at the head of the staircase.

This exaggerated statement has been probably published with the design (and will doubtless have the effect) of spreading both in India and Persia, extremely false notions of the nature of the attentions shewn to the Prince, and of the importance attached by the Indian Government to his visit.

The following objectionable passage contained in the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* of the 4th instant has been brought under the notice of Government by the Acting Persian Secretary.

"One day the Minister, who is the Governor* of Oude, sent for Mir Fazl Ali to give in an account of the stipend of Muhasan-ud-daula. The Prince prohibited his compliance with this requisition, and the Padshah Begam observed that she alone had the control of the said stipend and would only render an account of it when all the other accounts of the country became due.

After this the Padshah Begam and the Prince in consequence of the enmity and malevolence of the Minister determined to move away altogether, and summoning their dependants

* The *Emmul-ukhbar* is meant.

† This was the *Bombay na Samachar*. For the "Prospectus of this weekly Gujrati newspaper, to be edited by Furdoonjee Murzbanjee," as well as an English summary of the contents of its third number, see The *Calcutta Journal*, 27 June 1822 (p. 804) and 10 September 1822 (p. 127) respectively. This seems to have been the first Gujrati weekly newspaper, and it was advertised to be first published on 1 July 1822.

* The terms used are *Wazir Farman-rawa-i-Oude*, and may be construed simply 'the Minister of the King of Oude.' The king however is in no other place designated by the term *Farman-rawa*.

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of them that whoever would engage to follow and defend them might come—the others should receive their pay and dismissal. Every man of them solemnly engaged to adhere to their cause. The Prince accordingly gave to each, presents and shawls according to their several ranks. Then the Minister saw such numbers collected together he represented to the King that the Prince had certainly conceived some evil design, and that with such disturbances threatening it was necessary to take steps for His Majesty's safety and protection. The King being taken in by the cajoling of that false Minister (literally the *Damnah* in allusion to a Jackal in one of the well-known fables of Pilpay) concurred in his suggestions. Upon which that despicable minded personage with the royal permission began to collect troops and to call for the aid of the English forces.

"The rest we shall give in the next number of our paper."

I refrain from noticing other objectionable passages which occur both in the Persian newspapers above quoted, and in those in the Bengallee language. In the latter much bitter and acrimonious controversy has been introduced regarding the *Suttee* question; were this dispute voluntarily and really conducted by the Natives without the intervention of Europeans, the discussion might lead to beneficial results.*

On 17th October, 1822, Lord Hastings's Government wrote to the Home authorities asking for power to enable the Indian Government to exercise a more efficient and decided control over the Press than it then legally could do.

Press Ordinance of 1823 And Rammohun's Memorial To the Supreme Court In Defence of The Liberty of the Press

Lord Hastings sailed away for England on 9th January 1823, and was succeeded temporarily by a subordinate official—J. Adam, whose first act, after his elevation, was to deport Mr. James Silk Buckingham, the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*. Mr. Buckingham was informed on 12th February 1823 that he would be expelled from British India with effect from the 15th April following. In the following paragraph published in one of the issues of the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* during the latter part of February 1823, Rammohun deals with the nature of Mr. Buckingham's offence which led Government to adopt such an extreme measure of punishment:

"The eminently learned Dr. Bryce, the head minister of the new Scotch Church, having accepted the situation of Clerk of the Stationery belonging to the Honourable Company, Mr. Buckingham, the editor of the [*Calcutta*] *Journal*, observed directly as well as indirectly that it was unbecoming of the character of the minister to accept a situation like this; upon which the Governor-General, in consideration of his disrespectful expression, passed an order that Mr. Buckingham should leave India for England within the period of two months from the date of the receipt of this order, and that after the expiration of that period he is not allowed to remain a single day in India.*

The next step which the Acting Governor-General took against the Press was to pass, on 14th March, 1823, a rigorous Press Ordinance, which was duly registered by the Supreme Court, on 4th April, in spite of a Memorial signed by Rammohun Roy and five other distinguished gentlemen of Calcutta,† protesting against the new regulations as putting an end to the freedom of the Press.

According to these regulations the proprietors and editors of newspapers in the Presidency were required to take out licences, for which they had to forward to the Chief Secretary to Government an affidavit specifying certain particulars, and such affidavits were to be taken by any of the Magistrates without any cost. For the offence of discussing any of the subjects prohibited by law, an editor was liable to lose the licence under which his paper was conducted.

Rammohun's Journalistic Ventures And Their Fate

One of the immediate effects of the new regulations was the closing of Rammohun's *Mirat*. In the last number of his paper, he "declared his inability to go on publishing it under, what he would represent as to him, degrading conditions; and he laments that he, 'one of the most humble of men,' should be no longer able to contribute towards the intellectual improvement of his countrymen."§ The *Sambad Kaumudi*, another organ of his party, which had ceased publication some

* *Bengal Public Consultations*, vol. 55, 17th October 1822, No. 8 Minute. (India Office Records.)

* Miss Collet's *The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 66.

† They were: Dwarkanath Tagore, Harachandra Ghosh, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Chandra Kumar Tagore and Gauri Charan Banerji.

§ See "Review.—Statement of Facts relating to Mr. Buckingham."—*Asiatic Journal*, January 1824, p. 44.

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months before the Ordinance, re-appeared in the following April, evidently because Rammohun was never its declared editor, as he had been in the case of the *Mirat*.

Later, Rammohun was associated as one of the proprietors, with the *Bengal Herald* or *Weekly Messenger*, started on 9th May 1829. This was published in four languages (English, Bengali, Persian and Nagri) and edited by R. Montgomery Martin, a surgeon.* Besides Rammohun, the other proprietors of the paper were such distinguished men as Dwarkanath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Nilratan Haldar of Chitpur, and Rajkissen Sing. Very soon however Rammohun found it necessary to sever his connection with this journal. On 30th July, 1829, Mr. Martin, the principal proprietor of the *Bengal Herald*, addressed the following letter to the Government:

"I have the honor to inform you for the information of Government that Rammohun Roy and Rajkissen Sing have ceased to be proprietors of this newspaper, entiled the *Bengal Herald*, from the present date."†

Within a week the other three Hindu proprietors followed suit.

The reasons which prompted Rammohun and the other Hindu proprietors to take this step are not definitely known. But it is quite probable that it was the result of the publication in the 12th issue of the *Bengal Herald*, dated 25 July, 1829, of an editorial reflecting on the character of Mr. Wight, an attorney of the Supreme Court, in the discharge of his professional duties in a suit for trespass—brought by Mr. Cook, a stable-keeper, against Mr. Pattle of the Civil Service. This speedily led to an action for libel brought against the proprietors of the *Bengal Herald* by Mr. Wight and possibly Rammohun had got some indication of what was coming and wished to dissociate himself from such a risky venture. But be that as it may, Rammohun and others could not escape the technical responsibilities of the proprietorship and they became involved in the suit. "A true Bill of indictment was on Wednesday [5 Aug. 1829] found by the grand Jury against Mr. Martin, Baboos Dwarkanath Thakoor, Rammohun Roy, and Neel-Rutton Haldar, the proprietors of the *Bengal Herald*."* The case came up for hearing in the Supreme Court on 15th August. "On that day, the counsellors of both parties having delivered that which they deemed proper on the subject of the libel, the Chief Justice read the letter which the Editor of the *Herald* had written to Mr. Wight; the object of which was to shew that, the article reflecting on Mr. Wight was written without the knowledge of the native gentlemen who supported the paper; and that he took the responsibility on himself. The Jury having received according to custom the charge, retired for about fifteen minutes to deliberate in a separate room, and having given their verdict, the Chief Justice sentenced Mr. Martin to pay 500 Rupees, and the other Proprietors to a fine of One Rupee."†

Rammohun's Appeal To the Privy Council Against The Press Ordinance

The Memorial of protest which was submitted to the Supreme Court on 31st March, 1823, is generally held to have been the composition of Rammohun. Miss Collet truly observes that "it may be regarded as the Areopagitica of Indian history. Alike in diction and in argument, it forms a noble landmark in the progress of English culture in the East." After the Supreme Court had rejected it, Rammohun, as a last measure, preferred an appeal to the King in Council, which was signed by him and many other respectable men of the city, and presented to the Privy Council by Mr. J. Silk Buckingham—then in England. The Privy Council announced its decision in November, 1825, rejecting the appeal. §

The Press In India Set Free, 1835.

It was left to Sir Charles Metcalfe to set the Indian Press free from the 15th of September, 1835. To commemorate the boon thus conferred on the Press, the citizens of Calcutta erected the Metcalfe

* This gentleman afterwards published the researches of Buchanan Hamilton under the title of *The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, but with his own name on its title-page, and also edited the Despatches of the Marquis of Wellesley.

† Public Consultation 4th August, 1829, No. 52.

* *Sumachar Durpun*, 8 August 1829.

† *Ibid.*, 22nd August 1829 (Quoted from the *Bunga-doot*, a "companion" of the *Bengal Herald*).

For a full report of the trial, see *Asiatic Journal*, March 1830, pp. 123-26, also February 1830, Vol. I. ("Asiatic Intelligence—Calcutta"), p. 106.

§ For full texts of both the Memorials, see *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy* (Panini office ed.), pp. 437-43, and 445-67.

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Hall as an enduring monument to that liberal statesman.

It will be abundantly clear from the above that Rammohun played a very important part in the early history of the Press in India. Mr. Montgomery Martin was justified in saying: "But to no individual is the Indian Press under greater obligations than to the lamented Rammohun Roy and the munificent Dwarkanath Tagore." *

* R. M. Martin's *History of the British Colonies*, i. 254. For a list of the early newspapers, *ibid.*, i. 251 ff.

War and Peace

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

THE title of Tolstoy's great book may well be borrowed to describe the recent happenings in India. There was no war in the sense of the shedding of blood on both sides and the peace that has been declared is of the nature of a truce. Even the most sanguine optimist can hardly believe that a permanent solution has been found for the problem in India.

Speaking metaphorically, the declaration of war may be said to have commenced with the appointment of the Simon Commission. The Commission was appointed to inquire into the working of a constitution that had been in operation for ten years. In India it was called an all-White Commission because no Indian and in fact no one from India was appointed on it. It consisted of men who knew nothing about India and most of whom had never seen India. Practically all India, the India that matters and to which the first change in the constitution was due, held aloof. It was not the Congress alone that refused to have anything to do with it. Others who called themselves by other names and who had been consistently careful to do nothing to embarrass the Government denounced the Simon Commission. They declined to appear before it or to give evidence. To the suggestion that a committee of the Central Legislature should co-operate with the Simon Commission without, however, having any share in the drafting of the Report, the Indian Legislative Assembly replied by passing a resolution refusing to select a committee. In defiance of the decision of the Assembly some members of it and certain others of the Council of State joined the committee and they had their reward in being completely ignored in the Report of the Commission.

The Simon Commission was greeted by black flags and hostile demonstrations everywhere. It had to move about the country under police protection. In many places the demonstrators were dispersed by *lathi* charges. Among the persons so assaulted were Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Not a single Congressman appeared before the Simon Commission to give evidence. The leading Liberals and Moderates also refused to appear as witnesses. The evidence that the Commission recorded did not reflect the mind of nationalist India. Official evidence would have been forthcoming in any case and so also the evidence of people who wish to stand well with the officials. But the India that has to be reckoned with, the India stirred by a profound national awakening, went wholly unrepresented on and before the Commission.

As was only to be expected the Report of the Simon Commission took no notice of the forces at work in India. Instead of being progressive it was clearly retrogressive. It would not recognize the existence of a nation in India. It recommended the abolition of the present Legislative Assembly and the creation of a smaller body to be elected by the members of provincial Legislative Councils. It gave larger powers to the Governor-General. In short, it resolutely set back the hands of the dial. The Report amply justified all the opposition that had been offered to the Simon Commission.

The British Government, to be consistent,

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should have forthwith proceeded to appoint a joint committee of the two Houses of Parliament to consider the Report of the Commission and follow it up with a Bill amending the existing constitution in India. Events, however, had been moving with bewildering rapidity in India. The Simon Commission, unrepresentative and irresponsible, had not merely aroused bitter opposition in India but had succeeded in accelerating the national movement in India. Just before the Lahore Congress of 1929 there was a brief but infructuous interview between Lord Irwin and Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru. At the Lahore Congress there was a formal declaration of the independence of India. Later on, when the Report of the Simon Commission was published the British Government did not take any immediate action. All Congressmen had resigned from the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Councils, and the initiative for the next step rested with Mahatma Gandhi. After careful and prolonged deliberation the Mahatma decided to proclaim civil disobedience and a boycott of foreign, and mainly British, goods. In March, 1930, began the famous march to Dandi for breaking the salt laws. This was supplemented by the breach of forest laws, the refusal to pay land revenue and a close picketting of liquor and toddy shops, and shops dealing in foreign cloth. Thousands of date-palm trees were cut down so that they could not be tapped for toddy.

The Government lost no time in dealing with the situation. Attempts to raid salt depôts were defeated by force, hundreds were injured and thousands were imprisoned. In Bombay tenement houses were converted into temporary prisons. If it was war the like of it had never been seen anywhere in the world. So far as the civil resisters were concerned they implicitly followed the principle of non-violence, which Mahatma Gandhi has invariably placed in the forefront of all his struggles. Week after week, *Young India*, the remarkable paper edited by Mahatma Gandhi, published "war news" from every part of the country. It was a curious kind of war in which the casualties were all on one side. The news published by *Young India* was always authentic and carefully verified. As the law stands the arrests made by the police were perfectly justifiable. The degree and the kind of violence used were open to exception. The official version maintained that only the minimum of violence was used, but this minimum included broken heads and limbs, and occasional fatal injuries. On the part of the persons injured there was no resistance and no retaliation. In the city of Bombay, English and American newspaper correspondents were eye-witnesses to *lathi* charges in which the police clubbed hundreds of persons who made no attempt to defend themselves or to strike back. A great deal was made of stray instances of violence, but these exceptions merely proved the rule of non-violence. Besides, in a large crowd there must be men addicted to violence and who are not civil resisters.

Most remarkable was the awakening of the womanhood of India. For some time past, a sedulous and deliberate campaign had been carried on against the women of India, led by an American woman writer. Indian women were reported to be ill-treated, ignorant and unfit for the higher vocations of life. They were maligned and calumniated, and the men of India were held responsible for the inferior status of the women. The civil disobedience movement afforded a golden opportunity for exploding the lie. Never was seen such a triumphant and complete vindication of the greatness of Indian women, their unequalled patriotism and their unlimited capacity for sacrifice and suffering. Unlike the suffragettes of England the women of India had no special grievances of their own. They wanted nothing apart from the men of India. And yet they threw themselves into the struggle with a whole-hearted zeal and a splendour of courage that compelled the admiration of the world. Girls and women belonging to the best families and without distinction of caste and creed enlisted themselves in thousands under the tri-coloured banner of the Congress and enthusiastically sought imprisonment and suffering. They proved conclusively that the glorious tradition of the heroism of Indian women is a living force and not a mere distant memory.

The march of Mahatma Gandhi with eighty followers from the Sabarmati Asram to the salt marshes of Dandi was a pilgrimage, the first batch of pilgrims marching towards the Temple of Liberty. Of the tremendous issues that hung on the march and the subsequent developments no one

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had the slightest conception or any premonition of any kind. Anglo-Indian papers sought to cover the Sabarmati Pilgrims' Progress with ridicule. If the files of these papers were to be examined they would show beyond a shadow of doubt how these newspapers utterly failed to understand the significance of the march to Dandi. They looked upon the whole thing as great fun and entertained their readers with humorous descriptions of the march. Among those who followed the pilgrimage of Mahatma Gandhi were some newspaper correspondents from across the seas and they showed better judgment by taking the situation seriously.

For a short time the Mahatma himself was left alone, though numerous arrests were made and many people were imprisoned. Early in May, 1930, came the midnight arrest of Mahatma Gandhi recalling so vividly the arrest of Jesus Christ. The District Magistrate with a number of armed policemen awoke the peacefully sleeping Mahatma by flashing a torchlight into his eyes and asking him, "Are you Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi ?" The warrant was a *lettre de cachet*. It specified no offence and merely stated that the person therein named was to be imprisoned during the pleasure of the Government. He might have been prosecuted for a breach of the Salt Acts and inciting other people to do the same, but the Government did not want a trial either in an open court or in a prison. Publicity was considered undesirable and the films representing scenes of the Mahatma's march had been proscribed on this account.

If by the arrest and imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi it was expected that the civil disobedience movement would collapse that expectation was not fulfilled. On the contrary, it gave a most powerful impetus to that movement. The boycott of foreign and particularly British goods was carried on with increased vigour, picketing of markets and liquor shops went on with redoubled energy, and War Councils were appointed to carry on the campaign of civil disobedience. No sooner was one War Council arrested and imprisoned than another stepped into its place. Congressmen and Satyagrahis refused to plead or offer any defence. Trials were frequently held in prisons and sentences were passed in such indecent haste that certain High Courts, at a later stage, had to intervene and to set at liberty many persons sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

The ordinary law was superseded by a sheaf of Ordinances promulgated by the Governor-General. Ordinances were issued against newspapers, against picketing and various other activities. It was declared by provincial Governors that all the resources of the Government would be employed in fighting the civil disobedience movement and enforcing law and order. Processions and public meetings were dispersed by *lathi* charges, the Working Committee of the Congress, Provincial Congress Committees and various other organizations were declared unlawful. Present and past Presidents of the Congress and members of the Working Committee were imprisoned. Congress houses and property were confiscated and all the Ordinances were applied with the utmost rigour. But the Congress was never stifled and the relentless grip of the boycott was never relaxed. It was a mass movement in the widest sense of the word and the agrarian phase manifested itself in the refusal to pay land tax. Whole villages were vacated, crops ready for the harvest were left uncared for or were destroyed, the villagers faced undismayed all privations and suffering, while revenue officers confiscated their property and sold it to outsiders.

Instead of taking immediate parliamentary action on the Report of the Simon Commission the British Government summoned a Round Table Conference to meet in London and to discuss the Report, and agree upon an alternative scheme, if necessary. The three English political parties were to be represented on the Conference. A certain number of Indian Princes and a few of their advisers were invited. Some officials of the Government of India and one Governor were sent for purposes of consultation, but they did not sit at the Conference and took no part in the debates. The people of India were assumed to be represented by a number of persons nominated by the Governor-General, some at his own instance and the rest on the recommendation of provincial Governors. There were Liberals, others who called themselves by other names, members of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Moslem League, but there was not a single man who could claim to speak on behalf of the Congress. Almost all the leaders of

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the Congress were behind prison bars. Congress organizations had been placed outside the pale of the law and the Government was fighting the civil disobedience movement not only with all the weapons in its armoury, but other weapons that were being newly forged. Could any conference represent India if the Congress holds aloof from it or is deliberately excluded from it? Would the deliberations or recommendations of any Round Table Conference, on which the Congress was not represented, have any weight in India? There were wiseacres, and their name is legion, who opined that the Round Table Conference would be a success even without the Congress and their opinions were published with many flourishes by Anglo-Indian newspapers. But there were others who knew better and just before the meeting of the Round Table Conference frantic efforts were made to bring about a truce between the Congress and the Government. Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who were undergoing sentences of imprisonment in the Naini Jail near Allahabad, were brought down to Yaravda to confer with Mahatma Gandhi in prison, but the negotiations proved abortive and the Round Table Conference had to be held without the Congress being represented on it.

Meanwhile, the civil disobedience movement had been producing very serious economic effects. Not only were the Congress and a considerable section of the agricultural population committed to it but the Indian mercantile community also identified themselves with it at a very large sacrifice of their extensive business. The Anglo-Indian Press frequently denounced the tyranny of the Congress which was ruining the commerce of the country. It was forgotten, however, that Indian merchants had joined the boycott movement with their eyes open and they were not asking for any sympathy for the loss they were suffering. Sufficient note was not taken of the grave fact that the Government revenues had been hard hit by the boycott and the civil disobedience movement. The monthly trade returns disclosed a steady and disquieting fall in imports and exports, and a consequent decrease in customs revenue. Even more eloquent than these figures were the rupee and sterling loans that had to be raised at high rates of interest. The financial year 1930-31, had opened with large credit balances at the disposal of the Government. Within a few months these balances had been wiped out and recourse had to be had to loan after loan to keep the administration going. It is no exaggeration to state that if the boycott and the civil disobedience movement had continued for some years the credit of the Government would have been exhausted and it would have come face to face with bankruptcy.

Without the slightest desire to exaggerate the importance of the Congress it may be stated as an unchallengeable fact that there can be no comparison between the Congress and the other political parties in India. It has been vehemently asserted that there are hundreds of thousands of people in India outside the Congress. Perfectly true. But do these hundreds of thousands wield a tithe of the influence exercised by the Congress? Almost all the other parties in India, Liberals, Nationalists, Independents, or whatever else they may call themselves, are composed mostly of men who have fallen out of the ranks of the Congress, unable to keep step with its daring march. When we are told of any distinguished Liberal or Independent leader we look in vain for any followers. Some of these leaders denounced the Simon Commission with bell, book and candle, but they went hotfoot to join the Round Table Conference. If the real truth were to be told the Conference has neither gained nor lost anything by their presence. They may be good and estimable men, but they have no place in the real national movement of India. They can no more swell the current of nationalism than they can stem it. They do not represent a driving force, they are incapable of embarrassing the Government in any way. There is no cohesion, no organization, no inclination to take risks. They will never proceed beyond speech and they will never become a power to reckon with. They do not approve of civil disobedience and boycott, but have they stirred hand or foot to check these movements? They are fully aware that they cannot obtain either a hearing or a following. Unlike the leaders and followers of the Congress they do not bear the hall-mark of sacrifice and suffering. They cannot dream of disobedience or resistance, and their assent or dissent

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any measure introduced by the Government is superfluous.

The first gesture for a truce did not come from either the Government of India or the Congress. Both were determined to carry on the struggle regardless of consequences. The Government was determined to suppress the civil disobedience movement, the Congress was equally resolved to carry it on. The first signal for the cessation of hostilities was made by the Prime Minister of England at the termination of the first stage of the Round Table Conference. In pursuance of Mr. MacDonald's statement the members of the Working Committee of the Congress were set at liberty so that they might be free to consider the proposal of the Prime Minister. Next followed the prolonged and momentous conversations between Lord Irwin and Mahatma Gandhi, who was entrusted with the full powers of the Working Committee. Several times the negotiations threatened to break down, but a rupture was averted by the inexhaustible patience and spirit of accommodation of both Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin. In the historical statement issued by Mahatma Gandhi after the settlement—a statement which is addressed to the whole world—he has given a full meed of praise to Lord Irwin, but the Viceroy on account of his official position is precluded from making a similar statement of a personal nature. The settlement arrived at is contained in an official statement signed by the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department. Both the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi are entitled to the admiration and the gratitude of the whole country. The truce has already had a far-reaching effect. It has been warmly welcomed both in England and in America.

By the time the terms of settlement were signed the serious financial position of the Government had been fully revealed in the Budget statements of the Government of India and the provincial Governments. The world-wide trade depression had adversely affected the finances of many countries, but in India even official statements make no secret of the fact that the civil disobedience movement has resulted in the shrinkage of every source of revenue, and the significance of this fact is heightened when it is remembered that the movement of civil disobedience has been in operation for less than a year. If the prisons were filled by passive resisters the exchequer was completely depleted by the movement they had organized.

It is no use disguising the fact that the terms of agreement have not given satisfaction to numerous Congressmen, including some leaders. There is a prevalent feeling among them that the Working Committee has made a surrender without adequate consideration. In this connection it is well to remember that there is an exactly similar feeling on the other side. The Anglo-Indian Press writes in a strangely subdued strain, no shouts of triumph are heard from the partisans of the Government. It has been definitely declared that the Government has surrendered to the Congress. Mr. Winston Churchill has venomously called Mahatma Gandhi 'a half-naked seditious fakir'. Mr. Churchill himself is the Mad Mullah who would lead a *Jehad* against the British Government and Indian nationalists, and he has succeeded in getting a vote of confidence from his constituency.

This is not the time to discuss or judge the terms of the agreement. The position just now is a state of truce in which there will be breathing time and an opportunity for deliberating on the next step. Certain obvious facts have to be emphasized: the civil disobedience movement has been called off, it has not been suppressed by either repression or Ordinance. Interested and inspired statements have appeared from time to time that the civil disobedience movement was dying out; nothing was farther from the truth. Thousands were arrested and imprisoned, thousands were beaten with bamboo bludgeons, merchants lost their business, peasants lost their lands, but the movement never wavered and never waned. The Government that was trying its utmost to kill the movement was confronted with an appalling financial crisis and was driven to the brink of a financial disaster. At the same time, this is no occasion for making out a profit and loss account, or for maintaining that the balance of advantage lies either with the Congress or the Government. The great thing is that the participation of the Congress in the later stages of the Round Table Conference has become possible. Whether the present truce will ultimately resolve itself into a permanent peace will depend upon the final outcome of the deliberations at the Conference.

A slight digression may be permitted here

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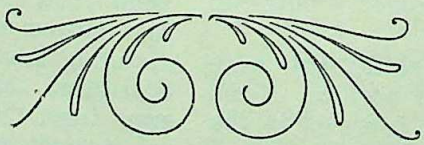
to indicate the trend of events in India. Immediately after the Lahore Congress of 1929 all Congressmen resigned their seats in the Legislative Assembly and all the provincial Legislative Councils. There is not a single Congressman in any legislature in India; there is no non-co-operator, no adherent of the civil disobedience movement. There is no factitious element, no organized opposition in the present legislative bodies. It will not be wrong to state that the present legislature is the tamest that can be conceived. The formidable protagonists of the Congress and the Swaraj party have not entered the lists or the Legislative Councils. Yet these Councils even as they stand have not proved a bed of roses so far as the Government is concerned. In the Bombay Legislative Council and in the Indian Legislative Assembly the Government has signally failed to convince the non-official members that the heavy taxes proposed in the new financial statements are justifiable. In both these Houses the Government has suffered heavy reverses. The reckless extravagance in expenditure without any regard for the serious fall in revenue has been condemned in no uncertain terms. Loan after loan has been raised without any reference to the legislature and the heavy rates of interest have become a serious recurring charge upon revenue. There is no appreciable reduction of expenditure while the sources of revenue are treated as indefinitely elastic. The patent fact that the limit of taxation in India has been reached is calmly ignored and the only way sought out of the present desperate financial situation is the imposition of fresh taxation. Indian legislators, however colourless their political convictions, feel that they cannot be a party to such an arrangement. If they cannot review or retrench expenditure in the Reserved departments they can at least exercise their right of vote not to add to the burden of the already over-burdened Indian taxpayer. The certification of financial Bills cannot go on indefinitely any more than the country can permanently be governed by Ordinances. It will be well to bear this in mind at the next stage of the Round Table Conference If the Congress stands for the independence of India the hundreds of thousands of people outside the Congress and from whose ranks the present Indian legislators are drawn will be no parties to breaking the back of the Indian taxpayer under a crushing burden. Whatever may be the ultimate issue of the deliberations at the conference the whole system of expenditure will have to be overhauled and ruthlessly curtailed in any revised system of Government. It has been conclusively demonstrated that co-operation is not symonymous with subservience to all official measures including over-taxation.



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Foreign Banks in India

By D. L. DUBEY, M.A., Ph.D.

ONE of the most important and comprehensive enquiries held in recent times is the one relating to the banking position in India. A mass of highly useful and valuable statistical and other information has been collected by the Provincial Banking Committees and the Central Banking Enquiry Committee may be expected to make a still more weighty contribution to the banking literature in India. The members of the Central Committee are now engaged in drafting their report or reports. Theirs, indeed, is a very unenviable position They may make one set of recommendations to a foreign bureaucracy which is responsible to no one in the country, but may have a different outlook altogether in drafting their suggestions if they are assured that a Swarajist Government will carry out the programme outlined by the Committee. The main needs of Indian banking are, however, patent and very well known. What India needs today is the creation of proper conditions for the development of her money market. In the course of an article contributed to a leading financial paper in Great Britain, Mr. Spalding describes our money market as "one of the most unstable money markets in the world." We want more banks, a reserve bank of issue, provision for long and short term industrial finance and extended facilities for similar credit in the sphere of agriculture. Mr. Baster, a well-known writer on banking questions, wrote to the International Banking Supplement of *The Financial Times* last year, that "the most outstanding fact is that India is chronically 'under-banked.' The figure of population per bank branch is about 4,500 for England and Wales, 2,300 to 2,700 in the Dominions and about 900,000 in India. The most urgent necessity is, thus, more banks...the need is for land mortgage banks such as were recommended by the Linlithgow Commission in 1928, as well as ordinary commercial banks... No one will dispute the inherent weakness of a system in which in the words of the 1926 Currency Commission, 'the control of currency and of credit is in the hands of two distinct authorities whose policies may be widely divergent'." I may add a few statistics to complete the picture drawn by Mr. Baster regarding the banking needs of India. Whereas, according to the *Bankers' Almanac and Year Book* for 1927-28, the United States of America has got 25,000 bank offices, Great Britain and Ireland 13,100, France 4,400, Germany 3,100 and Belgium 1,200 (most of which countries have also developed the post office cheque system), India with her large population scattered over a wide area has less than 500 bank branches, many of which overlap in big towns. It did not, therefore, require an expensive organization like the one we have set up in India, to tell the authorities that be what the banking requirements of the country are. Whether the members of the Committee will have the necessary stamina to take their courage in both hands and point out the root causes of the slow development of modern banks in India, has yet to be judged by the recommendations they make on the subject.

I do not pretend to be a student of banking history, but as a result of such information relating to banking in other parts of the world as I was able to gather during the course of my researches on an allied subject, I have come to the conclusion that banking in most countries has developed either on account of the power of note issue that banks enjoyed in their country at one or another stage of their developement, or by the use of Government balances which they were allowed to have at one time or another, or again by the stimulus they were given on account of the financing of the foreign trade of their country. Now what is the position in India? The presidency banks, now incorporated into the Imperial Bank of India, enjoyed the right of note issue before 1861, and they were from time to time entrusted with Government balances, until today the

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latter enjoys the sole monopoly of utilizing them, with the natural result that the Imperial Bank of India is now not only the most powerful institution, but has also got the largest number of branches in the country.

The question now largely resolves itself into the possibilities of the expansion of banking activities in this country as a result of the profits of foreign trade. In the words of the writer above quoted, "the finance of Indian external trade, which is *more profitable and less risky* (the italics are throughout mine), is, of course, adequately, *if not excessively*, cared for already by the quite specialized group of 'exchange' banks, of which British representatives are again most numerous. But it is significant that all the exchange banks are capitalized from and dependent upon external monetary centres, so that the control of these institutions by a local central bank raises difficult problems." "Every bank of importance in the Dominions has an office in London, and what is noteworthy from the point of view of British financial consolidation, *the banking business of the entire empire is monopolized by London banks.*" The unfair use of the monopolistic position has resulted in the creation of a State Bank in Australia—the Commonwealth Bank. "It explains the desire in South Africa for a really 'National' bank. Important sections of local opinion feel somewhat uneasily that to have nearly the whole of the Union's banking business transacted by only two large institutions controlled from the other side of the world is an anomalous position... The Canadian and New Zealand farmers have long had the idea that a bank in their countries, modelled on the Commonwealth Bank, would solve all their troubles."

The position is not very different in India. Some idea of the extent of the business operations of this powerful ring of the controllers of Empire finance may be had from the following lines. It is useless for my present purpose to go into that period of banking in India when the East India Company had the monopoly of Indian Commerce and consequently of exchange business, and when the grant of new charter was viewed with disfavour by the company. I only want to mention the fact that in recent years these foreign exchange banks have invaded India in large numbers. There were ten of them here in our country before the war; they are now eighteen, or rather, nineteen if the latest new-comer, the Lloyd's Bank, is included (which has, by the way, engaged the most palatial building in the Chandnichowk, Delhi, to impress its greatness on its Indian clientèle). Most of them have got their head-offices in London, but in most cases 75 per cent or 80 per cent of their work is done in India. A very remarkable development in their case is the rapidity with which they have expended their local deposits in recent times and made themselves independent of their 'home' resources. Thus out of total bank deposits in India amounting to 200 crores of rupees, these banks share as much as 72 crores. The foreign trade of India amounts to some 600 crores of rupees annually. The Indian Chamber of Calcutta recently estimated Indians' share in it to come to about 15 per cent of the total. The whole of this foreign trade is handled through these banks. They do not open accounts in dollar, sterling or any other foreign money, they charge commission on drafts both ways and thus make a great deal of money on exchange operations by buying or selling foreign bills and also on account of the difference between buying and selling rates on the day when remittance has to be made. Their business being monopolistic in character, theirs is, so to say, a levy on foreign trade. Thus Indian money drawn from the depositors at a low rate of interest finances the foreign trade which is in the hands of foreigners. No wonder these banks declare a very high percentage of tax-free dividends—which in certain cases amount to as much as 20 per cent per annum. The most anomalous feature of the situation is that they are subject to no audit or control, they do not publish any account of their financial position, there is no surety about their soundness—the instances of the Alliance Bank of Simla and the recent Japanese bank failure are fresh in our mind—and yet on account of their high sounding "home connections," they are regarded as safe and sound concerns and are able to cater for Indian deposits at a lower rate of interest than would be had either in other local banks or on Government securities. The money raised at a low rate in India is sometimes sent abroad to Hong Kong, Ceylon, Siam, Singapore, Java, Borneo and other places where higher yields for money are obtainable. It is not at all surprising under these circumstances that there is no proper atmosphere for the

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development of Indian banks. There is not a single Indian exchange bank in the country. These institutions enjoy the pick of business profits from the internal as well as the external trade of the country and thus drain away many crores of rupees annually by exploiting business opportunities in India. Registered abroad and not amenable to Indian Company Law, they are not at all answerable to any Indian interests, far less do they care for the promotion of the latter. Frequent complaints are made against them regarding racial discrimination, neglect and disregard of Indian interests and in some cases of positive hostility towards rival Indian institutions in large centres of trade and industry.

I have shown above that the predominant position of London banks is a familiar phenomenon in the banking activities of the oversea parts of the Empire. But while the self-governing Dominions have already taken, or are taking, some steps to mitigate the harmful effects to their nationals resulting from the unfair competition of foreign banks, we in India are looking askance. Whenever the question of bringing these powerful institutions under the purview of law and control is brought to the fore, racial issues are raised and we meet with the familiar slogans "no discrimination," "equal rights" and so on. I think what I have said above makes it abundantly clear that what we Indians want is "equal opportunities and no monopolistic advantages." Can any foreign banker honestly lay his hand on his heart and conscientiously say that so long as the foreign banks continue unchecked in this country in the enjoyment of their existing exclusive privileges, there is any chance for the emergence of an Indian exchange bank or for the development of a healthy banking system in India? It is a well-known Indian proverb that a small plant never flourishes under a big tree.

An argument out of which sometimes a good deal of capital is made, is the insistence by vested interests on keeping what is called "an open door policy," as adopted by England. It is one thing for a very powerful person to keep his door open simply because his power and prestige are so great that he need fear no intruder; it is entirely another for a poor person to have his door open simply because he cannot afford one. India is in the latter position. There are, moreover, special circumstances attaching to the case of Britain. Great Britain has got a wide net of foreign investments in the Dominions, in the Colonies, Protectorates, Mandated territories and territories with spheres of influence, in countries in which the Britishers themselves were pioneers in industrial enterprise, as well as in other economically and politically backward, half-developed and fully independent countries. A policy of discrimination by a country like Britain, which has got the largest foreign investments in the world, is bound to have its repercussions and reprisals. Then, Britain is over-banked; she enjoys the benefit of a perfect and cheap credit system. I read a letter of a correspondent in *The Times* early last year complaining of the injurious effects of the multiplicity of banks in his small native town! What will uncle Sam earn by opening a bank branch in Britain where the yield for money is so low? But even in Britain I saw Sir Hugo Hirst getting furious and anxious to debar Americans from holding controlling shares of electric companies two years ago. The Currency Committee of 1919 too had suggested the necessity of protecting the British banks from foreign finance.

Leaving Britain alone, many other countries exercise some sort of discrimination against and control over foreign capital. An American correspondent of the *Economist* recently wrote to that paper that inter-State restrictions regarding the establishment of banks are so great in the United States of America that they have led to the establishment of many independent banks and discouraged the growth of the branch bank system there. Far more stringent regulations are in force in that country regarding the working of foreign banks who are not allowed to take any deposits from American citizens. In France no foreign bank can start business without Ministerial sanction and a discriminating tax is levied on the investment of foreign capital; similarly in Japan they cannot start work without State licences. I could multiply more instances to show that in other countries too restrictions do exist on the working of the foreign banks in order to prevent undue competition with the national concerns. There is no objection to your bringing capital from "home" and start business. It will be good for our banks and beneficial for our trade. But the evil starts when you begin borrowing,

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squeeze our resources and then discriminate against our own nationals. This aspect of the situation has to be realized by all interested in the development of Indian banking. If I succeed in drawing the attention of the members of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee, and particularly of its able President, to the importance of this pivotal issue, my labours would not have gone in vain. One of the main businesses of the Central Committee should be to evolve a set of principles and regulations which may break the existing monopoly in exchange banking and provide "equal and fair opportunities to all."

Progress in Persia

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

FREE and independent Persia, under the enlightened leadership of Riza Shah Pahlavi, is making such progress that important western Powers are interested in securing Persian friendship and co-operation. About twenty years ago Great Britain and Czarist Russia, through the Anglo-Russian Agreement, planned to divide Persia into their "special spheres of interest." After the world war, Lord Curzon negotiated an Anglo-Persian Agreement which, if accepted by the Persian nation, would have made Persia a British protectorate. But nationalist Persia survived these intrigues, through its stubborn resistance and sacrifice and due to Anglo-Russian rivalry in world politics. Today there is no talk about partitioning Persia or establishing a protectorate there; but various western nations feel that they should secure support of Persia in their international policies in the Middle East.

For some time Russo-Persian relations have been intimate. There is a treaty in existence by which it has been agreed that Persia would observe neutrality and would not aid an enemy of the Soviet Russian government in a conflict between the Soviet Government and any other Power. Before the fall of King Amanullah of Afghanistan, Soviet diplomacy in the Middle East was in a dominant position. It was generally recognized that Soviet Russia, Afghanistan, Persia and Turkey were in a virtual defensive alliance. British authorities regard that the overthrow of Amanullah was a victory of British diplomacy and this is evident from the fact that the British Government has supported the government of Nadir Khan in Afghanistan with arms and money. Naturally it is to be understood that the British Government expects friendly co-operation of the present Afghan Government.

British statesmen are most anxious to win Persian support and the present exhibition of Persian Arts in London is a part of the British programme of creating an atmosphere of Anglo-Persian co-operation. Recently at the annual dinner of the School of Oriental Studies Union Society at London, the Persian Minister in London was one of the honoured guests. Sir E. Denison Ross, Director of the School of Oriental Studies, as the chairman of the meeting spoke in praise of Persian culture and art treasures. Sir Harcourt Butler "congratulated the Persian representative on the great progress his country had made in recent years, and said there could be nothing but admiration for the beneficent and munificent measures which His Imperial Majesty had introduced" (*Times*, London, February 25, 1931). On the same occasion the Persian Chargé D'Affaires, among other things, said :

"Progress had been made in every direction since 1921, when the present Shah, some four years before he ascended the throne, undertook the re-organization of the Persian Army. Up to that time Persia for the most part, especially in the outlying districts, was left to the attentions of marauding bands of lawless tribes. They were a constant source of anxiety to the Central Government, producing by their sporadic outbursts

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lawlessness a situation that at times became disconcerting and even threatening. Today all that had changed. Persia was now equipped with a well organized and disciplined Army. Security to life and property was assured; the unruly tribes had submitted to the Central Government; a new power for good reigned in Persia. Great progress had been made in the provision for education. The many schools now established included provision in the tribal districts, Government being convinced that education alone would raise the tribesmen above the sordid conditions of their mode of life to a plane of well-being and social amenity. His Imperial Majesty was sending numbers of Persian youths—at present more than 100—annually to various European countries to complete their education or technical training...The estimates of the Ministry of Education, insignificant before 1921, reached a total of 20,000,000 krans in 1929."

The fact to be taken into consideration is that the question of national defence has received careful and considerable attention from the Government of Riza Shah; and within ten years Persia has reorganized its army on modern lines. This work has been accomplished under Persian leadership with the advice of foreign experts. Furthermore, the Persian Government has sent selected Persian officers to the French Military Academy to secure higher military education. In the field of air service, the Persian Government has used German experts. In developing a naval force which will be able to preserve Persian sovereignty in Persian waters, the Government has sought Italian co-operation. There are now fifty-four Persian naval cadets in the Italian Naval Academy at Pola to receive naval education and these cadets will take charge of the small naval crafts that are now under construction in Italy for the Persian Government. One distinguishing feature of the educational programme of the Persian Government, so far as national defence is concerned, is that it is not seeking British or Russian aid.

Persia is doing her best to develop her internal communications—building railroads and extending telegraphic service. The Persian Government is not giving concession to any one government but accepting co-operation from various nations which may serve Persian national interests to the best possible advantage. In this connection the most interesting and outstanding development is that on February 27, 1931, the Persian Government took over the control of all the land lines in Persia of the Indo-European Telegraph Department of India Office. The London *Times* of March 2 makes the following editorial comment:

"*The relinquishment af these lines in Persia is the inevitable result of the general nationalist movement in Asia. The Persians wished to own and work all telegraphs in their own territory, and in principle their demand for the cession of the foreign lines was justifiable enough.* But young nationalist Governments like the Government of Nanking, which is making similar claims with less justification—will do well to remember that the satisfaction of national pride at any heavy cost of efficiency is an expensive pleasure..."

This means that for sixty years Britain controlled telegraphic communications in Persia and with the awakening of Persian national consciousness, it has now come to an end. This means that many British employees will have to seek new means of livelihood. From an article on the subject by Sir Arnold Wilson, published in the *Times* (London) March 2, it becomes clear that the Persian Government has not made any provision for these employees and the British Government has not dealt very liberally with them in matters of pensions. Sir Arnold thinks that it establishes a very bad precedent regarding India. He writes:

"The staff (of the Indo-European Telegraph Department) in Persia have no opportunity of thus continuing their service under other auspices... The scale of pensions and gratuities granted by the Treasury is more than usually illiberal and compares very unfavourably with those secured for redundant British officials in somewhat similar circumstances from the Egyptian Government. The blow is softened by *no scheme to provide alternative employment in India or this country*... For the British Government to inflict bitter hardship upon this small body of men, who have spent their youth and too often impaired their health in the service of the State is to set a bad example, *and to create for a few thousand pounds, a precedent which the Government of India may some day invoke against India Office...*"

The most interesting feature of the surrender of the Indo-European Telegraph Department of India Office to the Persian Government claim is that the British Government did not raise the cry of "confiscation of British property." When the Indian nationalist leaders demand that Indian coastal shipping be preserved for Indian national shipping, the whole British nation opposes India's just claims; but when Persia demands to take over British telegraph lines, the British Government without a murmur surrenders it. Naturally one is inclined to think that the British authorities are very anxious to win the good-will of the Persian Government.

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British public interest in cultivating cultural co-operation with Persia is also evident from the fact that a sum of seven thousand pounds is being raised to strengthen the position of a British public school—Stuart Memorial College of Isfahan—which may become a factor in promoting British influence in Persia.

In the field of national defence, development of communications, spread of education, social reform and development of national industries, Persia has made very considerable progress; and therefore the position of Persia in world politics is more stable and powerful than it has ever been during the last half a century. In territory, population, economic power and national intelligence Persia is not superior to Bengal or some other provinces of India. However, Persia is free and independent and is guided by a patriot who places Persia's national interests above all foreign interests. Here is the key to Persia's unfettered progress.

The Position of the Services in the Future Constitution

By NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A.

IN every country the day-to-day administration is carried on by the permanent civil service. They are an indispensable factor of every modern government. Without their expert services the complex machine of the present-day administration would come to a standstill. But although their duties are essential and their position highly responsible, in no democratic State their authority is supreme and unchecked. The civil servants in a democratic country like England have in fact to work under the control and supervision of the ministers who are responsible to the Parliament for the working of the administrative departments under their charge. The civil servants help the ministers indeed both in framing and carrying out the policy of the Government. But they discharge these duties as the expert advisers and subordinates of the ministers. They constitute the tools with the assistance of which the Cabinet fulfils its obligations to the nation As instruments in the hands of a minister they are responsible to him and controlled by him. Beyond him they cannot have any other authority to please and to conciliate. To him are due all their obligations, from him they draw all their inspiration and upon him they depend for all their advancement in service. The civil servants thus constitute an expert body, but withal a subordinate and not an irresponsible one.

In India, the traditions of the Civil Service have been altogether different. For one century and a half, the system of government in this country has been emphatically bureaucratic. Since the days of Lord Cornwallis, the Indian Civil Service has constituted the virtual government of this country. It has laid down the public laws, framed and executed the policy of the administration, and sat on the judicial bench to try and punish those who have offended against the laws of the country and the policy of the Government. It has formed, in other words, the legislature, the executive and the judiciary—all the three departments making up the Government of the country. Since 1861, the passing of the different reform measures has added indeed to the outer paraphernalia of the public administration of India. But these external accretions have not changed in the least the nature of the real government of the country. The municipal and district boards, the provincial and central legislative councils have been so many outer embellishments which may have hidden to the untrained eye, but have certainly not altered any way the real character of the steel-frame of Indian administration. As in the days of Lord Cornwallis, so in the days of Lord Irwin, the Government of the country is the Indian Civil Service. The legislatures may talk loud and the ministers may talk big, but the casting vote

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lies with the Indian Civil Service. The actual government is the domain of this "heaven-born" body. Its members are the Praetorian Guards before whom all other factors of administration quail and yield. Their powers are supreme, their interests paramount.

The inauguration of the Reforms in 1921 was expected to modify the position of the Civil Service in certain departments of our public administration. The Government of India Act of 1919 transferred some Governmental functions to the control of the provincial legislatures. They were placed in charge of ministers who would be responsible for the working of these departments to the representatives of the people assembled in the provincial legislative councils. It was thought that in these particular fields of public activity, the Civil Service would no longer enjoy its old supremacy. It was confidently expected that the supreme control over these departments would now be shifted to the people. In actual operation, however, popular control over the transferred subjects has proved to be hollow and unreal. The peculiar rights and privileges which the members of permanent Civil Services have been allowed to retain even in the transferred departments have stood in the way of the ministers discharging their reponsibility in a proper manner. As in England, the ministers in fulfilling their duties to the legislature should have counted upon the ungrudging help and co-operation of the permanent civil servants. These officers should have assisted the ministers in framing their policy and once it was framed they should have loyally carried it out. Unfortunately, however, many of the rights and pretensions of these officers are inconsistent altogether with their implicit loyalty to the political heads of their departments. These departments have been placed indeed in the hands of the ministers responsible to, and removable by, the legislature, but the superior permanent officials working therein belong to the all-India Services. As such they are not in the least amenable to the control of the ministers. They are recruited by the Secretary of State in England and can be dismissed also by that authority alone. The Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries, as also the District and Divisional Officers, belong as a rule to the Indian Civil Service. The ministers can do nothing which affect any way the position and prospects in the service of these officers. The ministers can at best complain to the Governor in case any of these officers prove to be too recalcitrant. The ministers who are the responsible heads of their departments have thus no control over their so-called subordinates. The former have no hand either in the promotion or in the degradation of the latter. The minister can neither punish nor reward his permanent associates. Under these circumstances it is not unnatural that the Civil Servants would dare to question the authority and disobey the orders and directions of the minister with impunity. The Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee of 1924 bristles with instances of ministerial authority being flouted by the officers of the Services.

Besides this independence of ministerial control which the superior permanent officers enjoy, some departmental rules which have been super-imposed upon the ministers have further undermined their position and reduced their responsibility to a shadow and a sham. In framing the policy of the department and issuing the orders and directions, the ministers have not been invested with absolute discretion and unfettered authority. They must have the consent and approval in these matters of the Secretary and Heads of Departments. In case the Secretary and the Minister disagree on any question, it cannot be settled on the authority of the Minister himself. It must now be referred to the arbitration of the Governor. If the latter supports the Secretary, the Minister must drop his project and keep silence. Again the Minister may think it wise to fill a particular post in his department by a particular officer. The head of the department may, however, have a nominee of his own and may on that account object to the minister's proposal. The matter now cannot be decided by the minister himself. It has to be submitted to the Governor for final decision. The Governor may, if he is well disposed and conciliatory towards the minister, persuade the departmental head. (*e.g.*, the Director of Public Instruction or the Surgeon-General) to withdraw his objection and thus allow the proposal of the minister to go into effect. If, however, he supports the head of the department, which he generally does, the project of the minister goes to the wall. He has to eat the humble

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pie and yield to the contention of his subordinate. The Secretaries and departmental heads have direct access to the Governor. The Secretaries particularly enjoy a privileged position. They have fixed days in every week for interview with the Governor, in which they discuss with him departmental matters. These interviews take place, of course, behind the back of the ministers who have again their own days for meeting the Governor. The Secretaries in course of these interviews and discussions may suggest some new lines of action and the Governor may think well of these proposals. The responsible minister may, however, have no information about them. He may be kept in the dark until the plans mature. Then in a ready-made fashion, they may be placed before him. If the minister likes his salary and does not want to quit his job, he makes no trouble and silently stamps his seal of approval upon the proposals. Some discontent at this may be brewing in the Legislative Council. Some hot-heads may even threaten the minister with a vote of censure. But if the threat proves serious at all, the solid phalanx of official and European members comes immediately to the rescue of the minister. The Secretaries and heads of departments are thus only in theory the subordinates of the minister. By themselves they enjoy almost co-ordinate powers and with the support of the Governor on their side they are plainly the masters of the minister. The position of the ministers in an Indian province are thus tragically helpless. They are the Peshwas of the days of Nana Fadnavis. Sandwiched between the upper millstone of the Governor and the lower millstone of the Secretaries and heads of departments they exercise neither power nor influence. They neither govern nor reign.

It is thus clear that if these rights and privileges of the permanent officers are continued in the future constitution of the country, the much-talked-of provincial autonomy will be a misnomer and the much advertised central responsibility will be a chimera. The position of the Services must be radically altered if the representatives of the people are at all to secure any real and effective control over the administration. It is a huge anomaly to prescribe that the ministers must be responsible for the working of their departments to the legislature and lay down at the same time that their permanent and expert subordinates should be responsible to and controlled by an extraneous authority. The two are absolutely inconsistent and can never go together. The body which is to control the ministers should also through them exercise full control over the permanent civil servants. The Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services which submitted its Report in 1924 took note of this fact and recommended that the Services working under the ministers should all be provincialized and brought under the final control of the provincial legislative council. This principle accepted by Lord Lee and his colleagues was thrown overboard by the Indian Statutory Commission. The Simon Commission has proposed the introduction of provincial autonomy and in the same breath have recommended that the "Security Services" (the I. C. S. and the I. P. S.) in the provinces should as now be recruited, controlled and protected by the Secretary of State in Council in England. All the departments of provincial administration will be placed in the hands of the ministers, but they will have no control over the most important of the permanent services. However inconsistent it may be with provincial autonomy and ministerial responsibility, the Simon Commission will still insist that the I. C. S. and the I. P. S. must have all their existing rights and privileges confirmed in the new constitution.

The Indian Central Committee which was presided over by Sir Sankaran Nair recorded a different recommendation. The members of this body were convinced that "it is clearly inconsistent with the principles of responsible Government that such recruitment should be vested in any authority outside India." They accordingly proposed that "the recruitment for the Services should be in the hands either of the Government of India or the provincial governments as the case may be, and that the governments concerned should be free to choose their own agency for this purpose." The Committee thus accepted the principle that the officers working under the provincial governments should be recruited and controlled by them. They made an exception only in the case of Madras where they thought the security services should continue as now on an all-India basis. The Committee seems to be silent as to whether these Services in Madras should be recruited and protected as now

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for the Secretary of State or whether they should be all-India in organization only in the sense that though working under the provincial government they should be appointed and controlled by the Government of India. Any way the Committee recommended that every Government in India except that of Madras should be supreme over the officers employed in its departments. Why an exception was made in the case of Madras is not quite clear. It appears to be more puzzling in view of the fact that of all the provincial governments that of Madras alone recommended in its memorandum to the Simon Commission that the Services working under provincial governments should all be provincialized and placed under the full and final control of the provincial authorities. The unhappy relations between the Brahmin and the non-Brahmin communities in the Southern Presidency might have influenced the members of the Central Committee in coming to such a conclusion. But it must be admitted that communal relations in the other provinces are not less tangled and more happy. The province of Madras need not hence be singled out and burdened with an all-India Service in the department of law and order. If, however, we overlook this recommendation with regard to Madras, we can have no hesitation in congratulating the Central Committee upon its right grasp of the problem.

The Services question came also to be discussed at the Round Table Conference in London which appointed a Sub-Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir William Jowitt to make recommendations on the subject. Its membership included the names of such prominent Indian publicists as Mr. C. Y. Chintamoni and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. The Sub-Committee met for six days and then recommended that "for the Indian Civil and Indian Police Services recruitment should continue to be carried out on an all-India basis." A small minority in which appear the names of Messrs. Shiva Rao and Tambe dissented, of course, from this view and advocated immediate provincialization of these two Services as well. But the overwhelming majority of the Sub-Committee stood in favour of maintaining the all-India character of these two Services. While, however, it was decided that these two security Services should continue to be organized on an all-India basis, it was laid down at the same time by the majority of the Sub-Committee that the recruiting and controlling authority in the future should no longer be vested in the Secretary of State, it should be placed in the hands of the Government of India. According to this recommendation the Services must cease in the future to look to the Secretary of State for inspiration and protection. They must no longer have any extra-India duty and allegiance. They will have their loyalty limited to Indian authorities. But this recommendation has the drawback that in the security departments the provincial Governments will not be entitled to recruit their own officers nor to exercise full powers of punishment and dismissal over them. They will have an appeal to the Government of India against an action which the provincial Government may take against them. Hence the recommendation of the Round Table Conference may be an improvement upon the present system and also upon the proposal of the Simon Commission. But it seems to be retrograde in comparison with the proposals of the Indian Central Committee. It seems to be inconsistent with the principle that the officers of every Government in a Federal Union must be appointed and controlled by that Government. The officers of the provincial Governments must not look to the central authorities for protection and advancement. Every Government must be supreme over the different departments placed in its charge. The proposal of the Round Table Conference, if carried out, may also handicap the ministers in the discharge of their responsibility to the Legislative Council. Without the fullest control over the permanent staff, it will not be possible for the ministers to fulfil their obligations to the people. The project of central control over the Security Services will not thus fit in at all with the full responsible government to be introduced in the provinces.

Nor has the proposal for an all-India organization any special virtue of its own that may commend it to the people. It has no doubt been argued that the national organization of the security services will extend and widen the field of recruitment and the Government will have a choice among many suitable candidates. We must remember, however, that now-a-days in every province there is an overflowing number of suitable candidates for public employ. The problem is not so much as to how we may encourage our young men to compete for the public jobs but as to how we may

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discourage them from seeking any Government appointment. Recruitment need not be made in other provinces to keep up the efficiency of the public services in any part of India. It has again been contended that all-India organization of the security services will keep the different provinces in close association with one another. The members of these services recruited from different parts of the country will, it is hoped, constitute a binding and uniting force in this far-flung land of ours. This argument has of course, some force and validity, but in these days the Indians from different provinces come in touch with one another in so many fields of private and public activity, that there is no chance of the sentiment of national unity going under, if all the officers serving under a provincial government are appointed within the borders of the province. It is hence desirable that along with the other provincial Services, the "Security Services" should also be brought under the final control of the provincial authorities.

There is another very cogent reason why these provincial officers should not be under the control of the Government of India. In view of the proposed entry of the Indian States into the Federation, the Government of India will in the future consist of the representatives of both British India and the Indian States. It is not likely that the Princes will allow their local security services to be recruited and controlled by the Government of India. In that case the provinces also should be independent of this central control. The mixed Government at the centre should be concerned only with the discharge of its own duties and functions. It should have no voice in the appointment and control of the provincial officers. If, however, the scheme of all-India recruitment and control, propounded by the Round Table Conference, be at all upheld, some reform of the existing rules and conventions must be insisted upon by the Indian delegates. The right of direct access to the Governor, which the all-India Services now enjoy, must be unequivocally withdrawn. The rule that the Secretaries and heads of departments should on departmental business see the Governor on appointed days over the head of their ministers must be discontinued. It has placed the ministers in an unenviable position. It has in fact reduced their authority to a nullity, and it is in the fitness of things that with the introduction of provincial autonomy and central responsibility, it must be given up. The Governor in the new regime must derive all his knowledge of the departments from the ministers concerned. His relations with the departments must be maintained only through their political heads. With the permanent staff, he must have no direct concern. All questions of promotion, transfer and suspension must be vested in the ministers. The Governor of the province must have no hand in these matters. The ministers must have the authority to stop the promotion of, or otherwise take disciplinary action against, the all-India officers. But the latter will have an appeal against these orders to the Indian Public Service Commission on the findings of which the Government of India will either uphold the orders of the provincial Government or protect the officers from them. The ministers will not have the authority to dismiss an all-India officer, but if he is guilty of any serious offence the ministers must have the power to keep him under suspension and recommend to the Government of India his dismissal. The Government of India will now submit the relevant papers to the Indian Public Service Commission and on its recommendation will either dismiss the guilty officer or punish him. As to the right of transferring any all-India officer from one station to another, it must be absolutely vested in the ministers. No appeal against it must be allowed. A right of appeal against the orders of transfer will bring the administrative machinery to a standstill.

The security services constitute the pivot of the provincial administration. If they continue to snap their fingers at the ministers, responsible government will be a misnomer. If the officers of these services are controlled from outside, provincial autonomy will be merely a contradiction in terms.

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The Rambling Movement in Germany

By DINANATH G. TENDULKAR

THE great war was to a certain extent a blessing in disguise to many countries, and especially to the defeated nations. It brought about revolutions, more precisely it precipitated them. Revolutionary ideas got freedom to develop—and favourable circumstances brought those ideas to the front. Revolution in politics, ideas and ideals was inevitable.

Here I shall narrate the revolution in German mentality and method—as a direct result, to a certain extent, of the defeat in the great war—and to some extent of Germany's previous preparation.

The Versailles Treaty has made it impossible for Germany to be a militarist or imperialistic nation. Germany is not permitted to keep more than a hundred thousand soldiers. It is well known that military education was compulsory to all German youths before the great war. But now, according to the treaty, universal military education is impossible.

However, voluntary universal wandering has taken the place of compulsory military education. And it is all for Germany's good. Germany has simply fallen in love with nature. Specially, German youths indulge in *wander-lust*. As a consequence they are healthy, strong and joyous.

Any visitor to Germany is sure to see flocks of youths, with *Rucksacks* on their backs, and wearing unconventional dress. They walk for days together through different parts of their beautiful country. They see almost the whole of Germany in course of time. So they understand their country and people well. This enables them to make new friendships and provides many occasions to discuss problems of life with different people.

Thus this wandering has proved a necessary part of real education. And it can be said without hesitation that the open air tramping movement is as universal in Germany as primary education.

The Origin of the Movement

Before the war Germany gave little freedom to the younger generation. But youth was disgusted with this attitude. They wanted to be away from home and school—two ghastly prisons. So they arranged trips in vacations—sometimes young teachers arranged the trips. They used to go to villages in forests and mountains. They slept in the barns of peasants or in the houses of some friends; and sometimes under the open sky on a bed of grass. They sang folksongs and revived them in order to enjoy themselves and to please hosts from whom they expected a roof to lie under. This wandering movement continued even in war time. But it was then quite in its infancy.

The great war was disastrous to Germany. During the currency inflation people had one or at most two poor meals a day. Germany was compelled to hand over her cows to her victorious enemies. As a consequence, thousands of innocent children died of want of milk—their chief food, and most of those that survived suffered a good deal. But the great nation was not prepared to die. Municipalities and the State took upon themselves to revive the nation. They encouraged wandering and other health-giving institutions, such as swimming, by providing the necessary facilities. For wandering, huts were built almost everywhere in Germany. These huts are called "Jugendherbergen."

"Jugendherbergen"

Jugendherbergen means huts for youths. They are used by wanderers as resting-places, especially at night. They are spread all over Germany. They are built by Municipalities or through individual help. But all these are under the direct control of a central organization called Reichsverband für Deutsche Jugendherbergen (*i.e.*, Central Union for German Youth-huts.)

These huts are infinitely varied. Sometimes they are modern houses, such as in Kassel, Heidelberg or Freiburg—which are large towns. Sometimes old castles and towers are converted into youth-huts. In villages and small towns, these huts are attached to schools or churches. And in

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some cases barns are used as youth-huts.

In these huts one is always provided with blankets and beds—in rare cases these beds are nothing but floor covered with straw. Sometimes several beds are spread over the ground—but in many cases bedsteads are provided.

These youth-huts vary very much in accommodation. Sometimes they accommodate 200 and even more, and sometimes not even 20. But accommodation generally depends on chances of visits.

All these huts are provided with electric lights. That, of course, is nothing very wonderful because even barns in German villages are provided with electric lights. These huts have gas stoves also; and cooking utensils are provided.

These huts are generally in the midst of enchanting environment such as rivers and mountains and lakes; but they are not far from human habitation—so one can enjoy fruits of nature and men.

On the whole, Germans are fond of baths. So these huts are generally fitted with cold shower-baths. And where possible these huts are built near bathing places.

In these huts, people of both sexes, and all ages and all nationalities are allowed, provided they possess membership cards of Reichsverband für Deutsche Jugendherbergen.

A member above 20 years pays 60 pfennig (1 mark=100 pf.) and till 20 years, pays 30 pf. a night in these youth-huts. These charges are always the same in all huts, and they include bed and utensils charges.

These huts are managed by a permanent staff whose function is to allot places to members and to provide them with blankets and cooking utensils, and to keep the hut clean and tidy and to keep a record of visitors.

Membership

A person of any nationality, any sex, and any age can become a member of "Reichsverband für Deutsche Jugendherbergen" (the office is in Hilchenbach in Westphalin, Germany). A membership card can be had on payment of 5 marks (1 mark =1 shilling) for a person from 20 years onwards, and 3 marks for a person below 20. The membership lasts for one year.

Younger members are first accommodated in the youth-huts. Then the elders. A membership card has the photo of a member attached to it. On the card some regulations are printed—some of which are (1) One must not drink or smoke. (2) One must be in the hut before 10 P. M. (3) All lights will be put off after 10 P. M. (4) One must not use bad language or sing bad songs. (5) One must keep the place clean.

Wanderers and various youth organizations

There are several youth organizations in Germany. Some are purely political, Communistic or Socialistic. Some are political as well as religious, and some purely for wandering such as *Wandervogel* and the *Naturfreunde*. But all these organizations lay special stress on wandering.

These organizations facilitate wandering for their members by giving useful company, concessions and sometimes even money (this is specially done by labour organizations).

The *Wandervogel* and the *Naturfreunde* are specially interesting organizations. *Wandervogel* means wander-birds. *Wandervogel* Society arranges various trips in different parts of Germany and even out of Germany, such as in Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, etc.

Members of *Wandervogel* Society get special concessions in railways and steamers. Then the Society arranges trips and some of its members wander in different countries for months together. In wandering they learn various folk-songs and folk-dances. And many a time these wanderers meet their expenses by giving performances in songs and dances on their way and in their own country.

The *Naturfreunde* Society has its headquarters in Austria, but most of its activities are in Germany. This Society has an ambitious programme. It arranges trips in difficult places such as in the Caucasus mountains. It provides very able leaders for wandering and mountaineering. These wanderers take photos on their way and give lantern lectures to encourage wandering. This Society publishes a magazine which gives descriptions and photos of several interesting trips. It also publishes useful booklets such as on "Hygiene for mountaineers." This Society has a big shop which provides people with necessary things for wandering, and out of the profit made, it builds huts in the mountains for its members.

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Some people wander in groups, some with few friends, some with family and some alone.

The wanderer's property is ideal. A *rucksack* is the chief feature of wandering. It is a bag hung on the back by straps over the shoulders. It contains the necessary provisions of a wanderer—food, clothes and books. A wanderer in Germany has always a *rucksack* on his back—so this wandering movement can well be called the *rucksack* institution of Germany.

These wanderers are generally dressed in long tunics reaching to their hips, shorts and socks rolled over the tops of heavy hobnailed boots Sometimes they wear sandles also. Their dress is generally coloured red, blue, green, etc. They are very fond of badges. Everybody is decorated with some sort of badge. And everybody wearing tunic wears leather belt round his waist outside the tunic. This is something peculiar with Germans. These wanderers possess water-bottles and leather map-holder and a nice hunting-knife. This is the equipment of a wanderer.

A wanderer is a happy man. He is drunk to the full with joy and youthfulness. He becomes one with nature. He sings and dances in woods and plays on sweet string instruments called guitar. He is in the company of happy people like himself. They walk in day-time and also on favourable nights. They are their own masters. They are in no hurry. They rest when they like and there are friendly youth-huts to receive them. There the wanderers are received with hearty and crushing handshakes by fellow-wanderers. Here they exchange greeting like Freiheit (freedom)—Freundschaft (friendship), guten Abend (good evening), etc.

Youth-huts are resting-places for the night and for stormy and rainy days. The wanderers are given beds to rest and places to keep their clothes and *rucksacks*. After a day's walk, a wanderer takes complete rest in a youth-hut. First he washes himself and takes shower bath. Some of his friends stand over the big tiled stove cooking their food, others sit at the long tables eating enormous bunks of black bread with butter and cheese and milk. Some sing wandering songs. Some discuss problems of life. Some gather round a foreigner and bombard him with questions. They are always curious and friendly.

They go to bed at about 10 P. M. expresing good wishes such as "Schlafen Sie gut" (sleep well) gut nacht (good-night). Many get up at 6 A. M. or so and again start for wandering with parting words 'Wiedersehen' and 'Aufwiedersehen' (see you again).

Favourite Haunting Places Of Wanderers

The Black Forest is haunted by many wanderers every year. It is wonderfully beautiful. It is situated in southern Germany—its important features are wonderful scenery, tall oaks and birches, springs of sweet water, heavy rain and monotonously unattractive images of Christ on the Cross.

The Black Forest has the beauty of the Himalayan forests, without their grandeur—but one can enjoy here nature without the serious disadvantages of Himalayan forests. There are railways in the forest and so one can use them in case of exhaustion and rain.

Then there are villages and small towns in the forest. The people are nice and obliging. They are enlightened though religious.

The children in these villages and towns are very sweet. They are healthy and strong. They play with complete freedom. They are always bare-footed. Their hair is cut very close. It is joy to see them playing and shouting.

In these tiny towns there are nice cheap hotels fitted with up-to-date electric lights and radios. Many people come to these hotels to drink beer and orangade and to enjoy themselves with songs.

The villages are clean and nice. Every house and barn is fitted with electric light. These villagers' houses are guarded by fierce dogs. But these people are always ready to help wanderers.

In these villages, there are remnants of joint family system. Sometime an old man or old woman is the tyrant. He sits and commands, or drinks the whole day and reads newspapers.

Women in these villages have peculiar dress. It is quite different from the standardized European dress. They put on long frocks of beautiful colours. These women wear long beautiful hair and they are very natural. They have very fresh and fair complexion, with fresh red cheeks.

The second important haunting place is the Rhineland. It is almost a plain but very beautiful. Many people wander by the

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riverside and some go about in their own folding-boats.

Germany is a very beautiful mountainous country. And the wanderers take full advantage of it. They wander every year in different parts of their beautiful country.

Why Not a Rambling Movement in India

The wave of wandering is spreading all over Europe. The wandering movement has spread north to Holland, Denmark and Sweden, south to Austria and Switzerland and east to Czechoslovakia and the Baltic States. England is also trying to imitate it. In all these countries youth-huts are being built but they are not many and are not managed so ably as in Germany. Still it shows that these countries have realized the importance of wandering. And it is high time that other countries should follow the example.

In the East love for wandering was considerable; but it has died with its glory. We read of Chinese travellers and Indian pilgrimages. The spirit has died out.

Still we hear of pilgrimages to Badrinath and Kedarnath. But they are mechanical. So there is no real joy in such sort of wandering. The Dharmashalas are unclean and disgusting. And they are open only to this sect and to that sect. They are built for charity so they can never serve the purpose of youth-huts which are so friendly.

India has many mountains and forests and charming places. People can take to wandering in spare time and thus help to solve practically many difficult social problems, such as castes, creeds, and provincialisms by this free association. They can enjoy life. Wandering would also help Indian womanhood to be free and strong.

India must take to wandering as Germany has done. Germany has helped herself. Now India must do likewise.

The Prince's Mission in South America

An Aspect of Anglo-American Rivalry

By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., PH.D.

IMMEDIATELY after his election as President of the United States, Mr. Herbert Hoover visited South America on a good-will mission covering over 12,000 miles and gathering a vast amount of information regarding the trade prospects of the various Latin American Republics. Within the last fifteen years the trade of the United States with South America has been steadily increasing, and at present it contributes about one-fifth, perhaps even a little more, of the total world trade of the United States. It is significant that the United States sells more to Latin America than Germany, France and Great Britain put together. And Latin America sells, in its turn, to the United States more than she does to the three chief European competitors. This leadership in South American trade, America wrested from Great Britain during the world war, and has been maintaining it since then. The British are now keen on winning back their lost supremacy. They have virtually staked their future in Latin America, and are straining every nerve in their drive for business in those countries. The Prince of Wales, as his country's best commercial agent, was called into action, along with his brother Prince George. They have just completed a commercial tour through six of the leading South American countries, flying in a British-made plane, and travelling in British-made motor cars and advertising British-made products.

America's Huge Investments

Within the short period of fifteen years American commerce with South America advanced from Rs. 984,000,000 to Rs. 2,877,600,000, a gain of almost 200 per cent. Their exports increased from Rs. 363,000,000 to Rs. 1,314,900,000, an advance of more than

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...2 per cent, while their imports rose from Rs. 621,000,000 to Rs. 1,562,700,000, an advance of more than 151 per cent. This enormous inter-American trade does not, however, tell the whole story of the economic dependency of the two Americas. Since the world war, there has been a tremendous expansion of American investments in foreign countries, and in South American countries their investments are as follows:

Country	Year 1928 Rs.
Argentina	1,452,000,000
Bolivia	330,000,000
Brazil	1,341,000,000
Chile	1,560,000,000
Columbia	633,000,000
Ecuador	90,000,000
Guianas	27,000,000
Paraguay	45,000,000
Peru	450,000,000
Uruguay	201 000,000
Venezuela	516,000,000

Of all the leading competitiors for South American trade, the United States alone has made marked progress. France, Germany and Great Britain have long been left behind. The grand total of the United States' financial holdings south of the Rio Grande, including the Carribbean republics, is now approximately Rs. 14,700,000,000. Including Porto Rico, Jamaica and other dependencies, the total is above Rs. 15,000,000,000. In 1912 it was only one-fourth of this amount. For every Rs. 12 the United States puts into Europe, she now invests Rs. 15 in Latin Amercia and the Islands of the Carribbean. These figures help one to understand the tremendous importance of South America to the United States. The British colonies in this part of the world play, however, an important part in promoting the trade of the empire. The Imperial Marketing Board recently organized, has at its disposal Rs. 15,000,000 to stimulate trade among the units of the empire. Americans meet with stiff competition in the British West Indies, where there are some 181 English and Canadian branch banks as compared with forty American banks.

Keenest Rivalry in Argentina

But Argentina, which is perhaps the richest among the South American republics, is becoming the centre of the keenest Anglo-American rivalry. The ascendancy of American trade in the Argentine, though at first a matter of luck, is now being maintained by the strenuous effort of American business. But Great Britain was really first in that field and for a century and a half was without any serious rival or severe competition. One finds, therefore, enormous amount of British capital invested there in all kinds of directions. Britain has been financing railways, sheep ranches, plantations and great building enterprises, and her manufacturers have been supplying rails, textiles and a variety of other products; her mines have been exporting a great amount of coal. However, prior to the war Great Britain had to face considerable competition from the Germans, who by virtue of their genius for intensive salesmanship, succeeded in building up a remarkable trade with Argentine in a short period. At that time the influence of America counted for little. In fact, it was not until the war dislocated the commerce of Germany and Britain that the United States worked itself to the first place in trade leadership. In 1913, for instance, the United Kingdom furnished 31 per cent of the goods bought abroad by Argentine, Germany 16.9 and the United States supplied only 14.7 per cent but by 1927 the British percentage had dropped to 19.4 and Germany's to 11.4 whereas the percentage of America leaped to 25.4.

Great Britain's principal exports to the Argentine are railway equipment and coal, woollen, worsted and cotton goods. While the competitive struggle between Britain and America is severe, it cannot, however, be said that the British export trade is dependent upon the competitive qualities of the British industrial products. It is the control practically of all the railway system in the republic by the British that helps their trade. In fact, a large majority of the 40,000 kilometres of railway lines in the State are owned by British companies; hence she is able to export a good amount of coal and railway equipment and distribute other British products throughout the State. Germany, whose position in Argentina has been practically stationary for several years, is now seeking, among other things, to expand her sales of chemicals and inexpensive hardware. She has, of course, been counting on making Argentina one of her most important markets in the future, and is therefore watching the present Anglo-American rivalry with much interest. America's progress has been in the export

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of raw materials and machinery. She now holds a commanding position in such fields as automobiles and accessories, aeroplanes, motion pictures, sewing machines and numerous other labour-saving devices. American office equipment has become enormously popular everywhere, and the American machinery for handling complicated records and files is being widely installed in different countries of the world. Similarly American industrial and agricultural machinery are also in great demand. By far the largest customer of American farm implements is Canada which takes about 40 per cent of the total, and Argentina stands second in the consumption of American agricultural machinery.

British Investments in Argentina

Though American investments in the Southern Republics have increased twelve-fold within the past fifteen years, amounting at the beginning of 1929 to Rs. 6,645,000,000 as against Rs. 549,000,000 in 1930, yet in the Argentine the United States still has far to go to overtake the British. During the period 1913 to 1927, American investments there increased from less than Rs. 300,000,000 to Rs. 1,500,000,000, while British investments went up from Rs. 5,100.000,000 to Rs. 6,000,000,000. The United States has to take long strides therefore to catch up with the investment of Britain in this particular field. Such preponderance of British capital, coupled with the preference of the Argentinian for the free trade policy of London rather than the protective policy of Washington, gives Britain an advantage over the United States in carrying on an effective campaign for greater trade.

While the disaffection with America's new high tariff was at its crest, a British trade mission, headed by Lord D'Abernon, visited Argentina in the autumn of 1929. The D'Abernon report issued last year makes many suggestions for improving trade relations and recommends that the British business men must do as the Americans generally do,—intensively canvass the markets, keep large stocks on hand for immediate delivery on liberal credit terms, and make it unnecessary for Argentine automobile buyers to send to London for spare parts. Before leaving Argentine, Lord D'Abernon concluded a trade convention with President Irigoyen who, unfortunately for Britain, was overthrown during the revolution before the convention could be put into effect. Unlike his predecessor, President José Felix Uriburu, who favours the United States, welcomes American business men. To counteract the American trade, the Prince was recently asked to open the highly significant British Empire Trade Exhibition at Buenos Aires, which was the first one organized entirely and solely by a foreign country in South America.

Competition in Rapid Communication

A concomitant of trade rivalry in Argentina has been a competition in rapid communication with Buenos Aires. President Hoover opened direct telephone service between the United States and Argentina, Germany followed by opening telephone service between Berlin and Buenos Aires last October, and Britain by establishing a similar direct service between Rugby and the Argentine capital. Direct telephone now links Buenos Aires with a large part of the world's population. In aviation also the nations have vied with each other for Argentina's favour. Flights across the Southern Atlantic were undertaken to advertise and demonstrate the qualities of European planes. Italy's ten-plane flight to Brazil, and the visit of the Graf Zeppelin are outstanding instances of promoting aviation trade by such publicity. During the Buenos Aires exhibition the air-craft carrier "Eagle" was on display at the harbour and an exhibition of acrobatic flying was made in order to advertise British planes.

Though in the realm of air mail the United States has an advantage by virtue of its geographical positions, it is, nevertheless, being contested by other European nations. American planes now leave Brownsville, Texas, twice a week carrying the mail down the west coast and across the Andes to Buenos Aires. By this means New York business men can communicate with their agents in the Argentine within a week. The Aero-postale Company, a French concern, and the Condor Syndicate controlled by the Germans, have built up a large transport business in the Argentine. To make American air mail independent of them, the United States Government is planning a new service line. It now takes considerably more than a week for a letter to reach Buenos Aires from New York along the east coast route. Letters from Paris and London arrive there almost as quickly by

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fast boat and plane. America is trying therefore to facilitate and quicken the rapid communication between the two Americas.

Mission of The Prince of Wales

America is winning her way into South America at a terrific speed and irresistible force, and is displacing Great Britain gradually from her position of holding almost a monopoly over Argentina. England wants, therefore, to do her very best not only to expand her trade relations in Latin America but also to win back whatever she may have lost. The mission of the Prince of Wales is the strongest move Britain has made since the war in the direction of recapturing Britain's dominant position once held in South American markets. The Prince did all he could, though his sojourn was short, to further British trade in Latin America. In fact, he ever kept in mind the mission of his tour and never failed to put in a word for British goods whenever an opportunity presented itself. For instance, at the banquet of the Chamber of Commerce at Sao Paulo, the Prince made a strong appeal to every British resident to promote and purchase British products. When he visited the office of *El Comerico*, the leading newspaper in Lima, Peru, and was shown over the building by the editor and the managing director, the Prince was much impressed with the up-to-date machinery of the press. Noticing that the whole splendid equipment was all American, the Prince, complemented the director on the excellent equipment of the press and added "I hope the next press *Comerico* will buy will be English." Thus the Prince carried on his propaganda.

The next important move Britain has made is the organization of the British Trades Exhibition at Buenos Aires which was on view from the 14th of March to the 27th April. This exhibition was in preparation for over two years and is the first British exhibition on such a scale ever held outside the British Empire. The exhibition buildings alone are reported to have cost Rs. 7,500,000. They housed about Rs. 4,260,000,000 worth of British samples from tacts to rolling stock. Eight hundred British manufacturers spent about Rs. 15,000,000 to display their wares. A huge number of firms were represented; innumerable British products were on exhibition. Motor cars and commercial vehicles, motor boats, aircrafts, locomotives, and rolling stock industries, along with a wide variety of other products, including gold and silver ware, bread and biscuit making machinery, air and gas plant, foundry equipment, grinding and crushing plant, machine tools of all kinds, chain drives, small electric lighting sets, power station equipment, electric motors, ventilating fans, centrifugal separators and hydro-extractors, pressed steel tanks, central heating plants, grain elevators, road making machinery are only a few of the numerous British-made goods displayed.

This enormous exhibition is a striking indication of the awakening of Britain to the penetration of America as her rival in that field. The main object, of course, is to develop British trade in the Argentine and South America. The British attempt to arouse new interest in British products is taking place at a time when, owing to the depression in the home market and mass production of the highly geared American industrial machinery, the eyes of Washington are directed more than ever to foreign markets and particularly to those of her neighbouring States of the South. In reference to the present endeavours of the British to win Argentinian trade, Robert P. Lamont, Secretary of Commerce, recently asserted that the British efforts would not appreciably affect the value or quantity of American exports to Argentina or other South American countries. Service, enterprise and low cost of goods, he maintains, would still continue to be the determining factors in all markets. His belief, therefore, seems to be that the United States would finally win in spite of all the British manoeuvres.

Proximity Favours America

For trade purposes Latin America may be divided into two major areas: the Caribbean and the South American. Owing to the proximity of the northern or Caribbean area to the United States and the preponderance of American investments there, the northern area buys the greater part of the imported necessities from the United States. On the other hand, the southern or the South American area buys from the United States large quantities of staples, while it imports from Europe a greater proportion of the articles she needs than do the countries of the Caribbean. With its coffee Brazil finds a major market in the United States; similarly

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Ecuador with cocoa and Chile with its nitrates. But Peru, Bolivia and the River Plate countries with sub-tropical products, similar to those of the United States, find their major markets in Great Britain and other European countries.

Several factors have helped the United States to get an enviable hold on South America. One among the chief factors is the completion of the Panama Canal in 1914. It meant the opening up of the gateway to the once isolated areas of the Pacific coast of Latin America. The great war brought before the world the importance of the resources of the West coast of Latin America, with its copper, tin, nitrates and foodstuffs. On the West Coast, the United States enjoys several advantages over her great European rival. There are, for instances, better transportation facilities. The distances between the principal export centres such as New Orleans, New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles, and the ports on the west coast of South America are much less than the distances between British ports and the west coast of Latin America. Valparaiso, the gateway to Chile, for example, is only 5,335 miles from New York, whereas it is 8,900 from Hamburg and 8,299 miles from Liverpool. The Latin American countries are rich and are rapidly progressing and America, like Great Britain, is aware of the tremendous value of those markets. Both these great industrial nations are trying to get full control of Latin American markets. American capital is moving into a field hitherto dominated by Great Britain. This trade rivalry in South America is bound to produce serious repercussions, unless carefully controlled, on Anglo-American relations in the future.

The New Method

By SEETA DEVI

"WHAT a shame! One never gets anything in its place, in this house. I wonder, what everybody does."

Ramapati's roar of anger produced instant effect. A young woman came out of the big bedroom, with some embroidery in her hand. An old lady emerged limping from the small side room and said, "You are quite right, my son. From the morning you must keep on shouting if you want anything done. All the time she is busy dressing up and taking care of herself. I am an unlucky woman. I cannot move about with this wretched leg. Otherwise, I would not care a penny for these people. I have done two peoples' work in my day and have looked after children, moreover. Would they ever be able to do that?" She went back limping into her room.

The young woman looked at the door of her mother-in-law's room, then she said in a tone of suppressed irritation, "What's the matter?"

Ramapati gnashed his teeth in fury. "So now you come to enquire," he cried out. "How many times have I asked you to keep the tooth powder ready in the bathroom? You cannot be of the slightest service. Do you think it beneath yourself to obey your husband?"

His wife Torubala too lost her temper. "It is ready," she said. "It's there on the shelf. You could have got it yourself or you could have asked for it. But, no, you must howl and let everybody know, first thing in the morning."

Ramapati grew angrier still. "An impertinent girl is the most intolerable creature on God's earth," he said. "So you dare to come and lecture me? I have to earn with the sweat of my brow. You sit at home at ease and enjoy, and deliver lectures for my benefit. Women should be taught their proper place. It's no use making too much of them."

Toru was going to reply, but finding the mother-in-law, coming on the scene again, she

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retreated. She could answer her husband on equal terms, but she was no match for the old lady. It was bound to be an unfair contest. Toru had to keep her lips shut, while the old lady spouted, for such was the social custom. Though she was twenty years of age, yet she had been married only three years. So she still had some shyness left about her relatives by marriage. Her mother-in-law was garrulous in her description of Toru's "modernisms and idleness," which never sounded sweet in the girl's ears. So she tried her best not to give the old lady any opportunity for holding forth.

Inside Toru's room, a boy of twelve sat preparing his lessons and a small girl was trying to knit a pair of baby socks very unsuccessfully. As soon as Toru entered, the boy cried out, "You must teach me my lessons today, aunt, or the teacher will thrash me."

"And you have not shown me the correct stitches at all," put in the girl. "The sewing mistress will make me stand up on a stool."

Toru threw her own sewing inside a drawer and said, "Go and tell your uncle to engage a private tutor for you. I cannot help you with your lessons everyday. I am going to the kitchen. Kristo has not returned from the market yet and if anything is spoilt, your grandmother will take it out of me."

Ramapati came in, rubbing his face vigorously with a towel. "Where is my tea?" he asked, still in a temper. "Or, am I to get that, too, myself ?"

"I am bringing it this moment," his wife retorted. "Did no one put honey in your mouth, when you entered this world ?" She hastened off to the kitchen with this parting shot, giving her husband no chance of making a reply.

Ramapati was bursting with anger. He was in a fix, he did not know how to manage Toru. He had remained a bachelor for a long time. His mother used to weep daily, still he would not waver in his resolution. Whenever she talked of marriage, he would answer, "You see, I earn only a hundred rupees. And we are already four in the family counting Kalu and Radhu. And you want me to bring home a wife too. How shall I manage then within this income ?"

"But don't poor people ever marry ?" his mother would ask. "Your father earned only sixty rupees a month. Still he married, did not he ?"

"Those were days of cheap living" her son would answer. "Besides, you always stayed in the village house. But one cannot manage to live in Calcutta within that income. The house rent takes away half the money."

So days went on. Ramapati grew older and his mother grew more and more uneasy. But there was one redeeming feature. Ramapati's salary, too, went on increasing. At last, when he was nearing thirty-five, he gave in to his mother's importunities and took a wife. Toru was seventeen then, and good to look at. So Ramapati's marriage might not have been due solely to his mother's pleadings.

Toru was the daughter of a neighbour. They lived in a house, situated at the end of the lane. Ramapati's mother would often go a-visiting to Toru's father's house. She took a liking for Toru then. She was not a great beauty, still she was pleasant to look at. She read in the school, she knew how to sew, and to sing. She was an adept at household work, too. Besides, it would not have mattered, if she had not known these things. Ramapati's mother prided herself on being able to make even clods of earth work. She knew, she could teach Toru. The old lady was getting more and more infirm daily, so she wanted a grown-up girl for her son's wife, who could look after the household property. She, too, needed some looking after now. And there were the two children, Radhu and Kalu. They were the children of her dead daughter, and lived with her. Their father was a miserly skinflint, who never spent a pice on them. After his wife's death, he seemed to have severed all connection with the children too. Ramapati's mother abused him regularly everyday.

Ramapati himself had seen Toru. He liked the girl. He was not a romantic youth, still when he heard the school bus approaching, his eyes would at once fasten upon its door, and he would unconsciously prick up his ears for the syce's cry "*Gari aya, Baba !*" He wished he could marry this girl. But he was diffident about being accepted. Perhaps the girl's father had high ambitions. He was trying his best to make the girl accomplished and educated. Ramapati was not even a graduate, though he was getting a salary of two hundred rupees now, through sheer good luck.

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But his luck held even here. Toru's father had high ambition, no doubt, but he had no money. So when Ramapati's mother proposed for her son and even agreed to dispense with the customary dowry, the bride's parents agreed too, after a little hesitation. "One should never refuse a good offer," said the bride's mother. "It is unlucky to do so."

"The young man does not hold high degrees," said the bride's father, "but he is a clever chap. Don't you see, he is earning quite a decent salary, even now? And it is bound to increase. We have got no money, so a really good bridegroom would never have come our way. Ramapati is good enough for us."

"Have you asked Toru's consent?" asked Nihar, Toru's elder brother, of his mother.

"Just listen to him," his mother cried out. "What's the use of asking her consent? Does she know better than us, that chit of a girl?"

So Toru was married off. Perhaps she was disappointed, but she did not think it a terrible calamity. She knew she would have to pass her life with this man. So she tried her best to fall in love with her newly wedded husband.

At first things went on quite smoothly. The mother-in-law held her tongue, and Ramapati made much of her. So Toru was happy. Rampati still thought himself a bit unworthy of his girl wife and tried to make up for it with excessive kindness.

But with the passage of time, everything began to change. The mother-in-law disclosed her true self. A daughter-in-law could not be treated as a guest for ever. She must learn her duties. So Toru began her education, under the hard teachership of her mother-in-law.

She began to feel terribly unhappy and uncomfortable. Her days became full of unceasing toil and abuse. She had no time to read or sew. Singing was entirely prohibited here. "I cannot allow these things here," said the mother-in-law. "We are respectable people and you must learn to behave yourself."

Toru could have borne everything, if her husband had remained the same. His loving kindness would have solaced her. But he, too, had begun to change. He had convinced himself that his previous diffidence had been false. He was in no way inferior to his wife. She could never judge him. And Ramapati was perfection itself, compared to some of the neighbours. He never ill-treated or abused Toru. He had no bad habits. But one cannot dance attendance on a wife for ever. Even now, his friends jested about his excessive attention to his wife. It was high time, he pulled up. Toru was being spoilt too much, she would become quite unmanageable if matters continued like this. She must be taken in hand without delay. A modern girl was impatient of control by nature, she must be taught that too much independence did not suit her.

So Ramapati began his task of reformation. Toru's ears became laden with lectures, but they did not reach her brain or heart. Ramapati had a suspicion that she was treating the whole thing as a joke. This made him furious but he was afraid of going beyond a certain point. In spite of all his bravado, he was a bit afraid of Toru. Perhaps he was being weighed in the balance by her, and found sadly wanting. Moreover, he loved her, though he denied it to himself and so could not bring himself to ill-treat her positively. Shouting and cynicism were all that he permitted himself.

So everybody was unhappy and ill at ease with the exception of Radhu and Kalu. Before the arrival of the new aunt, they were far more uncomfortable. Their uncle seldom returned home before nightfall and they could not make grandmother understand anything. Kalu grew tired of asking for money to go to the cinema with. But he never got it. The old woman did not know what cinema meant. He could not prepare his lessons by himself and there was nobody whom he could ask. If he asked his uncle, he would be sure to catch it from the old lady. "Why do you tease him as soon as he comes home?" she would say. "What do you go to school for? Don't they teach you there?"

Nobody could make the old woman understand that school teachers were only good for beating the boys. In order to escape their clutches, one must prepare lessons at home.

Radhu, too, had nobody to help her with the lessons and sewing. But the thing that troubled her most, was the complete ignorance of her grandmother about modern fashions in dress. She was terribly ashamed to appear at school, in the guise, she had to. But to convince her grandmother was beyond her power. If she insisted, she in addition to abuse

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"You are a *Mem Sahib*, are not you ?" the old woman would scream out. "You want new dresses every day. You are a Nabob's daughter, though your father does not care a half penny for you." Poor Radhu had to retreat in tears, and start for school in her torn and dirty dress.

But the advent of Toru saved them. Kalu had his fill of cinema going. He accompanied his uncle and aunt on many occasions, and sometimes even went alone. Toru was liberal in money matters. She also helped him quite capably with his lessons. She herself had read up to the Matriculation class and she was competent to teach Kalu, who read only in the fifth class. So this year, Kalu had given quite a good account of himself in the yearly examination and even secured a prize. Radhu, too, was supremely happy. The torn *sari* and dirty chemise had disappeared and in its place so many beautiful things had come. Radhu now dressed quite well. Beautifully embroidered frocks, shoes and stockings graced her figure. Her uncle had bought her all these at her aunt's request. Her aunt had made and embroidered many of the frocks herself. She was a good needlewoman. The grandmother had kicked up a row at first, but now she had quieted down.

But Toru herself was dreadfully unhappy. She thought and thought, but found no way of escape anywhere. Her own family lived quite close by, so it was no use going away for a change to their place. She had no other near relative, to whom she could go. Besides, she would never be permitted to go. She was extremely sorry that she had not finished her education before marriage. She had received some education, but that was not sufficient to make her self-supporting. She would always have to depend upon her husband for shelter and food. She had no children to comfort her and to make her forget. She could easily appear at examinations as a private student, if she were allowed, but she knew, she would never be. Even if she could persuade her husband, her mother-in-law would prove inexorable. So she had no other alternative but rotting in this hole.

Today, as she entered the kitchen, she wiped her eyes surreptitiously, then got her husband's tea. She arranged everything neatly on a tray and carried it upstairs.

Ramapati was helping Kalu with his arithmetic, when she entered. On seeing his wife, he said, "You are very proud of your education, but cannot you help this boy a little ?"

Toru set down the tray on a table rather violently and answered sharply, "I cannot be in two places at the same time Am I expected to know magic too ?" Sobs choked her voice.

Ramapati climbed down at once. He did not really want to make Toru unhappy. If she would only obey him and his mother, everything would be all right. But Toru was determined to flout all authority.

Ramapati drew up his chair to the table and took up his cup of tea. "You are always ready with tears," he said. "The world is a hard place, and one must not have too soft a heart here."

Toru went down again without answering. The servant had returned from the bazaar. Toru sat down to prepare vegetables. She must have breakfast ready by nine o'clock, or there would be the devil to pay.

Suddenly, her younger brother Binu came and stood before the kitchen door. Toru was surprised and asked "Why are you here at such a time ?"

"Will you buy *Khaddar saris* ? I have got very good ones," the boy replied.

"I have no money just now," his sister said.

"What about your husband ?" asked the boy. "Will he buy any ?"

"I know nothing about him," said Toru making a face. "Go and see for yourself. But have you left school for good ?"

"Yes," said Binu ; "Not only I, but a good many boys have done the same."

"That's very fine for the present," said his sister, "when you have got your father to provide for you. But what will become of your patriotism when you will have to fend for yourself ? What will you eat then, grass ?"

"Too much prudence is no good," said her brother. "No great career was waiting for me even at the end of my college course. At best, I would have become a school teacher earning thirty rupees. I can earn that much as a porter."

"Big talk," said his sister. "Let's see, how you behave when the time comes. Run away now I am very busy."

"You are no good," said the boy, getting up. "You spend all your time in the kitchen, while so many of your fellow countrywomen are courting jails for the

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sake of their motherland." Toru had no reply for him. Binu took up his bundle of *Khaddar* and went up in search of Ramapati. Needless to say, he did not receive a warm welcome.

"What news?" asked Ramapati, without any enthusiasm, catching sight of the boy.

"Will you buy some *Khaddar*?" asked Binu, "It's quite good."

"You have come to a fine person," said Ramapati a bit awkwardly. "We are tied hand and foot, don't you know? We have to think of our jobs."

"Oh, why don't you forget it?" asked the boy.

"You can say that," said his brother-in-law. "You have no responsibilities."

Binu smiled and went off. Ramapati bathed, had his breakfast and then departed for his office.

It was a bad day for Toru. Her heart felt heavy within her. Her brother was quite right. She was no good. She had began life with great ambition but everything had ended in this kitchen. She had no other field of work. Home and housework, beyond that she could not even dream.

Ramapati returned from office in the evening. He had a brown paper parcel in his hand. Toru had lighted a stove and was preparing some sweets. Ramapati put down the parcel in front of her and said, "Here, this is for you."

"What is it?" asked Toru, rather indifferently.

"Open it and see," said Ramapati with some heat. Toru took off the paper cover. There were a few yards of coloured silk and threads for fine embroidery. Her face clouded over. "Didn't I tell you not to purchase foreign stuff for me?" she asked.

"You live on the foreigner's money," said her husband angrily. "If that is permissible, then you can buy their stuff too."

"We don't live on foreigner's money at all," said Toru. "You might say the whole nation of them is living on our money. You don't seem to know even what the man in the street knows."

Ramapati grew furious at this insult. "No, I don't know anything," he shouted. "You have monopolized all knowledge, great savant that you are. So, you don't want these? Here Radhu, you take them. I give them to you."

Radhu, too, was not in favour of foreign goods. But she did not dare to refuse for fear of her uncle, and took away the things.

Ramapati had purchased these things for the purpose of pleasing Toru. But Toru's attitude made him very angry. As his wife brought him his evening meal, he began to relieve his mind. "Those who cannot earn anything themselves, are most wasteful of others' money," he said. "You don't seem to care at all about it."

Toru got fed up. "I have told you a thousand times not to buy foreign goods for me," she said. "Still you must buy. It is my fault then that your money is wasted?"

"It is not a question of telling me a thousand times or a million times," said Ramapati. "You are getting too independent. You ought to have sense enough to know that since you live with your husband, you must follow his opinions."

"I don't see why," said Toru. "Am I not a human being? Cannot I have my own opinion about things?"

"You are not fit to hold separate opinions," said Ramapati hotly. "You are dependent on another for your food and clothing and so must bow down to his authority. Your brother is a scapegrace, he has taken to selling *Khaddar*. Now, you go and deliver lectures, that would suit you most. Between you all, I stand a fair chance of losing my job."

"No, no, your job will last till eternity," cried out Toru. "Your masters would never punish you for your brother-in-law's misdeeds. And as for myself, if I begin to lecture I won't do it at your house."

"Big talk," scoffed Ramapati. "I hate these insolent people. They are stupid, too. They are unable to judge for themselves, and are led like monkeys on a string by designing people."

Toru left the room. Tears of rage and shame were streaming down her cheeks. Why was she being made to suffer such insults? Was she really incapable of procuring food and shelter for herself? The very people who barred her way to independence, scoffed at her for her helplessness. She wanted to break down all barriers by sheer force and escape. But where could she go?

The four walls of this house seemed to stifle her. She must go away somewhere and breathe. She went up to her mother-in-law. "Mother, may I go and see my father for a while?" she asked piteously. "I heard that he was unwell."

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"Who told you that?" asked the old lady, with a frown. "Was it your brother? Your father did not seem unwell, I saw him going to the office in the morning. All right, go, I won't forbid you. But return in time, else Kristo will spoil the dinner completely."

Toru took the servant as an escort and started for her father's home. She found nobody at home except her mother. She was busy in the kitchen. Seeing Toru, she was a bit surprised and asked, "Why have you come at such a time?"

"May not I come anytime?" said Toru. "Where are the children and father?"

Her mother smiled. "Your father is never at home in the evening," she said. "And the children have gone to a meeting."

"Has Charu gone too?" asked Toru in surprise. "Is it a ladies' meeting?"

"Yes," said her mother. "Don't you know, the ladies are burning foreign cloth today at Shraddhananda Park?"

"I have no means of knowing anything. You have married me in a pretty family," said Toru sadly.

Her mother said nothing. They all disliked Ramapati's servile mentality, though they never said anything for fear of wounding Toru.

Suddenly, Binu made his appearance. "Why have you come back?" asked his mother.

"I left the bundle of foreign cloth at home, so I have come back to fetch them. Didi, are you going to contribute any of your husband's fine feathers?"

Toru was in no jesting mood. "I shall give you mine," she said. "Mother, please give me one of your *Khaddar saris*."

"Go and take it from the dressing-room," said her mother. "But take care, you must not make your husband angry."

"Much I care," said Toru. "Binu you wait," saying this, she hurried to her mother's room. She came out soon after, dressed entirely in *Khaddar*. She handed to Binu the clothes she had been wearing and said, "Come on, I shall go to the meeting, too."

"That's right," said Binu approvingly. "If the women do not wake up, there's no hope for India."

The mother looked on with dismay, while the children walked out firmly.

Ramapati returned home in the evening from a friend's house. It was quite dark and he stumbled at the foot of the stairs. "Are you all dead?" he shouted angrily. "Cann't you even light a lamp?"

His mother came out at once. "I am an old woman, my child," she answered, "and I cannot do all the housework. Your fashionable modern wife has gone off on a visit to her parents and has not returned yet. Because I told her to return early, she is staying out as long as she can. So no lamp has been lighted."

Ramapati went out again. No, he must teach Toru a lesson. Kindness was bound to be misunderstood. Toru thought him a weak fool, and took advantage. She must know her place. Ramapati entered his father-in-law's house and stood still in amazement. The house was entirely deserted. Then where had Toru gone? He called out loudly. A servant appeared from somewhere. In answer to Ramapati's angry question, he replied, "They have all gone to the Park, Babu. There is going to be a big bonfire of foreign cloth."

Ramapati stared at him in frank dismay. "They have all gone?" he asked. "Even my wife?"

"Yes, Babu," the servant said with a grin. "The mistress has gone too, because the young ladies insisted on going."

Ramapati ran out into the street, abusing his wife's family as heartily as he could. He called a hackney carriage and jumped into it. He told the coachman to drive to Shraddhananda Park.

"There is a riot there, Babu," said the fellow. "Why do you want to go there?"

"Drive on," shouted Ramapati angrily. "I shall get down before you reach the scene of riot."

The carriage started. Ramapati leant out of the window and began looking all around.

The carriage came to a standstill long before it reached the Park. There was a big crowd in front and numbers of people rushed here and there confusedly.

The police were chasing the crowd and using their *lathis* quite indiscriminately.

"Get down here, sir," said the coachman. "I won't go any further."

Ramapati got down and paid off the man. A young man, dressed in *khaddar*, was passing. Ramapati caught hold of him and asked, "Have the ladies gone away?"

"Gone away?" said the young man. "How could they? The prison-van is waiting to take them to Lalbazar."

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Ramapati ran forward, ignoring the police, the crowd and the *lathis*. He received several blows, and but had no attention to spare for them.

He came to a stop, a few yards from the prison-van. He looked and saw a batch of women approaching surrounded by the police. They looked quite cheerful, as if they were starting on a pleasure trip. And in front of the little band, with head erect, walked his wife Toru.

"Toru, Toru," called out Ramapati wildly.

The women had come quite close. Ramapati pushed forward frantically. Toru looked at him and said, "In order to escape a petty tyrant, I have courted the attention of a great tyrant. You won't be able to drag me out of the clutch of the police."

The prison-van rolled off. Ramapati limped home, sore in body and mind. "Where is your wife?" cried out his mother.

"In jail," replied her son shortly. The old lady screamed aloud in fear. "Stop that," said Ramapati furiously. "I have already lost my wife and I shall lose my job too, if you go on like this."

Next morning, he went to see Toru in the lock-up. "If you will permit me," he said pleadingly, "I can get you out on bail."

"I won't go," said Toru firmly. "I like this prison better than the old one."

A New Work on Bengali Drama*

THIS book is a work of good intentions, and as such should be respected; but the author's intentions are hardly supported by his inadequate materials and still more inadequate treatment. One may go still further and wonder whether Dr. Guha-Thakurta has not perhaps chosen a subject which, strictly speaking, does not exist. With a work of the magnitude of the present one before us, this may seem to be criticism of an exasperatingly pettifogging kind. But for all that, one may, with more than a mere far-fetched plausibility, maintain that Bengali writing has not yet assumed any great extent or importance, and, in its life of more than seventy years, has not yet produced a really good drama or a great dramatist. The comparatively recent dramatic attempts of Dvijendra Lal Ray, the playwright productions of Girish Chandra Ghosh, or even the literary dramas or dramatic pieces of Rabindranath cannot yet be viewed in their historical perspective; and all that one can do is to write an appreciative or depreciative essay of doubtful value. The only part of the subject, about which sober historical investigation is possible, is that which is concerned with the rather obscure origin of this type of writing in Bengali and its early development till the establishment of the National Theatre in the seventies of the last century. It is thus a matter of about twenty years, roughly from 1850 to 1870, after which the problem becomes more literary than historical.

Although Dr. Guha-Thakurta has claimed that his book "contains matter for historians" and has devoted a considerable space to this part of the subject, for which there is scope for patient research, his treatment is sadly defective, unreliable and superficial. It cannot be said that workers in the field have been numerous or that all the necessary materials have been collected together and duly sifted. It is all the more imperative, therefore, for any one writing learnedly (and not merely popularly) on the subject to go to the original sources at every step and examine the most up-to-date and reliable information. It is more than useless at the present stage of our knowledge of early Bengali literature to indulge in bird's-eye views or sweeping generilizations on the basis of meagre and generally unreliable facts and opinions. On every pioneer investigator in this comparatively unexplored field falls the more humble but important duty of a patient and conscientious collection of facts and data, which are the links without which the chain of historical summary, or even of any kind of generalization, cannot be properly forged.

But the author does not choose to go through this laborious process. He would feign discover a royal road to the production of an imposing work. He has been able to produce such a book of deceptive appearance on the subject, but the subject still remains to be treated. Very seldom has he taken the pains of consulting the original sources. Sometimes his plea apparently is that the original documents are not available, when, as a matter of fact, they are available to those who are sufficiently earnest and painstaking. There is no evidence also of the author's complete familiarity with the already published literature on the subject. He knows enough of the subject to write finely about it, but very often his half-knowledge leads him to ludicrous blunders.

For, the chief "authorities," on which Dr. Guha-

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* *The Bengali Drama: Its origin and development; By P. Guha-Thakurta, M. A. (Harvard), Ph. D. (London). London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner & Co. Ltd., 1930. Pp. XII+244 (10s. 6d. net).*

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Thakurta relies and draws freely and indiscriminately, are two or three magazine articles, of which the chief ones appear to be that by Shyamaprasad Mukherji in the *Calcutta Review* and another by an unknown writer in the not very critical journal *Bangi-O-Ranga*. This fact alone indicates the tone. Though both these and other such articles as the author utilizes with great reverence, contain some useful and miscellaneous information, their value as scholarly, adequate and reliable accounts may very well be doubted. They are exactly what one expects to find in popular periodicals. But the more important of the original documents covered by this period are not many, nor are they so scarce as our author apparently imagines. If he had taken sufficient trouble, he could have found and used them for the correction of the errors of his predecessors, which have led him blindfold to fresh errors. At any rate, authentic and fairly full accounts of some of them have already been published in recent times, but the writer seems to be ignorant of them.

The justification for our apparently harsh criticism will be found by any well-informed reader on almost every page of the book; it would be enough for us to cite a few mistakes which would justify what we have felt it our duty to say so plainly. Gerasim Lebedeff's name is already made familiar by Sir George Grierson in his article in the *Calcutta Review* (1923); and the present reviewer, who has since obtained a copy of Lebedeff's Grammar, gave an account of this Ukrainian peasant and adventurer in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1925. Still Dr. Guha-Thakurta, publishing his work in 1930, is doubtful whether the name is Lebedeff or Lebedoff (which latter wrong form he adopts) and gravely wastes a foot-note of thirty lines over the different forms of the name given by his own authorities mentioned above. A copy of the work exists in the British Museum; and presuming that Dr. Guha-Thakurta could not rely on the accounts given above, he could have yet avoided all these useless discussions if, while working in England, he had consulted the original work itself. Perhaps Sir George Grierson himself would be surprised to read the deliberate statement of the author that Lebedeff's Grammar "has been published by Sir George Grierson"! Grierson has not yet published his Grammar, which is hardly worth much, but in his article on it he has given a full quotation of its quaint autobiographical Preface, which is the only direct and authentic source of our information about Lebedeff and his two Bengali plays. The Preface speaks of the site of Lebedeff's temporary stage at "Dom-Tollah (Dome-Lane), [at present Ezra Stete] in the centre of Calcutta," but where on earth the writer of the *Bangi-O-Ranga* got the exact description of "25 Domtallah Lane" is a mystery.

On p. 46 we have the statement that the first genuine *Bengali* theatre was that established in 1792 by Prasanna Kumar Thakur at his garden-house at Sudo, but a few lines below this we are told what is a fact, namely, that the plays staged there were all *written in English*! For *Bhadrarjun* Dr. Guha-Thakurta need not have relied on second-hand information, for the first edition of the work is available in the Bangiya Sahitya Parisat Library, and a fairly lengthy account of it, with profuse quotations, was published by the present reviewer thirteen years ago in the *Patrika* of that learned society. The name of the author of this work is not Tara Chand but Tara Charan. A failure to utilize direct evidence, when such exists, has made the author fall into curious blunders which could easily have been avoided. We are told in all seriousness that "the date of *Bhanumati-chittavilas* cannot be definitely ascertained"; and for this the historian of Bengali drama relies on the irresponsible statement, reproduced by an equally irresponsible writer in the *Narayan*, of 'One Who Knows" in the columns of the *Indian Daily News*! But a copy of the first edition of the work could have been easily seen in the Calcutta Imperial Library; and even if that were not possible, the fairly full account of its author Hara Chandra Ghosh and his various works given (with elaborate quotations) by the present reviewer three years ago in the *Bangiya Sahitya Parisat Patrika* could have been consulted. In the very imposing bibliography appended to the work under review we find a mention of the *Patrika*, but to what extent it was utilized will be patent from the instances cited above. In the same way, reference is given in a foot-note to Isvar Gupta's account of Nidhu Babu's life and work in the *Sambad-Prabhakar*, but it is doubtful if our author has actually seen it. Nidhu Babu's dates are wrongly given as 1738-1825, with the rather misleading remark that he was "a contemporary of Ramprasad and Bharat Chandra." Nidhu Babu's real dates appear to be 1741-1839; and as both Ramprasad and Bharat Chandra were dead within a few years of 1760, Nidhu was surely too young at that time (and not yet a writer) to be regarded even as their younger contemporary. Another piece of curious information is that Nidhu Babu "had a contempt for all devotional songs," but a reference to his *Gita-ratna*, published during his life-time, would have shown that he did not disdain to compose several devotional songs which are contained in this collection of his *tappas*.

Even if we leave aside these comparatively old and nearly forgotten specimens of early dramatic attempts, a historian of Bengali Drama, writing on a comparatively extensive scale, cannot be forgiven for the somewhat scanty and hurried treatment alloted to Ram Narayan Tarkaratna. It is doubtful if Dr. Guha-Thakurta had ever had access to the original copies of the Pandit's works; otherwise, his mistakes, both of omission and commission, are inexplicable. It is not correct, for instance, to state that the theme of Tarkaratna's *Veni-samhara* is "taken from the Sabha Parba (*sic*) of the *Mahabharata*"; for the very preface of the work tells us that it is nothing more than an adaptation of Bhatta Narayana's Sanskrit drama of the same name, and the very title-page acknowledges that it is गौडीय चलितभाषाय अनुवादित। The prize for the *Naba-natak* was not offered by Jyotirindra Nath Thakur, but by Gunendra and Ganendra, sons of Girindra Nath Thakur, and to Gunendra Nath the work is dedicated by the author. The foot-note 2 on page 63, therefore, is uncalled for, and to foot-note 1 (on Jyotirindra Nath's biography) must be added Manmatha Nath Ghosh's recent sketch, which is perhaps unknown to Dr. Guha-Thakurta.

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A chronology and full account of the individual works of Tarkaratna should have been attempted, as most of the works in their first edition are still available. It is amusing to read that his *Svapna-dhan*, of which a copy printed in Samvat 1930 (=1874-75 A.D.) is in the reviewer's possession, is "a re-discovery"; who was the first to discover it? Again, a reference to the fragmentary autobiographical sketch of Tarkaratna, published in *Bharatbarsha* of 1323 B.S., would require a more guarded statement regarding Maharaja Yatindra Mohan Thakur's authorship of the three farces, which Tarkaratna declares to have himself written and sold to the Maharaja. Dr. Guha-Thakurta omits all mention of the private stage (विद्योत्साहिनी रङ्गमञ्च) set up under the auspices of the Vidyotsahini Sabha by Kaliprasanna Simha, who translated for it two Sanskrit plays and wrote one original play. Two of these plays appear to be unknown to Dr. Guha-Thakurta, perhaps because his authorities have not mentioned them; but even if these plays were not available to him, he might have utilized Manmatha Nath Ghosh's account of them in his biographical sketch of Kaliprasanna. The present reviewer also gave an account, necessarily brief, of these plays in the *Pragati* of Dacca three years ago.

The account of the growth of the National Theatre and its successors is equally unsatisfactory; for no account of this movement would be full without a reference to the series of articles contributed by Amrita Lal Bose, who himself played a part in it, to the *Masik Basumati* several years ago. The part which Girish Chandra Ghosh took in the early stages of the movement has been somewhat overestimated by enthusiastic admirers. There are one or two biographies of Girish Chandra Ghosh, which no doubt furnish some information; but these biographies are written with an exaggerated emphasis and from an obviously partisan point of view. They cannot, however, be entirely ignored, even if the information contained in them has to be taken with caution and duly corroborated. The author should have duly taken all these accounts into consideration instead of relying chiefly on magazine articles of questionable value. A fuller account should also have been given of Manomohan Bose's once famous plays, most of which are available in the Imperial Library of Calcutta, and some in the British Museum. Our author declines to deal more fully with Kshirod Prasad Vidyabinod's work on the ground that "he is still producing new works which seem to suggest that he has not yet arrived at the highest point of his dramatic genius"; but Kshirod Prasad cannot be still producing new works in 1930 because he is actually dead for some time.

The author's knowledge of Sanskrit and early literary history appears to be no better; yet he insists on making an unnecessary display. He begins his work by devoting one whole chapter to the origin and growth of ancient Indian Drama, which is hardly relevant to his subject; but, after giving us a string of European opinions culled chiefly from Keith, he comes to the rather disappointing conclusion, at the end of the chapter, that "it seems hopeless ... to arrive at a definite conclusion"! One simply wonders why he wasted one whole chapter. Another chapter is devoted to the antiquity of the Indian theatre. There is nothing in it which is not in Bloch, Levi and Keith, and the topic might have been better left to the more competent historians of the Sanskrit stage. But a marvellous generalization in a nutshell is given of the characteristics of Sanskrit drama in a foot-note on p. 57. We read here of eight "recognized rules" which are summarized as "canons of Sanskrit Dramaturgy"; and some of them are quite interesting. We read, for instance—"The title of the play must be formed by compounding the names of the hero and the heroine." "The heroine must be a lady of noble family or a courtesan; the two may occasionally share honours, provided they do not meet." "The play must be full of rascals," etc.! Comment is not necessary; but it is difficult to discover from what work on Sanskrit Dramaturgy these edifying "rules" or "canons" are summarized. Neither theory nor practice actually ever established or conformed to them. The most wonderful and entertaining piece of information, however, is that supplied by the foot-note on p. 8, which explains what Michael Madhusudan meant, when he wrote in one of his well-known letters, that he would not permit himself to be bound down by "the dicta of Mr. Visawanath of Sahitya-Darpan." In that note, Dr. Guha-Thakurta asks us to believe that "Mr. Viswanath belonged to the orthodox school of Bengali critics, who laid down rules for Bengali drama in strict accordance with the classical doctrines !!"

It is wearisome to be perpetually cavilling, but, to be quite frank, the presumption of the author is as colossal as his ignorance. He assures us very gravely that Siva (and not Rudra) "in the earliest Vedic sacrificial ritual is a fire-god," forgetting that the origin and character of the Vedic Rudra, who later on definitely became Siva, is still a matter of controversy. More inaccurate is his remark that "Jaydeb (*sic*) was one of the earliest Bengali poets" (p. 3), although on p. 10 the valuable information is given that "Jaydeb's *Gita Gobinda* (*sic*) is not a Bengali drama, it is written in Sanskrit." We are further informed that Jaydeva's work is "a characteristic type of the oldest Indian drama," even though it was composed about the 12th century A.D.! On the very first page of the book we have the exciting information, albeit on the somewhat dubious authority of "Mr. E. P. Horrwitz," that "even the Vedic age knew Yatras": but immediately afterwards on p. 10 we read that this is "of course, extremely conjectural!" Our author's choice of obscure or superannuated "authorities," set forth in an imposing array of foot-notes and bibliography, is marvellous. One instance of his unquestioning reverence for questionable opinion is afforded by his repetition of the phrase "the Puranic Renaissance in Bengal," of which Bengal itself knew nothing. Another equally interesting instance is the extolling, as the most renowned of all the reformers of the Yatra, of Krishna Kamal Gosvami, who belonged to West Bengal but who was comparatively unknown except perhaps to a few in East Bengal, till one historian of Bengali literature belonging to East Bengal, propped him up with laudations. Personal predilection is hard to avoid and the championship of a half forgotten minor writer is a temptation, but historical facts are inexorable. The Gosvami's works were not published till the seventies of the last century, but by that time the Yatra had already come under the influence of the anglicized

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Bengali theatre which had been entirely modifying it. Leaving aside the earlier exponents of the Yatra, if the later Yatrawallas have to be considered, it is unintelligible why Mati Lal Ray, the famous, prolific and influential contemporary of Krishnakamal's, should be ignored with a whimsical preference of his less known and less important contemporary of a somewhat local fame.

It is not clear, however, why Dr. Guha-Thakurta should have dovoted three chapters to the obvious generalities about the Yatra when he could add nothing fresh to our knowledge and when the subject is only remotely connected with his theme. There can hardly be any doubt, as the present reviewer has already shown elsewhere, that the modern Bengali drama and theatre did not originate or evolve from the Yatra. Its sources were different, and influences which moulded it were divergent. This position has been accepted by Dr. Guha-Thakurta, and yet he must write on the Yatra. He also digresses into short paragraph-accounts of the Kabi, Kathakata, Kirttan, Tappa, Hafaikrai and Pamcali which are neither satisfactory nor necessary; but the word दाँड़ा कवि is wrongly given as "Danda Kabi", and the author assures us with some complacency that "originally Kabi songs formed part of the Yatra," a statement which is as irresponsible as many of his similar statements.

On the critical side of the work, where legitimate difference of opinion will be claimed, it is not necessary to say much. But one is astonished to learn that Dinabandhu wrote "pedantic prose" and an "artificial style" in his comedies, that his plays "seem to suggest that he was obsessed by a sheer love of the lewd and filthy," that his comedies are "grotesque stories of unimaginable crimes and perverse passions" reminding one of "*Les Diaboliques* of Barbey d'Aurevilly," that "he only provokes our disgust," and that "his elegant (and not pedantic and artificial ?) and erudite (?) style do not save us from the feeling of nausea produced by the morbid tone of his comedies !!" One may very well doubt if the author has really read and understood Dinabandhu's writing, and means seriously what he says: for never was a more ignorant and more infamous libel pronounced on a cherished name in Bengali literature. Another instance of his literary judgment will suffice. Dr. Guha-Thakurta speaks of "the admitted excellence" of Girish Chandra Ghosh's style of writing, which, in his opinion, is, like Cæsar's wife, "above reproach." Whatever else may be admitted of Girish Chandra Ghosh, no one with any sense of literary style will claim that Girish Chandra had any style at all, least of all an excellent literary style.

The reference to "*Les Diaboliques* of Barbey d'Aurevilly" quoted above is a typical instance of another amusing form of pedantry (or shall we say, a form of recent literary snobbery in Bengal of a class of pseudo-culturists ?) which this work displays. The author's eyes, ranging in encyclopaedic sweep over the entire field of human culture and scholarship, ransack the whole of European literature and European stage, especially the ultra modern, the second-rate, and the recondite, for drawing glittering generalities and dazzling parallelisms to throw in the teeth of your wingless plodder. The actress Tarasundari is "Sarah Bernhardt or Eleanora Duse" of the Bengali stage, although our author would demur to the old-fashioned nickname of "the Garrick of Bengal" given by a past generation to Girish Chandra. The "leaping beauty" of Rabindranath's *Phalguni* reminds our author of "a leaping calf"—("not an ordinary calf," we are assured)—which the author "once saw sculptured on a Minoan vase of ancient Crete," as well as of "the dance-tunes of Bach and the leaping Polonaises of Liszt, and the mazurkas and waltzes of Chopin !" This world-embracing craze finds parallelisms of Rousseau, Chateaubriand, Strindberg, Ibsen, Maeterlinck, W. B. Yeats, Karl Capek, and even Wordsworth, Bernard Shaw and Bergson's *elan vital* in modern Bengali drama !! It refuses to be provincial and talks glibly of "world-literature" ! but it reminds one of that patriot who thought so much about his mother-country that he forgot his own mother.

But enough ! It is painful indeed for the present reviewer to be driven, in spite of his inclination to be charitable, to the opinion that the work under review, which is the only systematic work so far written on the subject, displays more empty pedantry than real scholarship, rather an easy and self-complacent belief in second-hand, misleading and careless information than an inclination for patient, honest and painstaking research, a greater desire for indulging in high-sounding opinions and irresponsible statements than a capacity for sober taste and well-disciplined judgment. The work appears to be written more for the edification of the European readers, who may be easily satisfied and from whom it has, in spite of its general unreliability and particular absurdities, already received seals of approval; but even for them it would be at best an inadequate and unsafe guide. In the foreword to the book our author "ventures to think" that future investigators, about whom he is fully expectant, "could safely depend" on his work; but he ventures indeed to think too much. It cannot be denied that the author writes an interesting style and has elegant presentation. But to compare great things with small and to follow our author's own method of citing parallelisms, one may say, with an application only to the particular point, that this book in its treatment of the subject reminds one of the method of Sir William Temple. It has been said of Temple that "he could write about Nothing like a gentleman." Similarly, our author can write, popularly enough, a work of nearly two hundred and fifty pages on such slender and unsifted materials as are easy of access and presume upon his genteel appearance and elegant delivery.

S. K. De

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[*Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.*—Editor, *M. R.*]

ENGLISH

FATE AND FREE-WILL: *By A. S. Wadia, M.A., Second Edition, Revised. 1931. London and Toronto: Messrs. J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., pages XVII+190. 2s. 6d. net.*

From boyhood, Mr. Wadia tells us in the epistle dedicatory, he has been troubled with the problem of fate. Being taken to task by his father for his failure in accomplishing something, the budding philosopher felt the injustice of the accusation and in later years he endeavoured to grapple with the problem of will. These pages, well written, in lucid style and well arranged are a result of his endeavour. We are not convinced by the array of the arguments, but yet we admit that Mr. Wadia has made a good attempt to establish his case. We still cling to the doctrine so ably presented by Ward and re-asserted by Taylor in his latest book, the *Faith of a Moralist*, that "any interpretation of the world which is to make soon for real history, real morality, real religion, must let contingency into the heart of things."

We would readily admit that at times the doctrine of free-will has been presented in a form that is psychologically and philosophically inadmissible. We believe that a deeper analysis of a course of action would reveal that "motiveless choice" does not exist at all. The existence of the "motive" may escape the attention of the doer of the action at the time of doing it, but it is there all the same. Freedom is not, however, to be identified with motiveless action.

Mr. Wadia's book has gone through a second edition, a fact which clearly points to the value of the book. It is written in a fascinating style and Mr. Wadia has succeeded in writing in an attractive manner on a subject of the utmost difficulty.

SAROJINI NAIDU'S SELECT POEMS: *Chosen and Edited by H. G. Dalway Turnbull, M.A. (Oxon.), Lecturer to the Oxford University Extension Delegacy, formerly Professor of English Literature, Deccan College, Poona. Price Rs. 2 Pages 241. Oxford University Press. Bombay, Calcutta, Madras. 1930.*

We welcome this collection of poems and we hope that Indian Universities will soon introduce it in their curricula. Here we have both excellent poetry in the purest English style and Indian themes which will render the book of great value to Indian students. Sir Edmund Gosse has described Mrs. Naidu as "the most brilliant, the most original, and most correct of all Indians who have written English verse." Mrs. Naidu is remarkable for the individuality which she succeeds in imparting to her subject, and for her descriptive powers of imagination and her power of dramatic interpretation.

It is to be hoped that this anthology will lead the discerning reader to study the whole of the literary work of the celebrated Indian poetess.

P. G. Bridge.

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AN ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL RESTRICTIONS UPON MUNICIPAL INDEBTEDNESS IN ILLINOIS: *By Ward L. Bishop, Asst. Professor of Economics, Lehigh University. University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences. Vol. XVI. Part. I.* $ 1·00

From the appended statistics it appears that during the decade 1915—1925, the funded debt of 24 cities in Illinois rose from $ 11 million to $ 27 million, their assessed value from $ 214 million to $ 401 and taxes from $10 million to $27 million. Thus assessed value is not increasing as fast as taxes or as debts. If the position in Illinois is compared with that in the North Central States or the country as a whole, it is seen that debts are mounting up at a proportionately higher rate in Illinois than elsewhere. Thus there is no question of there being a good case for constitutional restrictions upon municipal borrowing. The following four economic considerations are suggested by the author for testing the desirablity of such restrictions:—

(1) The amount of indebtedness, which is a question of the necessity of capital outlays and the capacity of the community to pay;
(2) The purpose of indebtedness;
(3) Source of payment; and
(4) time of payment

By painstaking research and rigorous analysis the author has come to the conclusion that it would seem desirable to substitute a combined legislative and administrative control in which it would be the function of the legislature to pass general laws in future, leaving flexibility to meet the exigencies of any occasion to a competent

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state board or official. "Economic conditions in Indian municipalities are so dissimilar that it is difficult to apply these conclusions here. But with the increasing development of local self-government, it is eminently desirable that detailed studies on the lines of the present volume should be undertaken for Indian municipalities. It is for this reason that the book deserves the serious attention of Indian economists.

HOW WE LIVE: *By Sir John A. R. Marriott, Honorary Fellow, Oxford. Oxford University Press. 1930*

The present book is No. 28 in the World's Manuals Series, "designed not only to give the student, who is undertaking a special study some idea of the landmarks which will guide him, but also to make provision for the great body of general readers. . . ." In the modest compass of 142 pages, the author has given a clear account of how Englishmen live. He defers definations to Chapter IV, making a novel and entertaining approach to the subject by describing first "the daily miracle" of supplying food to densely populated Britain and then passing on naturally to descriptions of the shops and the farm. With the ground cleared in this way, the author discussed, one after another, capital, labour, modern business organization, money, banking, overseas trade and its machinery, winding the book up in a final chapter of reflections. All these themes are well known, but the treatment is fresh and entertaining. There is vigour as well as charm in the style. A few sentences are quoted below as instances:

"This is the difference between politics and business, and it is apt to puzzle democratic politicians. The root principle of Democracy is equality; the root principle of modern business is inequality."

"Down to the end of the fifteenth century, . . . England's position was that of a Cinderella among the more highly developed commercial nations of Europe. . . . These mariners [Vasco da Gama, Columbus and Cabot] were the fairy godmothers of commercial Cinderella. England was decked out in fine robes and glass* slippers."

"The industrial inventions of the eighteenth century, in conjunction with the fortunate abundance of coal and iron, gave us a start in the world-race for industrial supremacy . . . But . . . Nemesis has lain in waiting for us. We were tempted in the forties to put all our eggs in one basket. The result is seen to-day in a nation still prodigiously wealthy, still in the forefront of finance, industry, and commerce, but terribly overcrowded and dangerously dependent upon foreign trade for the bare necessities of existence."

Unfortunately, the author shows throughout a decided bias for capitalism, extolling its virtues and minimizing its vices. Nationalization, co-partnership and profit-sharing have been hastily rejected without a critical examination of their potentialities. His description of the future rôle of India and Dependencies is given below in order to show how a cultured and scholarly Englishman views the Empire:

"The self-governing Dominions, situated largely in temperate climates, offer magnificent fields for the expansion of the British race and for the evolution of great nations of British blood. In our Dependencies we possess estates of immense value which, with primary regard for the well-being of the aboriginal inhabitants, may be worked with immense profit to the world at large, and in particular to their immediate proprietors. The value of that estate has not, perhaps yet, been adequately realized."

Probably these are not blemishes of the book from the point of view of the readers for whom it is primarily intended and who desire to continue to thrive on a system of imperialistic capitalism. But there are a few mis-statements which require correction. Thus on p. 66 it is stated: "The Act [of 1855] established the principle of 'limited liability', *i. e.*, that, if certain conditions are fulfilled, a man may invest capital in a bank or any other company, without incurring the risk of losing more than his own 'share'." While this is true for companies other than banking, the Act of 1855 expressly excluded banking companies from the privileges of 'limited liability'; it was not till 1858 that they were extended to bank shares and even then the liability for notes issued remained unlimited. The fiduciary limit of Bank of England notes is mentioned to be £14,000,000 on p. 105 but on p. 107 it is shown in the balance sheet to be £18,450,000. Surely, the discrepancy should have been explained at least in a foot-note. The statement on p. 86 to the effect that "the discovery of a new and rich gold-field, flooding the markets of the world with gold, must bring about a general full in prices" should have made it clear that by 'prices' 'prices of gold' are meant. There is at least one misprint on page 74 line 22. The printing and the get up leave nothing to be desired.

PRINCIPLES OF MONEY, BANKING AND EXCHANGE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDIA: *By Syed Shaukat Husain Zaidi, M. A., Universal Book and Stationery House, Chandni Chawk, Delhi, 1930. Rs. 2.*

This is an elementary text-book for the use of Intermediate and B A. students, specially of the Delhi University. The author has modestly disclaimed all originality, but even as a compilation the work could be improved upon. It offers tempting opportunities to examination candidates to use it as a cram book. There are evident signs of haste and want of care, which should be avoided in a text-book for beginners. Thus a statement like the following is incomplete and possibly misleading:—

"Bank of England notes were the classic example of a strictly convertible currency; they were recognized everywhere as being as good as gold, and enoyed almost universal acceptability" (p. 4).

A text-book published in 1930 should not write 25.2215 as being the Mint Par between France and England (p. 22) nor mention £19,750,000 as being the fiduciary limit of the Bank of England (p. 44). In view of these, it is difficult to recommend it as a text-book until a through revision is carefully made.

H. SINHA

* In a foot-note, the author explains that, as a fact, the slippers were of much more comfortable texture, but the English translators of the fairytale misread *vair* for *verre*.

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How to Compete With Foreign Cloth: *By M. P. Gandhi, M. A., F. R. Econ. S., F. S. S. Price Rs. 3-3 including postage.*

This is a study of the position of hand-spinning, hand-weaving and cotton mills in the economics of cloth production in India. The author appeals to the people to extend their patronage to Swadeshi cloth in general and to khaddar in particular, with a view to provide a suitable supplementary occupation to a large section of the people who have periods of enforced idleness extending to six months in the year.

In the foreword Sir P. C. Ray commends the book as an opportune publication and as one that has met with the general approval of Mahatma Gandhi. As for ourselves, we do not find in the body of the book any concrete suggestions for the improvement or rationalization of India's cotton industry which alone could justify the title of the book.

This is on the whole a good collection and compilation of much valuable data and the author can be congratulated for having placed before the public in useful form facts that hitherto had been lying scattered about.

The printing and get-up of the book are nice but the advertisements towards the end of the book are somewhat out of place and have detracted considerably from the value of the book as a scientific treatise.

N. Sanyal

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Indian States and British India: Their Future Relations: *By Gurumukh Nihal Singh, M. Sc. (Econ). London. Professor of Economics and Political Science, Benares Hindu University. With a Foreword by Sir T. B. Sapru. Pp. 380. Nand Kishore and Bros., Benares.*

2. Problems of Indian States: *By Dewan Bahadur A. B. Letthe, M. A., LL. B. Pp. 177. Aryabhusan Press, Poona. Price Re. 1-8.*

We must thank the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report for the present interest in the study of the relationship of Indian States to British India. The authors of the Report said in a famous passage in 1918: "Our conception of the eventual future of India is a sisterhood of States, self-governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interest...Over this congeries of States would preside a central Government, increasingly representative of and responsible to the people of all of them...In this picture there is a place also for the Native States. It is possible that they too will wish to be associated for certain purposes with the organization of British India in such a way as to dedicate their peculiar qualities to the common services without loss of individuality." The Indian Princes have not been slow to act on this suggestion. The Reforms of 1919 kindled a desire in the minds of many of them for effective participation in the administration of matters of joint interest with British India, from which they had been so long as completely shut out as the people of British India. During the years that followed they have, from time to time, expressed their willingness to join an all-India Federation. Mr. Singh is among those Indian publicists who consider the establishment of such an all-India Federation conditional on the progress of constitutional government in the Indian States. He also challanges the Princes' claim of direct relationship with the British Crown—a claim which the Princes have put forward only since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

He subjects this claim to a searching historical inquiry and fully exposes its hollowness. It is the Government of India and not the British Crown which has always exercised suzerain rights—which carries with it the right to interfere in internal affairs—over the Indian States. If the Princes object to such intervention on the part of the Government of India in future, the remedy lies in their own hands: let them set their own houses in order and the necessity and the justification for all such intervention will disappear. If the motive behind the claim of the Princes is a desire to perpetuate their own autocratic rule with the help of the British Government, they cannot expect their own subjects or the people of British India to agree to such an arrangement.

Dewan Bahadur A. B. Letthe finds no insuperable obstacle in the way of the immediate association of the Indian States with British India in the management of matters of common concern. A constitution, drawn up on this basis need not, at its inception, possess all the characteristics of a true Federation. If the constitution be made sufficiently elastic, it will, in the course of time, develop along its own lines into a full-fledged Federation or something closely akin to it. The Dewan Bahadur, who is attached to an Indian State and may therefore be expected to be familiar with the workings of princely minds, is also prepared to make allowances for the Princes' preference for 'white' to 'brown' intervention, as otherwise they might fight shy of all schemes of Federation, and this would retard the political progress of the country. But he is not less insistent than Mr. Singh on the necessity of immediate constitutional advance in the Indian States. A self-governing 'British' India and an autocratic 'Indian' India would make strange bed-fellows.

Econ.

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Life Movements in Plants: *By Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose, being Vol. VI of the 'Transactions of the Bose Research Institute,' Calcutta. With 80 illustrations. Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York, Toronto. 1931. Pp. VI+211. Price 18s. net.*

This book forms Vol. VI of the Transactions of the Bose Research Institute, Calcutta. It is the continuation of the five previous volumes, all dealing with "Life Movements in Plants." The present part contains, in addition to an Introductory note by Sir Jagadis, twenty papers either by himself or by members of his staff.

In his introduction the author reminds the reader to bear it in mind that the nomenclature of the active tissues is determined by their function and not by their structure. He gives the name 'muscle' to the specialized contractile tissue, whilst by 'nerve' he understands the tissue for conduction of excitation to a distance. Though this has been the fundamental idea constantly repeated in most of

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his previous works, he must admit, that "there still exists the long prevalent conception that the physiological mechanisms of animals and plant are fundamentally different because they have been evolved along divergent lines. The results of the experimental investigations that have been carried out in my laboratories during the last thirty years serve to prove that the mechanisms as well as the life-processes in the plant and in the animal are essentially similar."

Physiologists may agree with this statement or not. But when a few lines later the author says: "The issue, in a single sentence, is between the physiological and the physical," the question immediately arises, whether the mechanisms as well as the life-processes in the plant on the one side and in the animal on the other cannot be essentially dissimilar, though the activities in both are considered to be physiological. Certainly the argument which he gives for the 'essential similarity' is not in the least convincing: "The ascent of sap and the transmission of impulse have been shown to be dependent for their activity upon external conditions which have long been known to be favourable to the contractility and irritability of animal tissues, and the activity of these processes is accompanied by movements and electrical variations which correspond with those accompanying the activity of muscle and nerve."

It is natural that all the papers published in *Life Movements in Plants* have been prepared with a view to support Sir Jagadis' views and theories. To one who has studied the author's former works carefully not much in the way of original observations and ideas is offered. Were the scholars afraid of disagreeing with their master? Six papers deal with the ascent of sap and rhythmic pulsation in plants, six other papers throw light on the transmission of impulse in plants and animals. It is very satisfactory to see that the work of the Bose Research Institute has, for the first time, been extended to chemical investigations, as is shown in the last four papers of the volume.

All the papers are distinguished by a definite statement of the case, by a clear exposition of the experiment and by a concise summary of the results, containing sometimes premature conclusions. They can certainly be recommended to students who desire to be introduced into the science of experimental physiology.

The general get-up of the book is excellent.

E. Blatter

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The Life of Tolstoy: *By Aylmer Maude, 2 Vols. (The World's Classics Series) Oxford University Press. 2s. each.*

Mr. Maude is a well-known authority on Tolstoy and none of his translations and works need any introduction. His *Life of Tolstoy* was first published in 1908. But for the 'World's Classics' he has revised and re-written it in the light of the new material about Tolstoy which has been published since his death.

The first volume of this work covers the first fifty years of Tolstoy's life with a chapter on his literary productions till 1878 and has a very useful appendix on the English translations of Tolstoy. The second volume takes the story down to his death and contains an elaborate examination of his opinions and beliefs. It is unnecessary to speak here about the absorbing interest of Tolstoy's life or to the qualifications of Mr. Maude to depict it. Both have been referred to by Mr. Bernard Shaw (quoted on the jacket) who says: 'Tolstoy is not *a prendre on a laisser*. You have to take him whether you like him or not, and take him as he is. Maude's book, which will stand, I think, among the big biographies of our literature, *must* be read, no matter what you may try to think of its hero." This is not the first time that the Oxford University Press has earned the gratitude of readers by bringing a standard or loved work within the reach of a modest purse. But the inclusion of Mr. Maude's *Life of Tolstoy* in the 'World's Classics' makes a repetition of that tribute a pleasant and not a mere formal duty.

The Eustace Diamonds: *By Anthony Trollope. (The World's Classics Series,) Oxford University Press. 2s.*

Another welcome reprint in this series is Trollope's *Eustace Diamonds*. Though Trollope does not belong to the first rank of English novelists, he is so vigorous and witty, and so typically English that he deserves to be read by everybody interested in English life and manners. *The Eustace Diamonds* is one of his best told stories with a character in it which might be placed by the side of Becky Sharp.

N. C. Chaudhuri

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Richard Rolle, a Christian Sannyasi: *By Father Verrier Elwin. The Christian Literature Society for India. Price 12 annas. With a Foreword by Dr. N. Macnicol.*

In his foreword Dr. Macnicol truly says "Mystical experience has blossomed into many forms of beauty from the pale wind flowers of Plotinus or Sri Sankaracharya to the glowing passion flowers of so many of the Christian and the *bhakti* saints," though we join issue with him at least as to the characterization of Plotinus as a mystic—Plotinus who with his fellow mystics 'felt burning within themselves the flame of love for what is there to know- the passion of the love resting on the bosom of his love."

It is very cheering to find a Christian author recognize *truths* in other systems of religion, which was not formerly their wont. Father Elwin has not failed to gather parallels of heroic character and conduct from amongst the Hindu *sadhus* and Musalman saints and he has also admiringly quoted from the Bhagavatgita, Bhaktamala, Bhagavata and other Vaishnava scriptures, and referred to Vaishnava *rasatattva*.

Richard Rolle was a fourteenth century English mystic. As a mystic and, for the matter of that, a saint, does not generally conform to all the orthodox rules of the current religion. Rolle being no exception to the rule, had his full share of persecution. "The regular clergy looked with suspicion on him for years. He was a free-lance: he was a layman: he was original. What were

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his authorities? Who taught him this or that? How did he know? What right had he to know?" Certainly a man has no right to know more than what is consistent with the interest of the Church or what is allowed by the Church authorities!

The author characterizes Rolle in the following way: "Rolle himself is a typical *Bhakta*: his impassioned devotion to the Adorable whom he saw full pictured in Jesus Christ: his stress on emotion, feeling, sentiment transformed into the higher love, his sense of song; his regard for the Divine Name; his absorption in spiritual realities; his wondering *sannyasi* life; his glowing burning heart—all mark him as a *Bhakta* after the mind of Jesus, Whose love he reflects and does something to express." This is an excellent picture of a mystic as far as it goes under the limitation of the author's sectarianism as an orthodox Christian. In another place father Elwin has referred to the "devotion to the person of Jesus" as the characteristic of Christian mysticism of the time. He should not forget that "personality" in the ordinary connotation of the term does not come in very much in the way of a mystic's thinking, however much the orthodox writer may make of it. His insistence on the person Jesus or Christ or "the mind of Jesus" on the contrary, takes the wind out of the mystic's sail. And it contradicts his own characterization of the mystices in general. Has he truly not said, "they belong to no age and to no country. The mystics are the fellow-citizens of all mankind, the contemporaries of every generation. It is through them that the Church can stretch out hands of sympathetic appeal to her non-Christian friends. They would have been perfectly at home in India." But this is not possible if the term "Jesus Christ" is understood as crudely as the orthox Christian would have us take, and no mystic is worth his salt if he does not rise above it. Evelyn Underhill, herself a mystic of no mean order and a historian of mysticism into the bargain, in describing "the mystic's conception of his deity," says: "At least this conception will be symbolic; his experience, if genuine, will far transcend the symbols he employs. Credal forms, therefore, can only be for the mystic a scaffold by which he ascends. We are even bound, I think, to confess that the overt recognition of that which *orthodox Christians generally mean by a personal God* is not essential. On the contrary, where it takes a crudely anthropomorphic form, the idea of personality may be a disadvantage; opening the way for the intrusion of disguised emotions and desires. In the highest experiences of the greatest mystics the personal category appears to be transcended."

However, under certain limitations due to the author's sectarian views and proclivities, the book is a good representation of a mystic life. It is a great pleasure to us to recommend it to those who are interested in the mystic way of thinking. They will derive much pleasure and profit from the perusal of the work.

DHIRENDRANATH VEDANTAVAGIS

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CREATURES ALL: *By Shanker Ram. Madras.*

There are six stories. The moral is universal kindness. A good book to while away an hour or two with.

SUBHADRA: *By V. D. Rishi. Bombay.*

Those who believe in spiritualism will find this book interesting. It contains messages the author obtained from his beloved and departed wife, and seeks to establish the truth of spirit communication.

A NAOJOTE FEAST: *By Ruby Light. Karachi.*

Naojote ceremony is a Zoroastrian ritual through which the Parsi child passes after the 7th year. This book enlightens us on an important phase of religion. There are some interesting poems.

ONE HUNDRED POEMS OF TAYUMANAVAR: *By N. R. Subramania Pillai Coimbatore.*

These are prose translation. Tayumanavar was a Tamil poet and philosopher. Some of the poems are excellent: "Can bad deeds done in the past affect anyone who marches forward with awful thirst for the flood of thy mercy?"

CRITIC

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MY STORY: *By Mrs. Parvati Athavale. Translated by Rev. Justin E. Abbott (G. E. Putnam & Sons).*

This autobiography of a Hindu widow is an extremely interesting work, especially for those who are trying to improve the status of the mothers of India. Parvatibai became a widow very early and would have been doomed to the usual miseries of Hindu widowhood but for her coming to the Widow's Home founded by Professor Karve, in a suburb of Poona. Here she had the first rudiments of education and then made up her mind to devote herself to the cause of the Home. Although practically ignorant of English she took the bold step of proceeding to America to collect funds for the Institution and the account of her experiences there may be described as almost romantic. The Widow's Home has now developed into a University, a great centre of women's learning and Prof. Karve's name is widely known not only in this country but abroad as well. In this book we follow the gradual growth of the Institution step by step and the story of Parvatibai's life tells us what it has achieved for one Indian widow and what it is achieving for many others today.

DANTE'S DIVINE COMEDY: APPRECIATION *by S. S. Nehru, M. A., Ph. D. (Allahabad Law Journal Press).*

Dr. Nehru has done a great service to all students of literature by bringing out this rendering of a portion of Dante's great work. Very few Indians have the opportunity to read Dante in the original and most of us are content to admire him through some faithful translation or other. The difficulties of the translator of Dante are great, as was indicated by Rossetti seventy years back, and to one ignorant of Italian many literary beauties of the Divine Comedy must remain hidden. A good translator may, however, familiarize us not only with the subject-matter of the original but with something of the charm of its form and manner. This Dr. Nehru's translation has certainly

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...ce and one cannot have anything but praise for ...s attempt to render Dante in *terza rima*, a ...ficult metre to handle in English. The phraseology ...p is very skilfully managed, for the translator ...s steered clear of the extremes of prosaic ...eralness and artificial archaisms. One hopes that ...s translation will have the circulation it deserves ...d be studied by every student of European ...erature.

N. K. SIDDHANTA

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THE UPANISHADS: *Translated into English with Preamble and Arguments, by G. R. S. Mead, B. A., M. R. A. S. and Jagadish Chandra Chattopadhyaya (Roy Choudhuri). Theosophical Publishing House. Adyar, Madras. Pp. 176.*

This is a neatly got-up second edition of a good English translation of nine of the principal Upanishads, namely, the *Isa, Kena, Katha, Prashna, Mundaka, Mandukya, Taittirya, Aitareya* and *Shvetashvatara*. The Preamble and the Arguments will be helpful to the reader. The version is indeed faithful and idiomatic as the translators claim. But as to the peculiarities of the style adopted in order "to retain, as far as possible, the spirit and swing of the original," tastes may differ. The price is not mentioned, but it is said to be purely nominal.

S. TATTVABHUSHAN

—

BENGALI

"BHARATE PARDESHI BANKER BONIAD" OR FOUNDATIONS OF FOREIGN BANKING IN INDIA. *By Sj. Jitendra Nath Sen-Gupta, M. A., B. L. Published by Bangiya Dhana Bijnan Parishat.*

In this little monograph in the Bengali language the author very lucidly explains the intricate operations and problems of various description in the field of modern banking in India, particularly of the exchange banks controlled by foreigners in India.

Of the new school of economic thinkers in Bengal that has devoted itself with great credit to translate western economic principles in terms of oriental experiences and to make a realistic study of everyday economic problems under the guidance of and with inspiration from Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Sj. Jitendra Nath Sen-Gupta ranks as one of the foremost. In this monograph Sj. Sen-Gupta has amply justified his claim to be regarded as one of the most useful and practical students of realistic economics in India.

The book is divided into three parts, the first dealing with definitions and explanations of various banking operations, the second delineates the problems of exchange banking in India, and the third part is devoted to find out the solution of the problems with which we are confronted.

In each of these sections the manner in which the author has made our poetic Bengali language to serve the purposes of the unromantic problems of economic science is quite remarkable. The author has not fought shy of even the intricate terminology of exchange banking, and although at places his explanations have become too much imbued with the mannerisms yet the author has been more than successful in his laudable venture to bring home to the average reader the problems of foreign exchange banking in a language easily understood by all.

This is the second contribution of the author towards the building up of economic literature in vernacular. We heartily congratulate Sj. Sen-Gupta for the brilliance of both the contributions, and we feel that even apart from the value of the book as perhaps the only treatise on the subject in the Bengali language, it provides a useful addition to the scanty literature on this important subject.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

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MARATHI

प्रेमचंदाच्या गोष्टी—(STORIES BY PREMCHAND. PART I.) ADAPTED INTO MARATHI: *By Mr. A. L. Joshi of Nagpur. Price Re. 1.*

Mr. Premchand is a well-known Hindi novelist. Mr. Joshi has selected some fourteen stories of this writer and has rendered them into Marathi. His choice of the stories does not seem to be happy. Particularly stories Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 7 are neither interesting nor instructive. Mr. Joshi has unconsciously adopted the Hindi style in his rendering which would not be pleasing to the readers of Marathi. The book is worth reading.

V. S. WAKASKAR

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HINDI

BYAWAR KI BHISHAN MRITYU-SAMKHA: *By Ayurved-Panchanan Vyas Tansukh Vaidya, Beawar, Rajputana, 1929. Pp. XIV+175+appendix pp. 38.*

The town of Byawar is the chief centre of trade in Rajputana and the appalling decrease of its population is the subject-matter of the book under notice. The author has intimate knowledge of the problems connected with excessive death ratio which is 194.61 for Byawar, and quotes many important documents. The appendix gives the various statements issued by the municipal authorities during the year 1901 to 1927. Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, M.L.A. has dwelt on the topic in his introduction which adds to the value of the book. The importance of such studies on local problems cannot be over-estimated.

MANORANJAK KAHANIYAN: *By Shivanath Singha Sandilya. Published by the Jnan-Prakas-Mandir, Meerut. 1929. Pp. 70.*

More than half a dozen fine and funny folk-tales have been collected and beautifully written in this litttle book.

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MOKSHA-PRADIP : *Translated by Swami Niskalananda. Dehra Dun, U. P. 1929. Pp. XXXIII+388.*

This is a Hindi translation of a Malayalam work written by Swami Brahmananda 'Shiv-Yogi.' The book deals with the theory and practice of the 'Yoga' system.

TRIVENI : *By Mr. Padmakant Malaviya. Published by the Abhyudaya Press, Allahabad, 1929. Pp. XXIII+84.*

A book of lyrical poems and songs written in the *Khadi-boli* which indicate ample promise for the poet in the future. There is real poetry in many of the pieces. There is an appreciation by Mr. Ramsankar Sukla, 'Rasal,' M.A. The get-up is excellent, but the illustrations, mostly in colour, are either imitations of cheap calendar pictures, or utter failure as art.

RAMES BASU

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URDU

MUNTAKHABAT-I-HINDI-KALAM : *Compiled and edited by Dr. Ja'far Hasan of the Usmaniya University, Hyderabad. Printed at Hyderabad and published by the Hyderabad Book Depot. 1930 pp. 225. Re. 1-12 per copy, paper bound.*

The title of the work "Selections from Hindi Poetry" is very misleading. In fairness to the reader, the work should have been called "100 Hindi Dohiras duly annotated." We are sure the author does not claim a representative character for these Dohiras, for between them they as little or as much represent Hindi poetry—which has during the last one hundred years left the Dohira form and substance many, many ages and stages behind—as a hundred single lines from his sonnet-sequence would represent Shakespeare. With regard to the annotation of the Dohiras themselves, the author's notes are of little help to the reader. The author himself has provided sheer dilettantism. The notes are far too digressive and discursive. The transliteration of Hindi words into Urdu is alse defective in places. Incidentally, the choice of Dohiras to present the beauties of ancient and mediaeval Hindi peotry reveals once again how completely addicted to scrappiness and nebulousness of thought and emotion does the constant reader of Urdu poetry become. Continued thought, the architectonics of poetry and longer and deeper harmonies make no appeal to the *ghazal* lover. But there is another side to the work before us. As a successful attempt on the part of a Muhammadan university professor to appreciate, and make available to the general public his appraisal of Hindi poetry, it deserves our full share of gratitude. We sincerely hope the author will follow this up with similar selections from other varieties of Hindi poetry, both ancient and modern.

MOHAN SINGH

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GUJARATI

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU : *By Chhotubhai Naranji Joshi, B. A., printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover, Pp. 80 : Price 5 as. (1931) : With Illustrations.*

A cheap and well-written short life of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru would be welcome in every Indian language today, in so far as next to Mahatma Gandhi, he has become a world figure. The book under notice furnishes such a life, and contains well-arranged extracts from his speeches and utterances.

PUSHPANJALI TO THE LATE POET BOTADKAR: *By Ambelal Naranji Joshi, B. A. Paper Cover. Pages 17 : (1930).*

The late Mr. Botadkar was a poet of no mean order, although his merits were not recognized at first. Later in life, *i. e.*, on the eve of his death, he came across many admirers, some of them being well-known authors and poets themselves. This "Pushpanjali" is an *In Memoriam* poem, recording the feelings of a youth, who early in life was impressed greatly with the poetical faculties of the deceased.

MADAN MANDIR: *By Yashwant Pandya. Printed at the Aryasudharak Press, Baroda. Paper Cover: Pages 125. Price 10 as. (1931)*

This book is a new departure and a bold one in our literature. By means of four one act shorts plays, the author has attempted to show that gods were as weak and vulnerable when Cupid attacked them as human beings: nay, they went a step further and committed incest in some cases. He illustrates his thesis by means of four incidents in our mythology: (1) those between Krishna and Kubja, (2) Shankar and Mohini, (3) Vishnu and Vrinda, (4) Brahma and Saraswati (his daughter). Indian mythology does not stand by itself in respect of such incestuous connections. Greek mythology was not above them. In the case of these Indian pairs, efforts have been made to minimize or explain away the heinousness of their conduct by putting forward various excuses of necessity, for instance, that it was necessary for Vishnu to mislead Vrinda, otherwise her husband Jalandhar would have gone on tyrannizing over the world, because of her unassailable virtue; but the author is not satisfied with such glosses: the conclusion he has come to is "that these revered individuals, in the end, fall a prey to the toils of Cupid and become toys in his (Madan's) hand." This opinion he has worked out with singular felicity of language and expression in the one hundred and twenty-five pages that go to make up this book. It presents our gods—if not gods, these supermen at least—in a new light, when face to face with temptations. Humorous passages also are not wanting in it.

K. M. J.

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BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

SACRED MOMENTS. By Ram B. Motwani

NATIONAL ANTHEMS : Compiled By R. K. Prabhu.

IN THE DESERTED VILLAGES OF GUJARAT: By Rev. Fr. Verrier Elwin.

THE CRISIS AND THE TRUCE

EUROPE'S DEBT TO ISLAM. By Syed M. H. Zaidi.

CHRIST AND SATYAGRAHA: By Verrier Elwin

RENAISSANCE OF HINDUISM AND THE FEDERATED STATES OF HINDUSTAN : By Akshaya Kumari Devi.

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The Folk High-Schools in Denmark

By PETER MANNICHE

Principal, The International Folk High-School, Elsinore.

DENMARK is a country of peculiar interest to educationists, for it is a living example of what education can do for a nation.

The country is essentially agricultural, since less than half the population lives in towns and about ninety per cent of its exports consist of agricultural products. The co-operative movement, which has largely increased the production of wealth, is a farmers' movement. Although riches are still far from being equally distributed in Denmark, there are very few millionaires and hardly any poverty. A little more than a hundred years ago the Danish peasantry were a poor, ignorant and submerged class. Now they are a well-to-do, educated section of the people, having much influence in national politics and doing work which is generally acknowledged for its excellence. This result is due to a certain extent to the Folk High-School movement, which was originated by Denmark's most prominent figure in the nineteenth century, the pastor, poet and educator, N. F. S. Grundtvig, whom the Germans have called "the Prophet of the North."

Every Dane is influenced by Grundtvig—that remarkable dreamer and visionary who was so deeply rooted in reality. Indeed, it will be a long time yet before his dreams can be fully realized. He wished to gather in his Folk High-School the whole of the younger generation,—not only those who could afford to become officials, doctors or clergymen, but tradesmen and artisans, farmers and sailors, in fact all ordinary people. His school was not to be a professional school, nor a school working for a definite political party or religious community. Its aim was to produce citizens who would live "a simple, happy and active life on earth .... with eyes turned towards heaven, yet open to all that was great and beautiful on earth."

His aim was to produce a richer and deeper human life, and his ideas of society he expressed in his song:

For more of those metals so white and so red
Find others by digging and selling.
We Danes, though, can point to everybody's bread
In even the lowliest dwelling—
Can boast that in riches our progress is such,
That few have too little, still fewer to much.

In his work he made no attempt to develop the elementary school, for the child's mind should be allowed to rest and grow of its own accord. Nor must the child in its time of transition be shut up with books, pen and ink, and be cut off, as often happens, from nature and from bodily activities. The best school in these years is to be found on the farm of some sensible and thrifty farmer or in the workshop of a good artisan. Youth, on the contrary, is the proper time for enlightenment. Personal views of life, religious sentiment, the love of poetry, fatherland, society are then awakened; sexual problems also become acute. The soul of the grown up youth is therefore far more filled with questions than in the transitional years; and it is the task of the folk high-schools to answer such questions, and first of all, the question about life itself, its meaning and purpose. The students should therefore learn how the human race has lived, what have been its achievements and errors, its struggles and victories, and its general progress. To Grundtvig, history did not appear as a meaningless mass of details, but like a great unbroken process, the real career of mankind. The young should partake of this progress in such a way that they can find their proper place in it and are encouraged to action. They should be active in helping to create a kingdom of God here on earth,—a democratic commonwealth of freedom and brotherhood, where "few have too little and fewer too much."

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Grundtvig's ideas were taken up by an increasing number of enthusiastic disciples, many of whom came from the university and the training colleges. But it was a man of the people, a shoemaker's son, Christen Kold, who gave the Folk High-School its practical shape. When Kold founded his school the Danish people were primarily a peasant folk. There were a few big landlords in the country. An intellectual or commercial bourgeoisie lived in the towns. But there was hardly any industry.

Kold understood how to adapt his school to the needs of the country folk. The first established folk high-school at Rodding, in Southern Jutland, bore in many respects the mark of the upper classes. It had a large and imposing dining-hall, where the students had servants to wait at table, but Kold managed to infuse simplicity and frugality into the life of the schools. Both teachers and students took their meals together, even shared dormitories and all led the healthy rustic life to which farmers were accustomed.

Christen Kold was an inspired farmer, and his school and all those like it were farmers' schools. A little more than one-fourth of the total rural population have attended these schools There are now 60 schools with about 7,000 students each year, of whom nearly one-half are women who attend for three months, May, June and July. The men come from November to March inclusive, *i. e.*, at a time when they can best be spared from their work on the farms. Hitherto only 6 per cent of the students have been town-dwellers. About half are sons and daughters of farmers with middle-sized holdings, and over 20 per cent are small holders (with less than 15 hectar); only one-fourth of the women students and still less of the men students are born outside the farming class. Eighty per cent are between 18 and 25 years of age. Only about 10 per cent of the total number have attended continuation classes after leaving the elementary school.

Since 1928 the students pay 75 kroner (about 20 $) a month for board, lodging and tuition, and about 8 or 10 Kroner more for light, heating and extras. At the Askov folk high-school, the largest and best known of them all, the Esbjerg Workers' College and the International People's College the fees are about 10 per cent higher.

The Danish Government supports the schools, but has no control over them. Members of the Danish Parliament, themselves farmers, educated at the schools rightly objected that "there was no use in feeding hens at the same time putting a string round their necks." There is, indeed, an inspector of the schools appointed by the State, but he does not interfere with the curriculum. His duties are chiefly to verify for the Board of Education the information furnished as to the number of teachers, students, weekly classes and lectures given annually by the principal, and to ascertain that the teaching is in accordance with that promised in the curriculum issued by the school.

In 1902 an Act (amended in 1908) was passed, according to which a folk high-school can be recognized and receive public support when it has existed for two years and has had at least ten students each year within twelve months, or fifteen students within eight months or forty within three. Each recognized school is granted 500 kroner annually, and an amount corresponding to roughly one-third of the teachers' salary and of the interest paid on the mortgages. In addition about 35 to 40 per cent of all students receive a monthly allowance amounting to about half the fees.

The folk high-schools founded by Christen Kold and his immediate successors, which laid stress on the teaching of history, literature and other general subjects, and their offspring, the agricultural colleges, with a similar spirit although chiefly concerned with somewhat technical subjects, are largely responsible for the intellectual and economic emancipation of the Danish farming class.

They have been called "hot-beds of co-operation." Although neither gave any teaching in co-operation, it is true they trained the great majority of the leaders of the co-operative movement, who realized that co-operation was the only way in which the Danish farmer could unite the advantages of a small-scale farming with those of a large scale trading. To-day about 90 per cent of all pigs and butter exported by Denmark are handled by co-operative agencies.

Here we may emphasize the fact that the folk high-schools have created among the younger people the desire to use all power

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and gifts and has brought about a wider outlook—a capacity to look beyond one's immediate surroundings, an understanding of what the individual owes to the community, the feeling of confidence in others, and the will to unite in common enterprises which may serve not only the individual but the entire population.

Since the folk high-schools have been attended not by a few picked students, but by ordinary farmers, the great mass of agriculturists in Denmark has been able to follow the pioneers of the movement at a quicker pace than was the case half a century ago.

Of late two new elements have been introduced into the Danish folk high-school, namely, the town workers and the foreign students. About the foreign students who attend the International Peoples' College, mention has already been made.

FINANCIAL NOTES

Economic Policy of the Congress

For the first time the Indian National Congress has come forward with something like an economic programme, not merely as a body out to fight foreign exploiters of the country but pre-eminently as the organization of the people that means to bring about economic freedom for the starving millions.

Whatever may be the socio-economic views held by each of us we must admit that the time-worn ills from which the people of India are suffering cannot be removed all at once by a mere change in the personnel which is handling political power today, or in other words, by a simple substitution of a brown bureaucracy in the place of the white. We must further agree with what the Congress has declared, namely, that "political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions."

In the light of these fundamentals the Congress resolutions at Karachi have got to be interpreted. It will be seen that Mahatma Gandhi makes no secret in expressing his determination to make service of the poor the watch-word of any Swaraj Government of India. What actual steps will have to be taken to make adequate provision for such a Swaraj the Congress is not very clear about. But following the lines suggested in the Irish constitution, the Nehru Report, and Mahatamaji's own Eleven Points the Congress has sought to define the character of the Swaraj as conceived by it.

While clearly stating that political freedom or Swaraj as visualized by the Congress must include real economic freedom of the people, the delegates assembled at Karachi resolved, under the lead of Mahatma Gandhi, that such freedom could be attained primarily by the following :

(*a*) Assuring the fundamental rights of the people including freedom of association, combination, speech, press, etc.

(*b*) Adult suffrage.

(*c*) Free primary education, and

(*d*) A living wage and healthy conditions of work for labourers.

With a view to state the position of the Congress in a manner easily understood by all Mahatma Gandhi included in the resolution a number of items which were more or less matters of detail. We hope that our countrymen will exercise their judgment and pick out the grain from the chaff and will not allow themselves to be led away from the crux of the problem by persons making much of the chaff itself.

It is evident from the resolution, which we hope our readers are already acquainted with, that Mahatma Gandhi was actuated by the same spirit of toleration, of compromise and of justice which marks all his socio-political programmes. Like all results of compromise, the Karachi resolution defining Swaraj under the Congress will perhaps

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satisfy none of the extreme parties—conservative or radical. But undoubtedly under the present circumtances this was the best possible understanding that the Congress could arrive at. The resolution is at best meant to be educative at the moment, and we are glad to find that it leaves ample scope for various groups within the Congress to carry on propaganda for their own ideology.

To the conservative group in the country we have to point out that sooner or later the Congress is bound to admit the justice of the claims of the socialist school. The problem that the former should, therefore, keep in view is how best to adapt themselves to the new circumstances and the new forces that are gaining strength and not one of offering fruitless and unwise resistance to the almost irresistible powers of the spirit of the times.

We heartily congratulate the delegates assembled at Karachi for having recorded their readiness to approve of a new economic order. But we are afraid the resolution which was finally passed indicating the economic policy of the Congress was rather hastily framed and left room for much misunderstanding. The ideology behind the resolution—socialism, capitalism, co-operation, or whatever it may be—is difficult to discover. Moreover, if we proceed to examine the clauses one by one, we find many shortcomings and inconsistencies.

In the very first clause providing for some fundamental rights of the people socialists can reasonably find fault for not having included the right to live and the right to strike, while a more or less anti-national and definitely anti-socialistic provision has been made by the offer of permanent protection of the culture, language, and scripts of the minorities. The minority problem in India, as elsewhere, must be approached both from the idealistic standpoint as well as the practical. We recognize that practical difficulties at the moment may necessitate some sort of assurance of protection to minority communities. But we are definitely of opinion that in the best interest of the nation attempts should be made to bring the differences of the people gradually to a minimum, and consequently we should never support any proposal that tends to perpetuate, if not accentuate, the problem of the minorities.

Clause five of the resolution deals with certain provisions for workers, for example, living wage, limited hours, healthy conditions of work, protection against old age, sickness, and unemployment. But curiously enough nearly ninety per cent of our working-class population is left out of the operation of this clause, because it refers only to industrial workers.

Clause six seeking to free labour from conditions of serfdom offers an anti-climax to the whole resolution. While labour is out to break all shackles and to capture power in its own hands, the nineteenth century benevolent liberalism as expressed through this clause appears quite pale and entirely out of date. The resolution would have been considerably improved if this had been left out.

Clause nine provides the right of labour to form unions and at the same time suggests the machinery of arbitration for settlement of disputes. In view of the fact that freedom of association and combination is embodied in the fundamental rights of the people, defined in clause one, this clause appears to us to be quite unnecessary, and the suggestion of arbitration as the most suitable method for settling industrial disputes should be left out, for compulsory arbitration and a permanent board of arbitration are not necessarily conducive to peace in every day working and is bound to fail when vital issues are involved.

Clause ten is the most misleading part of the whole resolution. It assures "substantial reduction in agricultural rent or revenues paid by the peasantry and in case of uneconomic holdings exemption from rent for such period as may be necessary, relief being given to small zemindars wherever necessary by reason of such reduction."

The Congress either stands for the masses of agricultural workers or for a handful of the landed aristocracy. If the economic interests of these two clash as they are bound to do, the Congress can surely not lend its support to both. If "real economic freedom of the starving millions" is truly what the Congress stands for, it must be unrelenting in its attitude towards those enjoying vested interests and unearned increment. We cannot understand how the position of the Congress can be tenable if it continues to declare one policy to capture the imagination of the masses and particularly of the youth while it betrays another kind of outlook in its programme. To be true to the preamble of the resolution it

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would have been better for the Congress to have declared itself in favour of an ultimate abolition of the Princes, landlordism and of private ownership of at least the key industries.

In clause eleven a progressive income tax is suggested on agricultural incomes above a fixed minimum. We cannot understand the logic of exempting commercial, industrial, professional, and other incomes from such an imposition.

Clause fourteen has given rise to the greatest discussion in public. It says that "no servant of the State other than specially employed experts and the like to be paid at a certain fixed figure which should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 500 per month." On the face of it this clause reads more as a propaganda to capture the imagination of the unthinking millions. For it is ridiculous to suppose that, even assuming that a large number of our future civil servants may be actuated by a spirit of service to the country and an almost missionary zeal to rebuild the nation, sufficiently efficient and honest men will be coming forward in adequate members for the service of the State so long as men in other avenues of life will continue to earn their thousands and there is no change in the economic outlook of society. A resolution like this can only be carried into effect if the entire socio-economic structure is remodelled and no premium is placed on individual absolutism. Criticism is due to the clause also from another point of view, namely, that while an attempt has been made in it to limit the maximum earning by a servant of the State there is no provision made for assuring them a minimum.

Clause seventeen which provides that no duty will be levied on salt manufactured in India appears to us, students of economics, to be a matter for the future Swaraj government to carefully enquire into and decide with due regard to the financial position and the entire fiscal policy of the State. In the interest of the country it is better not to commit ourselves to anything like this at the moment.

The same thing might be said of the eighteenth clause that seeks to provide "control over exchange and currency policy so as to help Indian industries and bring relief to the masses." It is doubtful if governmental control or manipulation of exchange and currency policy can ever be ultimately to the best interests of the country. But even assuming that a highly capable and benevolent government can so manage the affairs it is almost impossible to manipulate the currency and exchange policy of the country so as simultaneously to help the producers and the consumers, the Indian industries as well as the masses of the population.

Clause nineteen declares that the Congress desires "control by the State of key industries and ownership of mineral resources." Here again the same partiality is to be observed as has been noted above. If there should be State ownership or nationalization of mineral resources of the country there is no reason why many of the big industries particularly the key ones, as also our agricultural land should not be nationalized. Piecemeal appropriation of productive resources is bound to lead to greater injustice and to serious maladjustments than a thorough overhaul of the entire economic structure. If the Congress really means business let it come forward with a programme of complete economic revolution, instead of a policy of tinkering with small changes to placate sections of vocal fighters for economic freedom.

We understand that a Committee has been appointed to revise the resolution referred to above. We hope that the drawbacks pointed out by us will be properly enquired into and adequately remedied.

Trade Figures for 1930

The official Trade Returns for the year 1930, published a few weeks ago, show that during the year the total sea-borne trade in merchandise amounted to Rs. 442 crores as against Rs. 578 crores in 1929. The value of imports of private merchandise amounted to Rs. 185 crores or a reduction of Rs. 64 crores over the corresponding figure of 1929. The value of the total trade inclusive of merchandise and treasure, comprising imports, exports, and re-exports, declined by Rs. 137 crores from Rs. 609 crores in 1929 to Rs. 472 crores in 1930.

The decline in the trade of Bengal has been the heaviest, being nearly Rs. 25.75 crores in imports and about Rs. 43 crores in exports. The falling off of imports was largely due to the boycott of cotton piece-goods and a reduction in the declared values of all commodities. In the export trade of Bengal the loss was chiefly due to a falling

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off in demands for lac, tea, raw jute, etc. and to the prevalence of unusually low prices in general.

The effects of the boycott are reflected in the decline of imports of piece-goods in 1930 by 656 million yards in quantity, and Rs. 21.5 crores in value compared with the preceding year.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

The Masses of China

BY CONGDON FONG

WHO is the peasant in China? Is he like the European serf of centuries ago or the Russian peasant of the last century? And, how many peasants are there in China now? He is, first of all, the landless farmer, the man who tills the land, but who does not own it. Because he has to feed and clothe himself and his wife and children, he is most certainly forced to till the land. Because he does not have capital and owns no land of his own, he is forced to rent a few *mou** of earth from the landlord. And because he must rent from the landlords, he is obliged by law and custom to give up to the landlord a large portion of the harvest of his hard labour. He is, moreover, the manual labourer, the man who fights nature with his bare muscles. He has no money for modern tools which man uses to conquer nature and natural forces. And in countless ways, instead of being the master of the land, he is the slave of it, the man who feeds and clothes others but does not have enough to eat and wear himself. With a few *mou* of land, sometimes rented, sometimes owned, with a few primitive tools, he fights hopelessly against the ruthless law of diminishing productivity which is universal in subjected China. And what is the result of his hard labour? The barest living in good years; starvation, sickness, and death in bad ones. It is estimated that the peasants of China total around 80 per cent of the population of the country (500 million). Of this 80 per cent, only 10 per cent are living above the so-called "poverty line."

As to factory labourers, as a rule, they work from twelve to sixteen hours a day and some times more. In Shanghai, for instance, in the silk industry in summer time, when the new cocoons are ready for reeling, the hours reach to twenty! In the silk industry, children and women are the vast majority of the workers. In the mining industry, a double shift of twelve hours each exists. Often it may happen that the miner works down in the bowels of earth twenty-four and sometimes even forty-eight hours and more at a stretch. Only in a few enterprises a break of half an hour for meals is allowed, and in many industries even that break does not exist. So that without a second's cessation the worker is obliged to eat while the machine is running at full speed. Such a long working day, in addition to semi-starvation, exhausts the man to such an extent that often he is unable to go home, if he has a home, but falls asleep somewhere on the pavement near the factory. Vast numbers of the workers sleep in the street, in the dust, under the open sky. It is not only because of exhaustion that they are unable to walk four or five miles to the workers' barracks, but also because they have no money to pay for shelter. Their wages do not enable them to rent cover in a dirty, stinking, over-crowded den which would nevertheless be a shelter. Many, especially workers with families, who try to improve these horrible conditions, build bamboo huts for themselves on the outskirts of the cities; there they sleep on the bare earth, but still they are under cover at least until the police set fire to whole streets of such bamboo huts for "sanitary reasons." This they do, but offer nothing in return.

The women factory workers, whose percentage of all workers in Shanghai is 56.5

* One *mou* equals about $\frac{1}{6}$ of an acre.

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per cent have no place to leave their tiny ...s and are compelled to hang them in primitive cradles of rags under the machines. There they lie until late at night when the mother finishes the work. Dust, dirt, noise, fumes, and hunger—these are the conditions which the Chinese workers' children are growing up. The capitalists resort to extensive exploitation of child labour. Thus in Shanghai children under the age of twelve constitute 9.2 per cent of all the workers, although their delicate baby fingers, skilful and nimble, can do work that men and women do more slowly and more laboriously, yet their wages are but a third or a half of their elders. The wages of the workers are extremely low and do not cover the physically necessary minimum of life. It is calculated that if, in a family of four (man, wife and two children) both man and wife find work—which happens very seldom—they can earn on the average only from $17* to $18 a month. In order to subsist at least in a semi-starved condition, such a family has to have 30 kilogrammes of rice, at a cost of $8; vegetables $4; heating and lighting $1½; condiments $1½; pay rent and taxes $2; clothes $2; and miscellaneous expenses $2. The total is $21. Consequently, such a family suffers a shortage of from $3 to $4 a month under the barest subsistence minimum. And if only one member of the family can find work and earns not $11 but only $6 to $8 a month, then naturally the position is much worse. But such is the state of the majority. These are the conditions under which the Chinese labourers live and labour.

It is but natural for the peasants and workers to try to organize themselves into unions for collective bargaining with the landlords and employers. Early in 1919 unions were formed in different parts of China, but owing to the suppression of the Government not much progress had been made till 1924. It was in this year, 1924, in Canton during the reorganization of the Kuomintang, that Dr. Sun Yat-sen realized the irresistable force underlying the rank and files of the masses. In order to carry out a real revolution in China, Dr. Sun foresaw clearly that the co-operation of the masses must be obtained. Advisers from Russia were invited to China and labour and peasant unions were encouraged and firmly organized. In this connection, Dr. Sun said: "This revolutionary government of ours is one which aims to make the people of the country its master. Now, the peasantry forms the great majority of the population of China. If the Chinese peasants and workers do not participate in the Revolution, then we have no basis for it. In the reorganization of the Kuomintang we have added the peasants and workers' movement to our programme because we want the peasants and workers to be the foundation of our revolution. If this foundation is not strengthened, the revolution will fail." Dr. Sun even went so far as to declare: "Now, make haste to organize yourselves and select the strong men of every family to build up your own army. The Government may be able to supply you with arms at a cheap price." Following this, Dr. Sun put forth two concrete proposals to be the guiding principles in dealing with economic questions in China: namely, the equalization of right in land, and the control of capital.

After the death of Dr. Sun in 1925 the revolutionary army commanded by General Chiang Kai-shek started from Canton. It was with the support of peasants and labourers that the poorly equipped and inexperienced soldiers marched to the Yangtsze Valley within half a year. Everywhere before the soldiers arrived the peasants had already driven away or disarmed the old troops. Village after village and city after city were handed over to the control of the Kuomintang in this manner. The whole country turned to revolution as the only salvation. It was thus with this force and this action on the part of labourers and peasants that the Kuomintang gained its power. By May, 1925 peasant organizations had been organized in twenty-one counties in Kwangtung province. In 1926, there were peasants' unions in 66 counties in Kwangtung with a total membership of 626,547. The number of organized labourers mounted to 3,065,000 in 1927. Resolutions were passed and programmes were formulated for the betterment of the living and working conditions of the workers and farmers. The following were formulated into law: "A certain class of people who obstruct the interest of the peasants must be punished, namely, the militarists, the compradore class, the corrupt bureaucracy, and the bad gentry. The principle that the peasants

* This means Shanghai dollar which to-day is a little more than ⅓ of an American dollar.

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may have the power of self-protection must be established. The Government is also to take measures for the improvement of agriculture and to improve the standard of living of the farmers. The Government is to equalize the land and the consumption of agricultural production so that the whole population will have sufficiency of food. Exorbitant rates of interest on rural loans shall be strictly prohibited." What else other than such sound principles, is needed to arouse the peasants and the labourers to fight ? So, the peasants and labourers died on the battle-field and struggled for the completion of the Revolution. Chinese Communists, as an organization of the masses, had become a part of the Kuomintang in the 1924 reorganization. Their colossal activity was largely responsible for the masses being swung behind the Kuomintang in the 1924-27 period.

However, the break between the right wing Nationalists and the Communists became final in the latter part of 1927 with the establishment of the Nanking Government by Chiang Kai-shek. The Communists were expelled from the Kuomintang, a decision which marked the end of the policy of collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communists as well as of the masses in general. As a result of this break, the policy of the Nanking Government toward labour and peasantry underwent a radical change. Following this, there was the "cleaning out" movement of the Party which eliminated all the left wing and radical members, Communists as well as Russian advisers and organizers. Thus the labour and peasant movements came to a standstill. "This move toward the right culminated in the policy of union suppression which found its highest personification in Pei Chung-hsi, whose white terror activities gained for him the title of Communist killer." Within a few months' time, all unions were dissolved by him in Hankow. The bourgeoisie, personified by the Right wing of the Kuomintang, united with the international imperialists in order to strangle the revolutionary trade union movement. The British, Japanese and French police arrested the active trade union workers as well as the more active of the rank and file of the workers and handed them over to the Kuomintang authorities who executed them on the spot without trial. According to incomplete information, the number of executed workers only for the year 1927 reached 38,000. In Hunan and Hupeh the revolutionary trade unions were closed down in May and June of 1927 and until today exist only underground and are brutally persecuted. After this the revolution became nothing but the same old game of militarist against militarist—as events in China since 1927 have proved. There remains no inspiration or principle in the Kuomintang, and the great student masses, as well as the workers and peasants, have withdrawn from it. The success of the Northern expedition of Chiang Kai-shek from the Yangtsze Valley to Peiping (Peking) was characterized by the co-operation between Chekiang province bankers and the Kuomintang. Organization of the labourers and peasants were dissolved or "reorganized" by the Kuomintang, which means they were permitted to exist only under the dictatorship of the Party now inimical to the masses. On the 2nd of September, 1929 the proposed labour union laws which were in reality anti-labour laws, were made public. These read:

"The proposed Labour Union Law shall not be applicable to staff members of other employees of the Government administrative, communications, military and industrial organs; nor shall it be applicable to those in the employ of Government managed educational and public utility enterprises.

"The object of all labour unions should be to promote the efficiency of the workers and improve their living and other labour conditions.

"A labour union shall accept the highest local Party head-quarters as its advisory organ; and the Provisional, Municipal or District Government authorities concerned as its supervisory organ.

"If no labour union has been established in any industry or concern and if the local administrative authorities concerned consider it necessary to have such established, the highest local Party head-quarters may be requested to take charge of the organization thereof in accordance with the Labour Union Law

"A labour union which has not been approved and confirmed by the authorities concerned, may not exercise the rights and enjoy the privileges provided for in the Labour Union Law.

"A labour Union may organize co-operative or profit-sharing societies, employment bureaux, children's nurseries and create a

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sinking fund for the purpose of relieving the unemployed as well as other co-operative enterprises.

"The highest local Party head-quarters may appoint a number of deputies to assist the Union in organizing such co-operative societies.

"All disputes between labour and capital shall be settled by mediation of a third party or by arbitration; the workers shall not wilfully declare a strike in violation of the law and Government orders.

"A labour union shall not declare a strike due to its failure to obtain demands for increase of wages above the standard wage scale.

"Labour unions shall enjoy freedom of speech and press within the limits of the law and Government orders.

"A labour union shall be regarded as a juristic person; its dissolution, amalgamation and liquidation shall all conform to the provisions governing a juristic person defined in the Civil Code.

"Unless with sanction from the Government, no labour union shall affiliate itself with any labour union of a foreign country."

So labour unions are under the dictatorship of the Kuomintang, now composed of bankers, capitalists, officials and compradores, and no union can be organized without its consent and approval.

All peasant unions were likewise reorganized under the reorganization regulations of the Party. On the 17th of April, 1928 a Reorganization Committee was appointed. There were seventeen rules decided by the Reorganization Committee of the Farmers' Union of the Kwangtung province. The important ones are:

(1) The rules are formulated by the Reorganization Committee appointed by the Government to reorganize the farmers' unions which were formerly in the hands of the Communists, and to direct their affairs on a better basis under the control of Kuomintang.

(2) After the farmers have understood the idea of reorganization, they should re-register themselves with the Reorganization Committee, who will be responsible for handling the affairs of the union according to Governmental regulations.

(3) After registration of the members of the union, the Reorganization Committee should call a meeting of all the members to elect a village executive committee to be directed by the County Reorganization Committee.

(4) The village, district, and county unions, after reorganization should present their reports to the office in charge that the matter may be duly referred to the provisional farmers' union for approval and registration. Moreover, a certificate is to be issued to each union.

(5) If any union does not want to follow the reorganization and is only willing to be directed by the communists the government will send troops to suppress it and severely punish the leaders. (The complete text can be found in "The Farmers' Movement in Kwangtung," 1928 by T. C. Chang, p. 36).

Ever since this reorganization the peasants movement in China has come to a standstill. In the Third National Congress of the Kuomintang held in the spring of 1929, nothing was said about the organization of the peasants.

It is interesting to note the two sets of regulations governing the labour and peasant unions. They were supported, protected, and encouraged in the time when the Kuomintang needed their support but suppressed, persecuted, and driven underground when the Kuomintang realized the real force of the masses, which may mean disadvantages to the few. Is the Kuomintang as a whole true to its principles and declarations made in 1924? A small proportion of them who are trying to keep the name of the Kuomintang alive, no dout still stand firmly by the original principle as formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. But such men and women have had to flee from the country and are living in exile. Among all these, it may be important to mention the outstanding one, Soong Ching-ling, the widow of Dr. Sun, who is living in exile in Europe. She shared all the hardships of Dr. Sun in the struggle for the revolution but she fled from the crowd who today pretends to speak in its name.

In conclusion, the whole workers and peasants movement and its relations with the Kuomintang may be divided into three periods. The period of 1919 to 1923 marked the rapid growth of labour and peasant unions with the support of the Kuomintang. In this period the movement was more or less confined to Kwangtung Province within the power of the Nationalist Government over which Dr. Sun presided. The period of 1924 to 1927 marked the

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co-operation of Communists and Nationalists, which meant social as well as political revolution. It was in this period that the labour and peasant movement reached its climax in China. The period of 1927 to 1929 marked the suppression and control of the labour and peasants movements by the right wing of the Kuomintang that had established its dictatorship. These three periods can be briefly signified as:

(1) 1919 to 1924, the Kwangtung revolutionary encouragement of the mass movement;

(2) 1924 to 1927, the Hankow revolutionary direction of the mass movement; and

(3) 1927 to 1929, the Nanking suppression of the mass movement.

In the second period, peasants and labourers were killed on battle-fields for the revolutionary movement of the Kuomintang. In the third period, tens of thousands of peasants and labourers were butchered by the Kuomintang having been charged with Communism, which the new militarists chose to call "counter-revolutionary." In other words, Chinese labourers and peasants reclaimed nothing but death for their support of the Kuomintang.

It may be important to note the description of the third period by Mr. Lo Chaulung in his report on "The Chinese Trade Union Movement in 1928" in the *Pan-Pacific Worker* of February 1, 1929: "After the Postal strike, two manifestoes were published from Nanking one officially from the Kuomintang and one signed by Chiang Kai-shek personally. These lay down the following principles of Kuomintang policy on strikes:

"(1) Workers' living conditions are better than those of the peasants, and, therefore, the workers should be thankful, and there is no necessity to strike.

"(2) The workers must sacrifice their own special interests as a sign of their obedience to the principles of Sun Yat-senism.

"(3) The present period of "Tutelage,' according to official Sun Yat-senism, requires the workers to bow down to Kuomintang rule in all things.

"(4) The workers must honour the work of our ancestors who built up such a great nation, and must not strike because otherwise we may lose all the benefits of our great ancestors' labours.

This is the 'reformism' of the Kuomintang. The workers are to make no struggles at all; they must suffer in silence; they must send "petitions" to the Kuomintang, which makes a final decision; if the workers do not accept such decisions, the Government will use all its force to compel them, and crush all resistance." Mr. Lo went on to say that "There are three types of trade unions in China now. They are: The Black Trade Unions, so-called, organized by the Kuomintang which have no membership from the masses . . . The Yellow or Gray Trade Unions, which are real organizations of workers, but maintain formal relations with Kuomintang to avoid suppression... The Red Trade Unions (All China Labour Federation) which are completely outlawed by the Kuomintang, but which actually hold the confidence of the great masses of all the workers."

Such is the condition and relation of the labour and peasant movements with the Kuomintang. The masses have been betrayed. No tax has been abolished or reduced; instead hundreds of different kinds of new taxes have been levied. Labourers as well as peasants once more yield, live and labour like animals.

For better or worse the farmers and labourers are today trying to organize themselves in some way for self-protection against the dictatorship that perpetuates their present miserable conditions. Their organizations have been driven underground. Under the surface the fires of hatred and bitterness smoulder; they need but the slightest amount of fanning to cause them to burst forth in an all-consuming flame.

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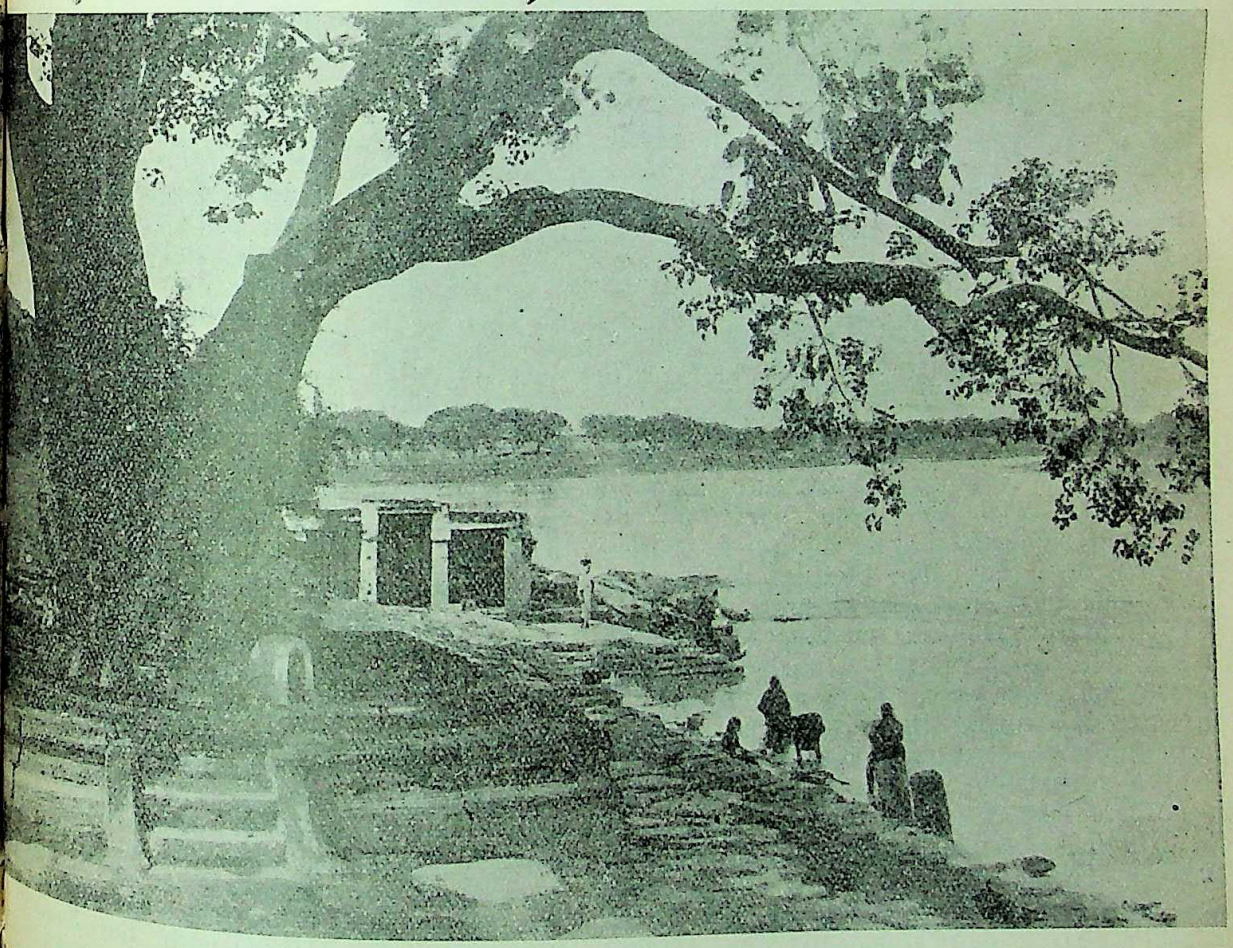
India's Sacred Rivers

By G. E. WATTS

THE GANGES AND KISTNA

OH Mother Ganges, I now bow down at thy feet, have mercy on thy servant. Oh, who can describe thy ...es, since they are past the comprehes... of the powers of man? The supreme ...ity Brahma can alone describe some the qualities. Were the greatest of ...ers, the perpetrator of endless sins, to ...ounce the word Ganga, he, being ...livered from all his sins, shall be ...nslated to the blissful abode of the ...estials. Thou alone are properly called ...e source of happiness" and the 'Saviour of men.' Infinite sources of salvation are at thy command. In whatsoever state a man may die, he is saved, as is proved in the case of the son of Sagar, who had been reduced to ashes by the curse of a sage. He who performs ablutions on thy banks not only saves himself, but also his ancestors, the ancestors of his mother, and the ancestors of his wife. Thou art material. Thou art immaterial. Thou art simple, thou art compound. Thou art the eternal source of all."



A Bathing Ghat on the Ganges

It is in language like this that the devout Hindu speaks of the great river Ganges,

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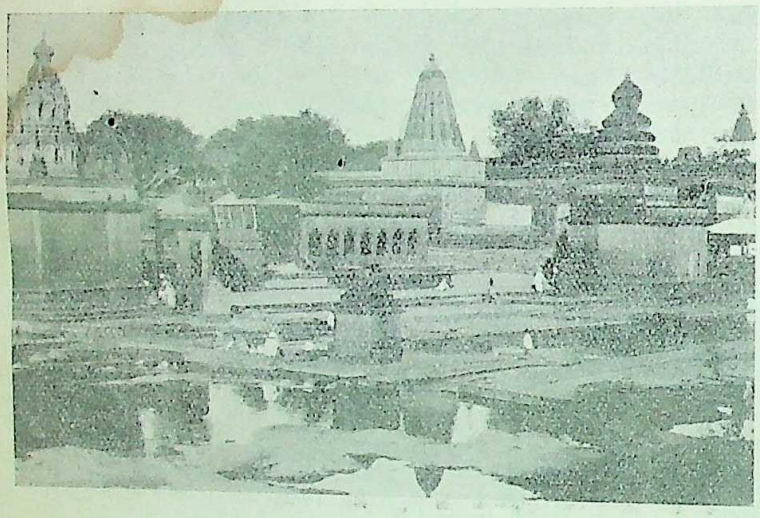
than which there is no more sacred river in India. There is scarcely any act that brings a man nearer to the summit of religious ecstacy as a bath in the sacred waters of this river, and daily there are thousands of pilgrims who, after days and weeks of toil, have wended their way from all parts of India, and participated in this supreme joy. It is not surprising that many legends should have grown up around this



Temple at Wai on the Kistna

river, each sect having its own explanation of its peculiar sanctity. One legend says that the Ganges flows from the toe of Vishnu and was brought down from heaven by the incantations of Bhagiratha, to purify the ashes of the sixty thousand sons of King Sagara, who had been burnt up by the angry glance of Kapila the sage. Another legend says that the Ganges descends in seven streams from Siva's brow. A third account is that she is a daughter of Himavat, the impersonation of the Himalayan range. The explanations are many in number and are invented to explain the wondrous sanctity of the river. Yet it was not always that the Ganges was held in such favour, for there is no mention of it in the early books of the Hindus. Even now its position as the premier river is threatened, for it has been prophesied that the Nerbudda will, within a comparatively short time, oust the Ganges from the position she holds today.

The Ganges rises in the Himalaya mountains and flows toward the east until, after a long course through a varied country, it enters the Bay of Bengal, south of Calcutta. There is no need to trace in detail this course, but reference may be made to a number of places on the river which are of special interest, from a religious and historical point of view. The town of Hardwar, situated on the right bank of the river at the southern base of the Siwalik range near to a gorge through which the great river enters the plains, is a great centre of pilgrimage for here the waters of the river have peculiar merit, especially at certain times of the year. The name "Hardwar" which means the Door of Hari or Vishnu is comparatively modern, and is not accepted as the true derivation. The followers of Siva say that the proper name is Haradwara which means the Door of Siva. But it is clear that this was the scene of sacred worship long before Siva or Vishnu attained their present high positions in the religion of the people. The object of greatest attraction here is the temple of Ganga Dwara and the adjoining bathing ghat. When the propitious moment for entering the water arrives, each pilgrim struggles to be the first to plunge in the sacred waters. A hundred years ago this enthusiasm led to the drowning of over 450 bathers, and to prevent a repetition of such a calamity the Government issued stringent regulations for the ceremony, and also built a large ghat of 60 steps one hundred feet wide. Every twelfth year the planet Jupiter being in Aquarius, a feast of peculiar sanctity occurs and as many as 400,000 people gather for the *Mela* there. In 1760 serious riots occurred between the rival mobs of the Gosain and Bairagi sects, and it is stated that 18,000 perished in the fighting that ensued. In 1795, the Sikhs slew 500 Gosains. Hardwar still holds a high place in the estimation of Hindu worshippers.

There is probably no more sacred place in the whole length of the river than the junction of the Ganges with the Jumna at Allahabad. The *Mela* that occurs every year is one of the largest gatherings of its kind in the whole of India. These two rivers, the Ganges of a muddy colour, and the Jumna bluer, meet a quarter of a mile from the ferry

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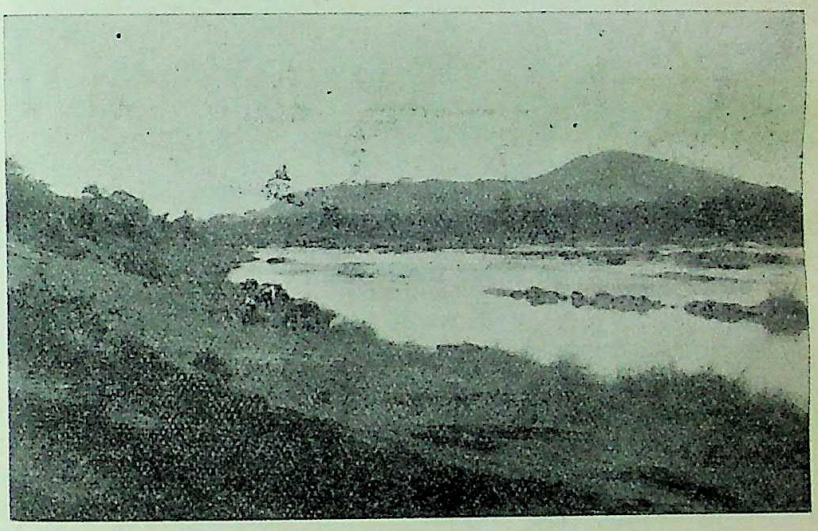
which stands on the banks of the latter. The fort was built by Akbar and forms a striking object from the river. From its walls one can gaze on the piece of land between the two rivers where the special ceremonies are held on the occasion of the great festival. Many writers have described that scene. The Ganges, at this time, has special virtues and happy are those pilgrims who are able to take a share in the ceremonies of that season. The great crowds have to be carefully regulated, so great is the rush and so excited the people. The people also believe that, at this point, an invisible underground river also joins the two streams.

Benares is, of course, the great place of pilgrimage on the river. It is not difficult to realize how high a place it holds in the thoughts of Hindus all over India. Here the river attains a sanctity it does not possess in other places, so that the faithful one who washes in its waters here can be assured of any blessing he may desire. The whole of the river front for a mile is covered with temples and bathing ghats which are crowded with pilgrims who come in great streams from all parts. The row along the river front is one of the sights which can never be forgotten, for we see the crowds going through their ceremonies with an ecstacy not often seen. Here is the most sacred spot in the whole length of the sacred river and to bathe in it means life. The ghats have been built by wealthy men, and they are visited in turn by the pilgrims. The priests take charge of the groups as they arrive, and they can be relied on to make the poor pilgrims pay heavily for their services. The Dashashwamedh and the Manikaranika Ghats are two of the chief and here large numbers can always be seen. Many are the dying who are brought here in order that they may pass away near the river and that their ashes may be scattered in the holy waters. When they arrive at the banks of the river they step down the ghat, and lay their burden close to the waters of the Ganges; then they ask him to cast a look at her wide expanse, and cause him to say that he has come to see the Mother Ganges. He is then brought upon the ghat where either a low damp and miserable hut, crowded with other dying people, and filled with all kinds of dirt and nuisance, receives him. A few minutes before his death he is again brought down to the brink of the river, where, half immersed in water, he gives up the ghost."

Passing by the confluence of the Ganges and the Gandak, a place highly sacred because of the junction of the rivers, we reach Patna, which has a long and interesting history. Today it is a great centre of the indigo trade. Below this point the river steadily widens, and in the rainy season



A quiet stretch of the Kistna

is a broad river, though somewhat sluggish. In the dry season it becomes much narrower, though it is possible for boats of shallow draught to sail. The river now turns to the south, and divides into many streams, and thus enters the Bay of Bengal. There are sacred bathing ghats along the river and on great festivals large numbers of people bathe in its waters. Many consider that there is one place which is even more sacred than Benares, that is, the part where the Ganges enters into the sea. The Ganga Sagar is one of the great bathing festivals which is held on a sand-bank of the island of Sagar. An offering is made to the sea of cocoanut fruits and flowers and five gems, a pearl, a topaz, a diamond, and a piece of coral. At the festival held in January it is estimated that not less than 100,000 people attend.

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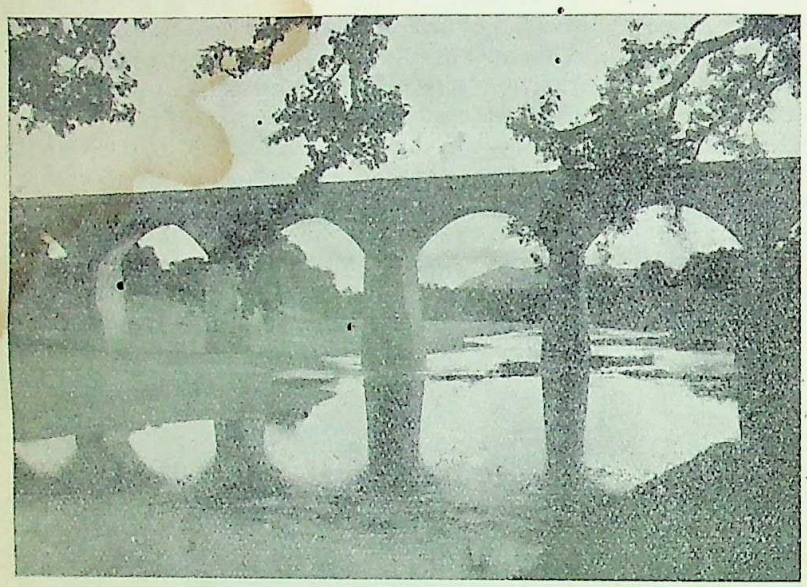
During the greater part of the year the place is uninhabited, but a week or two before the festival shop-keepers begin to arrive. It is a most interesting sight to see the thousands rushing into the sea in the full belief that this will wash away their sins. Having journeyed many weary miles, they are satisfied to wash in the sacred waters, and can return to their homes with a full assurance that their salvation is a fact.



The Bridge across the Kistna at Mahuli

Like the other great rivers that cross the Indian peninsula, the Godaveri and the Kaveri, the river Kistna is looked upon as very sacred. It may not approach the first two mentioned ones in sanctity, but it has, nevertheless, a warm place in the hearts of the people of the Bombay Presidency, the people of Hyderabad, and especially of those in the Madras Presidency, which is so greatly benefited by the water brought down by the river. The area of the draining of the Kistna and its several tributaries is a very large one, and the total land which is supplied with water for irrigation must be most extensive. It was a total area catchment of nearly 100,000 square miles. The length of the Kistna itself is about 800 miles, and some of its tributaries, the Bhima and the Tungabhadra, are of considerable length. Those who have visited the little hill station of Mahabaleshwar on the Western Ghats will doubtless have seen the place where the Kistna makes its first appearance. Before it pours itself into the Indian Ocean on the east side of the peninsula it has passed through many kinds of scenery. On the whole the Kistna is a fast flowing river, and does not provide many facilities for navigation until it passes Bezwada. Nevertheless, in the upper parts of the river small boats are used, and there is a limited amount of traffic. The difficulties of navigation make Indian rivers of far less value than they would otherwise be. However, it is possible to deal with the waters of the Kistna in such a way as to provide what is so greatly needed, water for the great stretches of land on its banks. There are many temples along the river banks, and on certain occasions festivals are held. The first place of importance on the river is the town of Wai, one of the beautiful rustic towns in the Deccan. It is important to most people, however, because it stands on the sacred river, which is, lined with beautiful *pipul* and mango trees, while from the bed of the river there are several handsome flights of stone steps. There are many temples on the river bank, dedicated to Ganapati, Mahdeo, and Lakshmi. Especially effective is the pretty *mandapam* in front of the Mahadeo's temple. This little town owes some of its sanctity, not only to its being on the sacred river, but also because here the Pandava brothers are said to have spent some time of their banishment, and performed many wonderful works.

The river passes south, and when it approached the town of Satara, at a place called Mahuli, it is joined by the Yena. This town is also a famous place of pilgrimage and on the occasion of the great festivals, large crowds come from all the Mahratta country. The fact that this is a confluence gives it a peculiar sanctity. A fine bridge has been thrown across the Kistna at this point, and has made it possible to carry on traffic much more easily than when all the loads had to be ferried across the river There are several fine temples at this point, and though the village itself is almost deserted, there are seasons when it becomes a busy scene.

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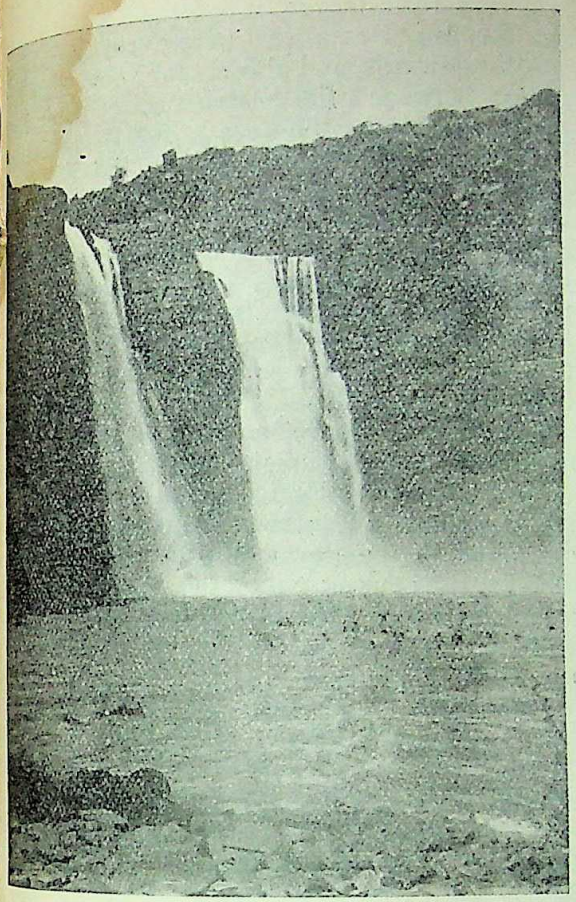
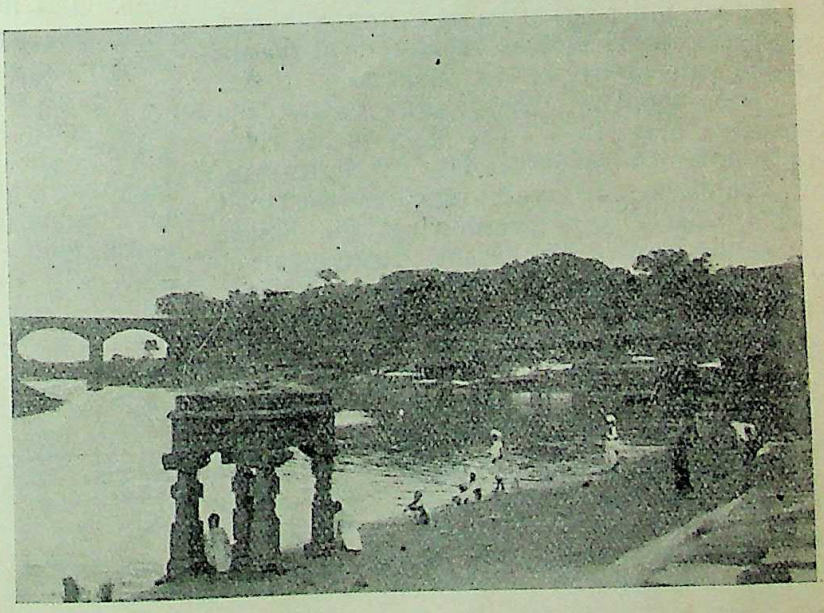


Falls at Gokak

The Kistna flows eastwards through the Belgaum district and then into the Nizam's dominions after a course of 300 miles in the Bombay Presidency. In the Bijapur district the river is joined by two more small streams, the Ghatprabha and the Malprabha. Before the former reaches the Kistna it passes over the great rock at Gokak, making one of the finest sights in the Presidency during the monsoon. The waters are taken off to supply several irrigation schemes in the Satara district and the more open country in the south-east. An entirely new kind of scenery is passed as the river goes through Bijapur district, for the banks are made of black soil and laterite, from twenty to fifty feet in height. The stream forms many islands covered with *babul* bushes.

The Kistna now makes a big descent, for within three miles the fall is as much as 408 feet. It has left the tableland of the Deccan and has entered into the lower plains where the rich alluvial soil brought down is of immense value to the agriculturists. As the river rushes down through these rocky parts, especially in the monsoon, the mighty volume of water passes with a roar over a succession of broken ledges of granite, dashing up a lofty column of spray. Colonel Meadows Taylor visited this spot and was deeply impressed by what he saw. In his life he gives a brief description of it: "The fall itself is not perpendicular, but becomes a roaring cataract, half a mile broad when the river is in flood. The scene then is indescribably grand, an enormous broken volume of water rushing down an incline of granite with a roar that can easily be heard at a distance of thirty miles, and a cloud of spray dashing up high into the air while the irregularity of the incline, its huge rocks, and the deep holes which the waters have excavated, increase the wonderful effect of the cataract and brilliant rainbows flash through the spray, changing with every breath of wind. Finally, the water falls into a deep pool which becomes a whirling mass covered with billows that, rushing in every direction, clash and break against each other, sending up



A Bathing Ghat on the Kistna

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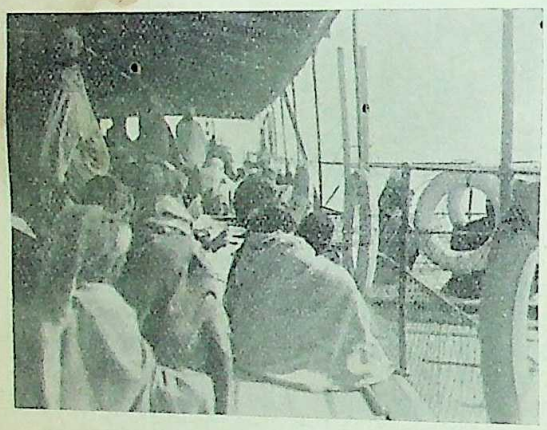
great piles of foam. As a Beydur standing beside me said, "It is like all the white horses in world fighting together and tossing their manes in the air ! I have never seen such a sight in my life and perhaps few cataracts in the world can surpass it when in flood, for sublimity and beauty."

The river Bhima joins it in the Hyderabad district and brings with it the drainage of Ahmadnagar, Poona and Sholapur : the Tungabhadra which takes its rise in the Western Ghats also joins it in the Raichur



Pilgrims to Ganga Sagar

district. After this the Kistna joins British territory once again and for a considerable distance it serves as a boundary between the eastern portion of Hyderabad and the Kurnool and Guntur districts of Madras. For many miles the river bed is rough and rocky, and the river falls rapidly as it passes through the spurs of the Mailamalai range. The last tributary, the Musi, enters the Kistna at Wazirabad. The Musi is the river on whose banks stands the city of Hyderabad, and which, a few years ago, caused such terrible havoc by overflowing its banks. Thousands were drowned and thousands of houses were destroyed. When the Kistna reaches the Eastern Ghats the river turns sharply south-eastwards and flows for one hundred miles between the Kistna and Guntur Districts direct to the sea. But it is this last part of the river that makes the Kistna so great a blessing to the people. Most of its waters are now used for irrigation, great areas of land being brought under regular cultivation by means of its waters. The river drops rapidly from an average of 3½ feet a mile to 1½ feet and as it nears the sea, the fall is very slight and the river becomes sluggish. "The enormous mass of silt it carries—which has been estimated to be sufficient in flood-time to cover daily an area of five square miles to a depth of one foot—has consequently in the course of ages been deposited in the form of wide alluvial delta, which runs far out into the sea and slopes gradually away from either bank of the river, with an average fall of eighteen inches to the mile.

The town of Bezwada stands at the head of this delta, some fifteen miles from the mouth of the river. At this point the Kistna runs through a gap 1,300 yards wide in a low range of gneiss hills, and here a great masonry dam or anicut has been thrown across the river, turning its waters into a network of irrigation channels which cover the whole delta, making it one of the most fertile lands in India. A fine railway bridge has been built across the Kistna at this point, consisting of twelve spans of 300 feet each. The flood velocity at this point is about 6½ miles per hour and the flood discharge is estimated to be 760,000 cubic feet per second. When the canals were being cut a considerable number of rock-cut Hindu and Buddhist temples were discovered, which show that, in the Buddhist days, Bezwada was a religious centre. On the south side of the river can be seen the Uddavalli Cave Temple.

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The Aboriginal Inhabitants of Western Orissa

By NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

E land of Orissa can be roughly divided into two portions consisting of a wide tract of hilly country covered by s to the west and a narrow plain lies between it and the sea to the east. ers of the plains of Bengal and of ern India are more familiar with the w coastal plain than with the wooded ry towards the west; for the road from al to the Deccan passes through the s and it is here also that the old and erous cities of Orissa, namely Cuttack, and Balasore, are situated.

e wooded country to the west is thinly ted in comparison with the coastal . The major portion of this population, is gathered in the valleys of the rivers nadi, Brahmani, Baitarani and their taries. The people who live in these ys are mostly agriculturists. They are n and have connections with the people the eastern plains. They are in fact ndants of colonists who carried Hindu ation from northern and southern India these plains and then gradually marched the river-valleys, either driving the ginal population before them or absorb- them within their own heirarchy of caste. e do not know very much about these ginal people, but a close study of their age, civilization and physical features is eat scientific interest from various points ew. Historians, who have studied the ar forms of Hinduism in some detail, always been led to the conclusion that tion of these rites and ceremonies have derived from some aboriginal civiliza- . Those again, who have studied the cal features of the Hindus, have also been led to the conclusion that the nt population of Orissa is not homo- us, but is made up of various strains, of which are local and some immigrant. order to estimate how far the present of Hinduism has resulted from the action of several civilizations and how again the Hindu population of Orissa is e up of local and foreign strains, it is naturally of extreme importance to study every scrap of the old local and aboriginal civilization and of its carriers wherever they can be observed in any degree of purity.

As we have already said, part of the aboriginal population fled into the hills and jungles between the valleys of the

A Juang hut

Mahanadi, Baitarani and Brahmani when the Hindus advanced up these valleys. The jungles were extensive and they offered fine refuge to a large number of these nomadic and hunting tribes. It is for this reason that we find so many of them living in the hills of Orissa. The principal ones among them are the Savara, Juang, Bhuiya, Kulha in the middle; the Ho, Santal, Bauri in the north, and the Kandhas and Gonds to the south. Most of these tribes have become agricultural and have also adopted various items of Hindu civilization, both from the north and from the south. For instance, the Bauris and Savaras speak Oriya dialects, the Juangs worship a few Hindu deities, a considerable

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number of Oriya words have crept into the Juang language, the Kandhas speak a Dravidian language and so on.

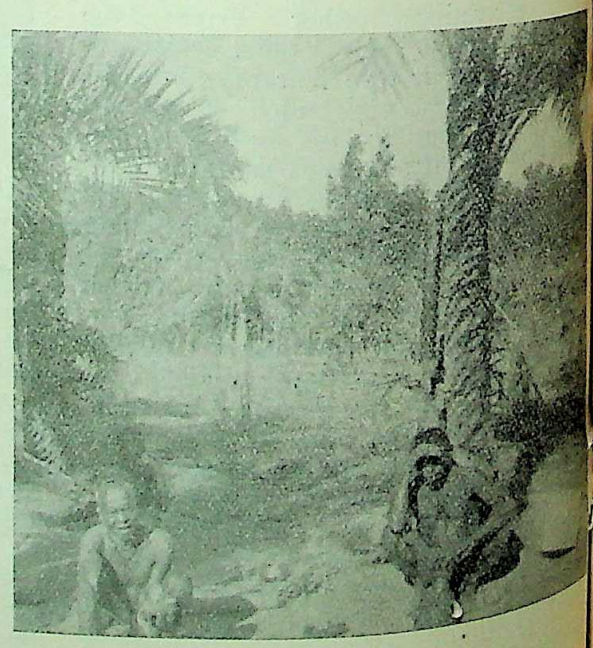
But, in spite of these cultural influences from outside, the aboriginal culture of these people has been preserved to a substantial extent among them. When, after comparative study, we are able to eliminate the recently acquired foreign elements, we can discern that all of these tribes had a fairly integrated culture, which we shall now proceed to describe in some detail.

A Juang household. The old women is in a leaf-apron

These tribes formerly lived by hunting and collecting wild fruits and roots from the forest. Men went after game, while the occupation of collecting tubers and fruits from the forest belonged to the women. Later on, perhaps, they learnt the *jhum* form of cultivation in which the plough is not employed. A tract of forest is burnt down and seeds sown in the ground with the aid of simple digging implements. In two or three years, such a soil ceases to bear any more crops as it is not replenished by manures, and then it is deserted for a fresh patch of forest-land.

These tribes have domesticated the dog, the goat and the fowl. They have nothing to do with cows, except where they have obviously come under Hindu influences. They do not drink milk, nor do they manufacture *ghee*. Those who live in the deeper forests and live principally on animal diet need no separate fat in their food; but those who are more agricultural in occupation use some kind of vegetable oil instead of *ghee*. The oil is extracted not by means of a rotary press as among the Hindus, but by the method of steaming the crushed seeds and pressing them between two planks of wood. Among the Juangs, again, the seeds are merely crushed and boiled in water, when the oil floats up to the surface and is poured off.

Perhaps both men and women formerly wore only leaves. They did not know spinning and weaving and consequently had no cloth to put on, except what they laterally exchanged for various kinds of jungle-produce. Until about five or six years ago, all Juang women in the State of Pal Lahara in Orissa wore only leaf-aprons, and it is only within the last few years that they have discarded them in favour of imported foreign cloth. But even now, the oldest women of the Juang tribe disdain using cotton-cloth and wear only simple leaf-aprons as of old. They make waistbands from a jungle-creeper and simply tuck in a bunch of leaves in front and another behind. This completes their dress.



A Juangs drinking toddy

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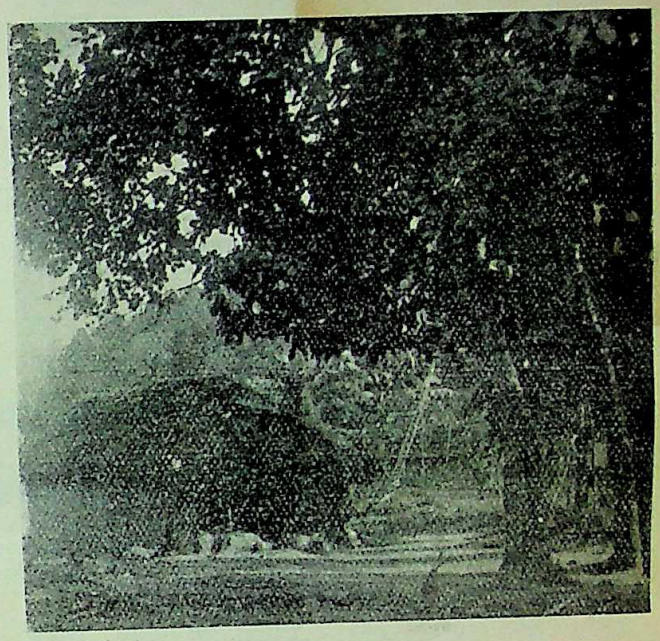
These tribes live in small huts, the walls which are made of *Sal* logs, which are stered with mud. The huts are thatched leaves from the forest or with some of grass or straw. In each village, ge is a moderately-sized hut, which is d the *darbar* in Juang. This hut serves the guest-house of the village and also its club-room. Among most of these es, there is a bachelors' club and the *bar* also serves as the bachelors' rmitary.

In front of the hut is a level piece of und where men and women meet every ening for their nightly dances. Their sical instrument consists of a plain t drum, called the *changu*, in middle rissa and, of more elaborate drums wards the north. The melodies which e sung in accompaniment appear notonous to our ears. To the Juangs Bhuiyas, however, they afford a never-ing source of variety and entertainment; on each successive occasion, the same te is accompanied by some new gesture emphasis of tone, which not only adds a w meaning to the note but never allows to grow stale by repetition. To us, ho are accustomed to tonal modulations ithout bodily gestures, and to whom e gestures themselves may sometimes foreign, the aboriginal music of Orissa ry often loses its meaning; but that ould not prevent us from recognizing t, whatever we might think about it, e music of the Juangs does call forth deep otions of pleasure among the people emselves. It has thus as high a place in original culture as our music and fine ts have in our own. Their music is ficiently inspiring to keep the Juangs ake all through a moonlit night even hen they are tired after a hard day's toil.

The Juangs have some sort of religion, ut we do not know very much about it ow. Their worship consists of sacrificing owl and goats before their gods and offer-g sun-dried rice to them and to the nes. They have no priestly classes and y Juang, who is married and is thus a egular member of society, can perform the riestly functions of his tribe.

Society itself is divided into a number of *otras*, marriage within the limits of which is ot permissible. One must marry outside is *gotra*; but, of course, the Juangs do not se the word *gotra*, they call such groups *bak* instead. It is difficult to find out now how far the Juangs and other tribes—for the Ho, Bhuiya, Savara, Kulha and others have also these *gotra*-like divisions, in society—have been influenced in this respect by the



The darbar and dancing-ground in front

Hindus; whether they have adopted this divisional system from the Hindus or had it before contact with the latter. This is one of the many questions which await further investigation.

It will be fairly obvious from what has been said above that the culture of the aboriginal tribes of Orissa had an integrity and was marked off from the culture of the Hindus in many respects. The culture of the Hindus in Orissa has consisted of regular agriculture, the economic and ceremonial use of rice and milk and their derivatives; castes and kings; the ideal of spiritual unity; temples, priests, pilgrimages and rituals, and so forth. These stand out in sharp contrast to the culture of the aboriginal dwellers of the western hills. Such differences cannot be accounted for by economic causes alone. They are not due merely to the comparative richness of the Hindus and the poverty of the hill-tribes; but their reason must be sought in the original historical affiliations of these cultures. In other words, the probability is that the two cultures are of

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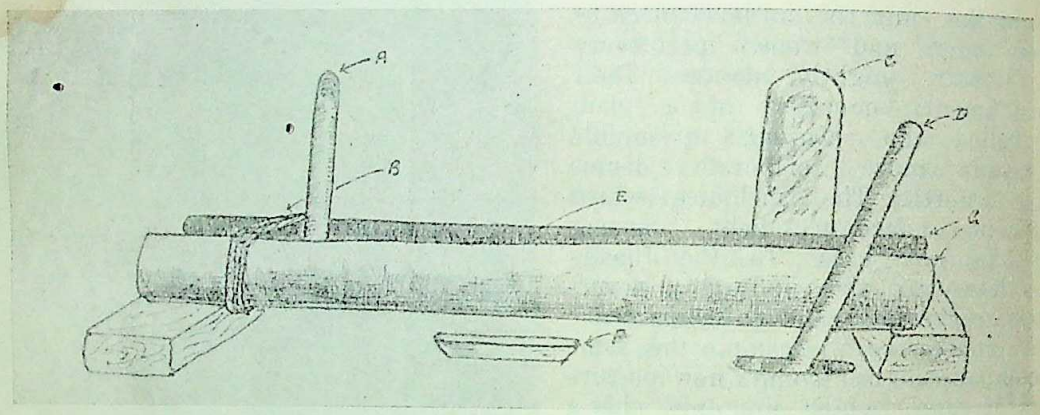
separate historical origin. This culture of aboriginal Orissa is fairly widely distributed and can be observed all through Orissa as well as in the districts of Manbhum, Singbhum and Ranchi in Chota Nagpur. It was a fairly extensive culture and must have taken a fairly long time to develop an integrated character, before its modern decay and disappearance due to Hindu influences. For the sake of scientific convenience, we may provisionally call it the Chota Nagpur culture, for its having been studied, first of all, in that part of India. We must remember however that in its distribution it also covers certain parts of Assam in the east and Nepal in the north.*

Although the culture is found to be uniform in its broader sweeps among such tribes as the Santal, Ho, Munda, Oraon, Savara, Bhuiya, Juang or Kulha, yet there are certain differences in its phases as they are presented by each of these separate tribes. For instance, the organization of the bachelors' club is found among most of these tribes, but the exact rules of association or the functions of the club differ from tribe to tribe. It is the same with regard to other aspects of the culture. The differences are not unlike the differences to be observed between the Bengali, Oriya, Hindi, Marwari and Panjabi languages. The latter are all branches of the Indo-Aryan family, and as such have considerable likenesses in structure and vocabulary; but still in the matter of detail, they display a considerable amount of diversity. It is the same with the different tribal phases of the culture in question.

There is a problem in theoretical Anthropology connected with this question of differentiation, and we shall close the present essay with a short discussion on the point. It has been said that certain points of difference have developed between the Ho, Santal, Juang, Bhiuya and Savara phases of Chota Nagpur culture. But it must be remembered that those tribes live very close to one another. In fact, all of them live within about a couple of hundred miles. The Panjabi, Gujrati, Hindustani and Bengali, whom we have mentioned in comparison, do not live so near each other. Between themselves, they cover more than a thousand and a half miles of territory. The question is, how has such an amount of differentiation been possible in the restricted area of Chota Nagpur and Western Orissa, and why has it not been possible on an equal area in the plains of the Indus and the Ganges?

Perhaps, the answer to this question is an easy one. The more freely do tribes mix with one another, the more points of similarity do they develop between themselves; in such circumstances they exchange items of culture. But when two tribes live side by side, but have still no points of contact, they need not develop any similarity. They live apart, follow their own courses of evolution and thus gradually differ more and more from one another, even if they start with an identical cultural equipment. The tribes of the Indo-Gangetic plains are agricultural. They can grow more than they need for bare subsistence, so they sell



Ho oil-press in the state of Seraikela (North Orissa)

* Compare K. P. Chattopadhyaya: The History of Newar Culture in J. A. S. B.

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their surplus and buy various things from other tribes. There is trade and cultural contacts, sometimes an identity of government and of ideals and consequently more and more of outward cultural uniformity. But among tribes who maintain a precarious livelihood by hunting in restricted forests and by collecting a few fruits and tubers, there can hardly be any surplus of food for exchange. There may be some trade in jungle produce, but such trade is always meagre. Such tribes live in direct economic communion with the earth and forests and not so much with men of other tribes. They are poor and hard-pressed in life; and this fact saves them from political consideration by other tribes.

It is probably due to some such reason that among agricultural and trading peoples, we find, differentiation occurs only over an extensive area; while among hunting and jungle tribes, differentiation may be observed in an intesive form even within the limits of a small extent of territory.

The System of Deferred Rebates in the Coasting Trade of India

By A. RAMAIYA, M.A.

WHEN on the 9th February, 1928, Mr. S. N. Haji introduced his famous bill for the reservation of the coastal traffic of India in the Legislative Assembly, he also introduced at the same time another bill of great importance, *viz.*, a bill for abolishing the system of deferred rebates obtaining in the coasting trade of the country. Unlike the other bill this has not been circulated for eliciting opinions on it and it has not attracted the attention of the public. But its importance from the standpoint of the development of Indian commerce as well as the growth of an Indian mercantile marine is so great that it deserves equal consideration.

It has been the systematic policy of shipping companies to form themselves into what are known as "Rings" or "Conferences" for the purpose of regulating and restricting competition in the carrying trade of any given zone of their activity. While every company's course of business in any particular trade route or routes is controlled for mutual advantage by combination with the other companies doing business in the same route or routes, there is no restriction for any company being a member of several "Rings" or "Conferences" existing in various zones which do not overlap so as to interfere with one anothers' operations. In other words, the combination is not one of shipping companies for all purposes in all places, but only with regard to their operation in any specified area. The companies which are members of a "Conference" join together and issue a notice or circular to shippers in the locality telling them that if during any specified period they have not shipped their goods by any vessels other than those plied by the members of that particular "Conference" a return will be made to them at the end of a like period immediately at the succeeding one in which the goods were shipped, of a portion of the freight money they had paid for the shipments; the condition being that the whole of the shipper's goods should have been sent in ships belonging to one or other of the members of the "Conference" concerned. If a shipper engaged the services of more than one company in the "Conference," he should claim separately from each of them the amount refundable to him for shipments through each; and not from the Conference as a whole. If he should either during the period of his sending the goods or the like period immediately succeeding it, have engaged the services of any vessel not belonging to the Conference members, the

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shipper would be disentitled to the rebate offered. The rebates are usually calculated at the end of the two six monthly periods ending with 30th June and 31st December respectively. To take a concrete illustration, if a shipper dispatches his goods through vessels belonging to any member of a Conference offering rebate, between the 1st of January and 30th of June of any year he will be given the rebate at the end of another six months, that is to say, after 31st December of that year and that, only if during the whole of this period of twelve months he had not shipped any of his goods through vessels not belonging to a member of the Conference. If he had broken this requirement even to the smallest extent he would be disentitled to the rebate. This system is known as the system of "deferred rebates" because rebate due payable for the particular period is not paid during or at the end of that period but only at the end of a succeeding like period.

In order to obtain the rebate due to him a shipper has to make a statement on a form of claim prescribed by the Conference Lines to the effect that he has complied with the conditions of the rebates circular. In the Bombay-Rangoon trade a shipper has to forward to the shipping company from which he claims the rebate a letter in the following terms :

"Annexed we beg to hand you a list of our shipments of cargo by your line of steamers to Rangoon *during the six months* ending.....on the freight of which we claim a rebate of 10 per cent in consideration of our not having made or held any interest whatever in other shipment from Bombay to that port by vessels other than those belonging to the British India Steam Navigation Coy., Ld., and Asiatic S. N. Coy., Ld., during the past twelve months."

Now the practical effect of this system is that it puts shippers entirely at the mercy of the members of Shipping Conferences, and practically confers a monopoly on them with regard to the carriage of goods by sea. The expectation of a rebate which has accrued but is postponed makes the shipper continue to depend during every succeeding period for the shipment of his goods, on vessels belonging only to the members of the Conference. Though he is at liberty to choose as between the members of the Conference, whosoever vessels he liked it is of no use to him because the members pursue a combined policy with regard to freight rates, etc. As they can always, by combination, impose monopoly rates on shippers and make a show of giving rebates which are deferred, shippers are handicapped in their choice and through this, commercial progress is impeded in a manner quite undesirable. This is not, however, the only effect of the system. New shipping companies which either do not join the conference or are not admitted therein are always crushed into ruin by this means unless they are financially strong enough to offer resistance. It is obvious that shippers are not easily induced to ship their goods in vessels belonging to a new company unless its offer of freight rates and other facilities is not only more attractive than that of the member or members of the Conference to whom they are yoked through expectation of deferred rebates but there is the danger of the Conference members boycotting and penalizing such "disloyal" shippers by refusal of space in their steamers for subsequent shipments in case the new shipping company which the shippers may patronize should fail to provide them regular sailings or other-wise fail to provide them in the cut-throat competition with Conference members.

It is claimed for the Deferred Rebate System that it guarantees regular sailings, stability in rates of freight, a better class of vessels and a uniform treatment of the strong and the weak by ship-owners. None of these, however, are the necessary result of this system. The supposed guarantee of regular sailings had existed before and can exist independently of the deferred rebates system. Further it is as much in the interest of the ship-owner who is enabled thereby to reduce to a minimum, the time wasted in docks for loading and unloading, as it may be in that of the shipper. Again stability in freight rates has a special advantage to the ship-owner who, by that means, protects himself from loss even in times of depression. The supply of better vessels is not of much advantage to small traders, and such a supply is also available where no Conference rates rule. The uniform treatment of the strong and the weak also means nothing in view of the fact that the rates fixed by the Conference Lines are not in accordance with the marginal utility principle but are calculated to yield high monopoly profits. The system is righly condemned as "immoral in ethics and unfair in economics, and being extremely anti-social in its effects.

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requires a legislative interference, if the coastal trade of India is to develop. The United States of America, Australia, Africa, France and other countries have already legislated against the deferred rebates system and the monopoly that it inevitably creates. It is unfortunate that the bill introduced by Haji for the abolition of the vicious system from the coastal trade of India should have been allowed to lapse. While legislation for the reservation of the coastal traffic will only encourage the development of Indian shipping, the abolition of the Deferred Rebates System will encourage that as well as the progress of our coastal trade.

Portraits from the Philippines

By AGNES SMEDLEY

MANUEL Roxas, Fascist, wealthy, dress-suit Filipino politico or politician, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Philippine legislature in Manila, sat behind a huge, glistening desk and talked with me. Everything was American about him except his skin—his office, his desk, the documents being handed him by a uniformed clerk, his language and manner, the whole machinery of the legislature. He presents an exceedingly well-fed, well-groomed figure. His face is characterless, with a loose expression about the mouth when he speaks. He impressed me as being perhaps the most insincere man I had ever met. A few evenings later I heard him speak at a banquet on independence—for the national independence movement in the Philippines, of which he is one of the chief leaders, is still in the banquet, dress-suit stage. Mr. Roxas speaks on the freedom of the Philippines in that florid, flowery style of smart American or Filipino high school boys in oratorical contests, an artificial oratory without sincerity or conviction. In one such speech he said :

"The Philippines is now writhing in the throes of hell, a hell of slavery and foreign domination. . Our country is weeping, pleading, crying to us. . . to save her from eternal damnation !"

After such fireworks, he drives to his elegant foreign home in his fine private car, passing on the way the miserable *nipa shacks* of the people. Every time I heard or saw him I involuntarily recalled an experience in the streets of Manila. A motor car had darted out in front of a taxi, almost causing an accident. The furious taxi chauffeur leaned out, shook his fist at the driver of the other car, and yelled : "Politico !" Politico means "politician," and has become a curse word in the Islands.

Senator Sergio Osmena, Filipino independence leader, bent over a glistening table in the Philippines Senate. He is a Mestizo, or Filipino of mixed blood, half Filipino, half Chinese. A very handsome, attractive man of advanced years, his hair is turning white, adding to his natural dignity. One eye is slightly closed and gives the impression that he is catching you in something. His face is keenly intelligent and strong, with a firm mouth and jaw. His whole bearing is that of a man accustomed to commanding and being implicitly obeyed, accustomed to getting everything he wants in life. In appearance he reminds one of the late Indian nationalist leaders, Pandit Motilal Nehru. One year ago a political opponent publicly asked this veteran independence leader of the Philippines where he got his ten million pesos wealth ; he did not answer, perhaps thinking it unwise to give a rival *politico* a chance at such knowledge. He is known to be a great landowner, the little uncrowned "king" of the rich island of Cebu, to the south, on which are located many of the big sugar plantations and mills.

For fully ten minutes he talked steadily to me, telling me how grateful the "Filipino people" are for what the Americans have done for them. He and other powerful politicians have become enormously wealthy

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under American rule and, indeed, have cause to be grateful. But we have not yet heard from "the Filipino people." When he told me that all legislative power is in the hands of the Filipinos, I asked him what he intended to do about the serfdom under which the peasants live on the big landed estates. One of his eyes closed just a bit more and he replied, hard and as sharp as a razor: "If the peasants don't like it, they can get off—there is no law holding them there!"

In this remark, and in many others in our conversation, he reminded me of great American industrial magnates. And I was convinced that if American industrial kings are capable of ruling America, these Filipino landlords and industrial magnates are capable of ruling the Philippines. They are just as capable in despotism, just as anti-social, just as corrupt, just as completely capitalistic. Their minds are the same, their interests the same. Senator Osmena seems sincere in desiring independence, but it is doubtful if independence is his chief desire. If an independent Philippine Republic should threaten to strip him and his colleagues of their wealth and power, it is doubtful if he would demand independence. Of their ability to rule themselves, however, there is not the least doubt.

We were in the provinces, driving at night toward Manila. In a fisherman's village on the sea-coast our car was blocked in a street by a crowd that overflowed from a big open space at the left. On the outskirts of the crowd stood uniformed military police, armed with guns and bayonets. At the end of the big vacant space we saw a big white streamer lighted by a solitary electric bulb. On the streamer, written in red letters in the Tagalog language were the words: "Proletarian Labour Congress, National Confederation of Peasants, Philippine Communist Party."

This was a mass meeting. We got out of our car and went forward to listen. Under the electric light stood a slender figure of a man in white, and, on the bare earth at his feet, sat row upon row of dark-faced fishermen. There were perhaps fifteen hundred of them, with a few hundred men standing on the fringe of the crowd. The solitary electric light bulb cast the dark rows into dim relief, revealing strong, weather-beaten faces.

The slender white figure under the electric light was speaking in a voice broken by an occasional tubercular cough. This was Crisanto Evangelista, Labour and Communist leader of the Philippines. He had come from prison this very day, released on heavy bail, and against him stood two charges for sedition. From prison he had gone directly to this meeting, and for the speech he was making now, he would be re-arrested tomorrow and again put into prison, to remain there unless some one could furnish bail for him the third time.

Evengelista's face is very dark and thin, with high cheek bones. He could be either Malayan or Cantonese. As I listened to him now, and later when I spoke to him in his humble, austere home, it seemed I was meeting one of the strongest and most interesting characters in Asia. In his voice, his bearing, his manner, is a gentleness and wistfulness that inspires devotion and love in the hearts of the workers. He is a man now beyond forty. His father, a peasant, was killed fighting in the revolution of 1896-98; as a printer apprentice, at the age of ten, little Crisanto learned to read and write by himself,—and to make his own living. He is perhaps the only Filipino Marxian theoretician. Between working for his daily bread and maintaining a large family in the austere style of Filipino workers, between earlier work in the independence movement, he has still been able to accumulate and read hundreds of works on the social sciences, and he possesses the only Marxian-Leninist library in the Philippines Into prison and out of prison this frail, wistful figure goes.

He stood this evening before two thousand fishermen and taught. He is no agitator, no demagogue. He would read from a book, a document, a pamphet, then lay it down, and talk. He was telling the fishermen about the causes of the revolutions against Spain, of the workers and peasants who fought in the revolution—and of the compromise signed between the American military invaders and the Filipino leaders,—a document of the betrayal of the revolution. He taught them of the workers' movement in various European countries and in Soviet Russia, and of the theories of Socialism. Through his Tagalog language came such words as "Karl Marx," "Lenin," "surplus value" in English. For

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three hours he taught, earnestly and without any demonstrativeness—and the only movement in the audience was when some man would arise from the hard earth to rest his eyes for a moment.

Evangelista then asked for questions, opinions, discussion. What did they, the fishermen think?

Then a fisherman's conference began. Men arose, their dark, strong forms dim in the light. What did this or that point mean? they asked. What could be done about this or that problem of the fishermen? They thought this, they thought that. One fisherman said that this programme put before them they liked,—it was a proper programme for fishermen. They would like to join this movement, yes, right now. Could they pay their monthly five centavos Party dues tonight? Evangelista squatted on the earth as they spoke, answering questions, giving opinions. He told them what suffering would be in store for them if they became Communist Party members. They laughed, deeply amused. They did not know—but Evangelista knows.

INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Malayan Indian Conference

Here are some extracts from the speech of Dr. N. K. Menon, President of the fourth Malayan Indian Conference.

"Chairman of the Reception Committee and fellow countrymen,

"Indians in Malaya have come here not to exploit the weak but to colonize and develop a land united with their own country by almost inseparable bonds of culture, tradition and association.

"We are here by way of right and not on sufferance, as for centuries Malaya was nothing but a greater India. Since the days of the East India Company, however, colonization has taken a different hue, and in recent years we have been invited and welcomed in increasing numbers as hewers of wood and drawers of water. We have come here not only in quest of trade as we have been doing for centuries past, but we have now come to clear the wilds, to cultivate the land, to build roads and railways and to make this country healthy, wealthy and prosperous.

"In this process of development, as a result of imperceptible but no uncertain forces, we are getting bled and exploited to a degree that is not easily realized by social students of to-day. The steam-roller is at work; and unless we stand united and acquire a thorough organization we shall be crumbled to dust before long and wiped out of existence. The extraordinary nature of the Indian exodus from Malaya to Madras during the last few months have given us to understand that our countrymen will always be regarded as the first prey to the axe of retrenchment consequent on any slump. In other words, though citizens of the Empire and welcomed here on certain definite terms, when we have been practically told that we could not expect to receive here wages which had been previously conceded to be just sufficient for mere existence, when the terms of our employment are discarded without a word of apology or remorse, not a little finger has been raised in protest, not a note struck against such a breach of faith with Indian labour in this country. Unless we have an united organization, capable of effective and immediate action there is not the slightest doubt that our elementary rights will be trampled under foot by the better-organized in this country.

"A net-work of Indian Associations, not functioning independently and not existing for mere social amenities for their members, but for the good of every member of the community, should be started and organized without delay. No association should drown itself in local rivalries and politics but taking

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the wholo of Malaya for its field, it should work jointly and in close co-operation on all matters Indian. I need hardly say that the Indlan labourer is not either economically or geographically in a position to join such associations but has to wait until as a result of our attempts Trade Unionism becomes an ascomplished fact in Malaya.

"What every one of us has to bear constantly in mind is that every educated Indian owes his presence here to the existence of Indian labour. If Indian labour is found not necessary here, there may be—I hope not—but there may be a danger of Indians, collectively speaking, receiving the same welcome and friendly treatment as that accorded to our countrymen in the African colonies. It is therefore our bounden duty to see the Indian labour force happy, and it is our duty also to this country of our adoption to agitate for more real and generous rights so that we shall be able to welcome to these shores more colonists from India to develop this land who will remain as a stable element in the economic life of this country, and not have to be shunted up and down between Penang and Madras according to the sluice-wise actions of booms and slumps.

"Gentlemen, you are the custodians of the rights of these dumb thousands whose wrongs have to be redressed. Only by your agitation, by your exertion and by your continued struggles here and at home can we make the lot of the Indian worker in this country tolerably comfortable. Such questions as a settled minimum wage, the enforcement of the sex ratio, the abolition of the evil of drink, and the introduction of a workmen's compensation bill, are all but elementary problems, the solution of which will but commence your good and patient toils in the cause of our countrymen. The best form of Government, the say, is Government by public opinion, and we cannot blame the authorities for the crab-like course that is sometimes adopted in matters of progressive legislation, because we have in this country no effective public opinion. It is for us to create one.

"While the problems of the workmen are many and diverse, we have most vital matters of importance directly concerning the lot of the educated Indians also. They have their difficulties, and disabilities, and their name is legion It is made sufficiently public and even rubbed into us that we are tolerated rather than welcomed. If it is possible to avoid encouraging an educated Indian, authorities in Malaya have never refrained from doing so. India has been plainly told that only her blood is required here. The educated Indian wherever possible has been refused any sort of opening in Malaya and has slowly been egged out by other communities for no apparent reason whatsoever. We can never allow ourselves to be treated as birds of passage, as strangers without rights and responsibilities in Malaya, but as citizens of this colony with all the rights and privileges that any ordinary citizen can expect and aspire to in his relationship with the State. It is but our elementary right to be afforded our rightful opportunities for serving this country in the best way we can. We cannot tolerate in silence the attitude that is now all too common that Indians have no right to expect service under the governments as much as others do. As members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as citizens we have every right to serve this country in the public services, and on all the public bodies here. Our other problems like schemes for leave, passage, and pension, unemployment, facilities for the schooling of our children, and for better commerce between India and Malaya, and above all the question of constitutional reforms, have all to be handled by us effectively and without delay. We have come to this country not merely for the love of adventure; we have given our best to Malaya, and we have no idea of allowing anyone to drive us out by a policy of discouragement, or treat us as undesirables in any manner whatsoever.

"I have, I think, laid sufficient emphasis on the urgent need for organization. Equally essential are publicity and propaganda. We have to bear in mind that by means of these two alone can we make others understand our needs, sympathize with our aspirations and assist us in the accomplishment of our legitimate aims. That it is impossible to achieve anything much without publicity and propaganda can be known from what has happened in recent years regarding our measures claims and demands in different spheres. Take for example that noble but abortive attempt the Workmen's Compensation Bill, the importance of which was pointed out by my late father, Mr. P.K.Nambyar, in the very first year of his nomination to the Legislative Council. One would have thought that it was

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nothing but commonplace to talk about the urgency and the extreme necessity of placing a measure of the kind on the Statute book, and it might surprise social workers in civilized countries that in this fifth rate colony one still comes across only irrational opposition to an ordinary legislation providing for compensation in the case of workmen subjected to certain risks, dangers or accidents. I cannot sufficiently emphasize the importance of this problem and I call for an intensive agitation in this matter by educated Indians in the colony and in the F.M.S., knowing fully well the disorganized state of our labour force and the powerful opposition that our liberal minded legislators put up at the very mention of such a measure some time ago. The attack, direct and diplomatic, practically killed the attempt in the colony and pigeon-holed the bill perhaps for ever or until force of public opinion by means of publicity and propaganda will bring it out of its seclusion. In the F. M. S., an enactment passed with the best of motives had to be relegated into the lumber room of discarded legislation to pamper the whims and the idiosyncracies of a powerful anti-labour element in the colony which did not see any *raison d'etre* for a measure of this kind for the simple reason that they would not see any. Stalwart protagonists of stern capitalism raised their voices vehemently against the attempted measure, and they even experienced nightmares of Asiatic self-mutilation if such a bill ever became law. It is a matter for regret that the Asiatic representatives in the Council could do little or nothing to counteract this opposition. Only publicity and propaganda will be of any avail in such matters.

News from Suriname

Mr. C. R. Singh writes from Suriname :

Suriname has an area of 150,000 kilometres, with a mixed population of about 140,000 people. East Indians about 35,000, Hindus 22,000, Moslems 8,000, Indian Christians 5,000. There are two kinds of schools, Government and Missionary. Most of the Indians are poor and hardly know anything about their own religion. They send children to the missionary schools.

As there are no Hindu or Mohamedan orphanages in this Colony, the East Indian orphans are placed in Christian Missionary Orphanages, where they are baptized.

There are many East Indian Associations here. The Bharat Oeday (The Dutch Guiana East Indian Association) is a political Association, having as President Mr. Rampersad Sukul, and Secretary, Mr: Jagessar Misir. The Lachman Singh Dharmashala, is an institution meant for the accommodation of strangers.

The Arya Samaj is a religious society and is recognized as such by the Government. It has for its President Mr. J. Hira Sing, and Secretary Mr. C. R. Singh. This society has already asked the Government for their own school with Government subsidy. They bought a large piece of land where an orphanage will soon be built. Since the Arya Samaj started this work the progress of Christianity among the Indians has been checked. This society is really doing good work among the Indians, and it has engaged three preachers, Mr. Rampersad Sukul, Pandit Mathura Maharaj, and Pandit Ghisai Persad Sharma, who go about and preach the Vedic religion to our people in Suriname. May we hope that the Sarvadeshik Sabha will come to our help in this cause which is as much theirs as ours.

The Wage Position of the Indians in Malaya

As the title itself suggests, the following note is confined chiefly to the economic position of Indian labourers working in Malaya and the way in which they have been affected by the economic depression that the country has been experiencing.

The present wage rate of the Indian labourer is not the same as it was even last year. The world wide depression in trade and industries has affected the staple industries of rubber and tin in Malaya, resulting in a general reduction of the wages of labourers of all nationalities besides in the discharge of labourers from various places of employment. The rates of standard wages of the Indian labourer fixed by the Indian Immigration Committee in 1929 at 50 cents and 40 cents for men and women respectively working in easily accessible areas and 58 and 46 cents for those working in inaccessible areas were themselves very low rates. These rates too have since been further cut down to 40 and 32 cents and 47 and 37 cents respectively as a temporary measure. The reason given for reduction is the slump in rubber prices and the industry's inability to afford paying higher

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wages to labourers. It is curious that no definite principle followed in fixing these minimum rates. When the industry was bringing huge profits to the employers, the only thought that guided the authorities was the actual maintenance requirements of the labourers. This was very conveniently forgotten when the slump occurred and it was argued that the labourers must share his employers' misfortunes. It is also not seldom that we hear the argument that if the Indian labourer is paid more, he will drink more. But who is responsible for this drink evil ? The planters themselves. Every estate provides toddy shops in each division near the lines of the labourers, and it is no wonder that when the temptation is so near at hand, the ignorant labourer falls a victim to it. The planters seem to think that the absence of toddy shops in the estates will not keep their labour force steady. The removal of the toddy shop to a distant place or the abolition of the same altogether alone will keep the habitual drinker on check and the non-habitual drinker will have no opportunity even to get addicted to the evil.

There is a body called the Indian Immigration Committee consisting mostly of employers of labour (planters) and employers of labour in Government Departments. This Committee is the wage fixing authority in Malaya for the Indian labourer. It is this Committee that recommended to the Government the reduction of the rates in wages of the Indian labourers. It is too much to expect anything else from the Indian Immigration Committee because that body consists purely of capitalists. The Indian Immigration Committee is by the very nature of its constitution, not competent to judge matters for the Indian labourer. The minimum wages fixed for the Indian labourer by the Indian Immigration Committee in 1929 should not have been reduced at this or any other time, for, the Indian labourer was not benefited like others by the industry during its boom period. He had no extra remuneration or dividend paid to him by the estates during the boom period ; he had to be satisfied with his minimum wage of 50 cents and 40 cents while his employers were hoarding in thousands.

It is understood that the wages of the Indian labourers in Brunei and Kelantan (very inaccessible tracts) too, have since been reduced. The standard wages fixed for those areas were 58 cents and 46 cents. The distance to Brunei is nearly 680 miles (*i. e.*, 4 days' journey) from Singapore. I am not aware of the new rates. Anyhow it must be less than 58 and 46 cents and that is sufficient for the purpose of my argument. Recently the Agent of the Government of India, Rao Sahib M. Kunhiraman Nair visited Brunei and also visited a place 85 miles off from Brunei, namely Kuala Belait in order to study the conditions of the labourers working in those places. He is, I am told, the first Agent to visit Kuala Belait. It is no doubt a source of supreme satisfaction that the present Agent evinces a keen interest in the welfare of the labourers. We do not yet know the result of his visit.

The Labour Department have been quite recently repatriating a number of unemployed labourers to India but they have at last yielded to the clamour of the planting community to suspend repatriation of able-bodied labourers. Perhaps they might try their best to find employment for such labourers, but it is doubtful if they would succeed to any appreciable extent.

Coming to the wage position of the middle-class Indian here, the revenue of the Government is being affected on account of the depression in trade, the Government even contemplate abolishing the 15 per cent temporary allowance now paid to the Government servants. The lot of the Indians employed in Companies is no way better. The Indian labourer stands at least a chance of repatriation but the poor middle-class Indian clerks who are thrown out of employment on account of this slump are practically stranded here and one can easily imagine the miseries of people with families dependent on them,

Nobody knows when things are going to improve. Economists make various forecasts, but so far, Malaya seems to have baffled them all. The Tin restriction scheme to be brought into operation may go a long way to save that industry, but the mainstay of Malaya is rubber and unless the rubber market improves, we cannot hope for a future that would bear comparison with Malay's past.

S. ANTONY

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

A Glimpse of Hitler

Adolph Hitler, the National Socialist leader of Germany is the man in Europe who is now most in the limelight. The sensational success of his party in the last elections has given pause for thought regarding the future of Franco-German relations to many a journalist on both sides of the Rhine. Here is a (not very flattering) portrait of the German leader by a journalist of Prague, which has been translated in *The Living Age*.

Hitler is now playing the role of dictator in his primitive way. He has begun by emphasizing certain personal peculiarities and utterly grotesque details. In the party headquarters at Munich he conducts a reign of terror. Whenever he appears in his office commotion and uproar break loose. The pettiest trivialities throw him into a frenzy. He raves and rages. He berates his assistants. One day he got so angry that he boxed the ears of the two guards who stand at his door. His temperament is a source of terror and everyone feels relief when he goes away for a few days which happens often.

Adolf Hitler has a nine-room house on the Prinzregentenplatz, where he lives with a married couple who are really his cook and servant. Here he receives his more favoured visitors in handsome, elegantly decorated rooms. His personal way of life has long been luxurious, and he is surrounded by every comfort. Besides his spacious city quarters, where his bedroom is fitted out in the most elegant taste and where his dressing table is covered with the most charming variety of perfume bottles, Hitler owns a country house where he spends his week-ends, travelling there in one of his three automobiles.

Hitler's whole manner proves that he is a true *arriviste*. With gruff commands he endeavours to conceal the uncertainty that lurks within him and he believes that he can only make an impression by a loud, autocratic bearing. Toward his inferiors he acts with unbridled arrogance. Every gesture of his many poses and gestures looks as if it had been studied out before the mirror and even his bursts of rage appear theatrical.

Hitler's desire is and always has been to become the German Mussolini. In his speeches he copies the Italian dictator, whose picture stands on his writing desk and whose outer manner he copies in every detail. He even imitates the romantic way Mussolini raises his hand in salute. An intensive and not very pleasing personal cult has grown up about Hitler, the party leader, not without his consent. Before he appears at any public meeting flowers are presented to him and his picture is hawked everywhere. Loud speakers and advertisements proclaim his dictatorial fame and a whole body of flattering literature has grown up about him.

Hitler is an unbalanced, temperamental actor, an easily excited neurasthenic who is overwhelmed by the events of the moment. He lacks the capacity for real leadership and the ability to come to a decision at the right time. In 1923, he struck inopportunely in Munich and some of his followers have asserted that he lacked decisive qualities during the elections of last September. Hitler is incapable of carrying out a firm decision with cool conviction. Like William II, he cannot bear the truth and dislikes anyone who tells it to him. He lacks the real politician's perception of realities but he often uses demagogic expressions with effect. Paraphrasing an expression that was once applied to General Boulanger, one might say of Hitler and of his whole movement, "A banner need not do much thinking."

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The Truce and After

Writing in *The New Republic* on the truce in India, Mr. H. N. Brailsford says: "A year of struggle, which shook British rule in India as nothing since the Mutiny had shaken it, ends in a generous truce. After the tension and the tragedy, this national movement, worthy of a singularly gentle people, will revert to its habitual mood of gaiety." But the really crucial questions, Mr. Brailsford says, lie ahead and have got to be solved at the coming session of the Round Table Conference. Of these the two, most difficult are the questions of the Princes and the Hindu-Moslem question. About them Mr. Brailsford says:

Beyond these negotiations for a truce, lies the vastly more important issue of the second Round Table Conference. Gandhi will come to it with immense prestige, and this will be doubled, if he can in the interval succeed in bridging the gulf of mistrust which divides Moslems from Hindus. The men whose feuds so nearly wrecked the London gathering represented the India of the day before yesterday. Young India is contemptuous of the divisions which have perpetuated foreign rule. The old men, however, are strongly entrenched, and all Mr. Gandhi's gift for mobilizing opinion will be needed, if the Moslems are to yield the central point of contention. Luckily for India, they trust

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him as they trust no other Hindu. The London draft left standing the disastrous arrangement by which voters of the two faiths are inscribed on separate electoral rolls, and vote in separate constituencies. The scheme puts a premium on intolerance, perpetuates confessional parties and makes it difficult to obtain attention for any programme based on social and economic realism. Democracy can begin in India only when men of the two creeds vote together as citizens of the common mother-land.

It is to be expected that Mr. Gandhi, when he enters the decisive Conference, will seek to lighten the burdens and lessen the restrictions which the London draft imposed. He must justify his decision of last August to prolong the struggle, by winning more for India than the moderates could achieve. The central motive of his political thinking is the conviction (to my mind, a dangerous exaggeration) that the prime cause of Indian poverty is to be sought in the burden of foreign rule. His thinking is disconcertingly concrete. While the trained intellects of the older generation are at home among the niceties of constitutional argument, Mr. Gandhi, caring for none of these things, may concentrate on the simple purpose of reducing the cost of the foreign garrison and the Civil Service, and the burden of the debt. One cannot feel sure of the outcome, for the Tory outcry against concession grows in volume, and Mr. Baldwin, whose personal attitude is liberal, has to hold a rebellious party together.

The chief danger, as I see it, is that Indians, thinking only of the issue of nationality, may accept a constitution which will distort the balance of social forces for a generation to come. The London draft suggested a franchise which would confer the vote on something between 10 and 20 per cent of the adult population. In such cases it is invariably the richer rather than the needier tenth which receives the protection of the vote. That basis, combined with checks upon change borrowed from the rigid American model, would alone suffice to make the new Indian constitution a firm buttress for things as they are. The balance of power will be with the landlords, the manufacturers, the traders, the usurers and the lawyers who serve them.

The gravest defect of the London draft is, however, the power which it confers on the Princes. It is a great gain that India should be consolidated by their entry into a federal union. But as the draft stands, there is no requirement that the representatives which their dominions will send to the Federal Congress shall be elected. The Princes have stipulated that they shall be free to determine their own form of representation, which means that in most cases they will nominate their own trusty servants. In this way a solid conservative block will be created in the Congress which, in combination with the more conservative groups from British India, will assure to every propertied interest an unshakable and permanent majority. It is, indeed, because they trust the conservatism of the Princes that the more intelligent leaders of the British governing class have smiled on the London draft. If India were freed tomorrow from the salt monopoly, if the land tax were halved, as Mr. Gandhi demands and the army with it, the villages would be as far as ever from prosperity if functionless landlords and harpy usurers continued to prey on their labour. This constitution will be a poor instrument with which to combat Indian poverty if it leaves the Indian Princes still entrenched at the seat of power.

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Jesus and the Jews

Communal troubles are not a monopoly of India. Bloody feuds between Jews and Christians used to be as much a feature of Czarist rule in Russia as Hindu-Moslem riots are a feature of British-ruled India. Bolshevism came and swept away these fierce quarrels in Russia. How fierce and inhuman they used to be will be seen from the following extract quoted by *The Literary Digest* from the reminiscences of a Jewish writer:

"Give it to him, Fellows ! He's one of the dirty Jews who killed Jesus !"

And the crowd of young "Christians" set upon the terror-stricken Jewish boy with blows and kicks—all in the name of Jesus.

But the prostrate boy refused to kiss the small iron cross they thrust before his lips.

That is how Jacob Silverman, a Jewish student, first heard of the Jew, Jesus.

As he tells us in *The Missionary Review of the World* he could not understand the attack—he didn't know even who Jesus was.

He asked his Hebrew teacher to explain. On hearing the name, the teacher arose, shaking, and commanded the boy never to mention the name of Jesus in his presence again.

The teacher's wife and children had been stabbed to death before his eyes by a band of drunken "Christians" in Russia.

The boy Jacob then went to his father.

"Silence, my son !" exclaimed the father. "I never want that name to issue from your mouth again." This was his story :

"One day a band of Christians descended upon the village in Russia and began plundering and killing. Reb Samuel, who was then in the midst of his prayer, came running out of the synagogue with his Siddur in his hand and his Tallith around his shoulders. He ran to one of the soldiers, demanding an explanation.

"The soldier turned around, perceived the old man, drew his knife, and with a shout 'for Jesus' plunged it into the heart of the beloved rabbi."

Under the circumstances, writes Mr. Silverman, the name of Jesus could not have been very pleasing to his ears.

"But, mark you," he says, "it was only the name. I had no knowledge of the Man Himself, nor, I am led to believe, had my father. I was simply taught to loathe a sound, a name—Jesus—just as my father loathed the name for its connection with that sense of horror."

He goes on :

"As a result of these various persecutions which have been related from generation to generation in the homes of the Jews, the name *Jesus* and everything connected with the name, including the Man in all His dynamic and admirable personality, have become a repulsive force to the Jewish people.

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"It is not that the Jewish people loathe the man for what He did while He lived—for that would require a knowledge of the Man's life, and, I am sure, a large number of my people know very little about His life. But it is the result of His having lived, the force which He had unknowingly aroused, the wave of destruction which has come down through the ages casting terror upon a people—it is that which has made that people dread what they believed to be the key to their sufferings.

"Even to-day we read of pogroms and uprisings against Jews in various parts of the world—Jews who wish to live peacefully, but cannot; Jews whose very souls try to protest, but dare not.

"Is it any wonder that Jesus does not hold an esteemed position in the Jewish religion, a position which rightfully is His?"

—

The Beginnings of Women's Emancipation in Siam

The Literary Digest gives the following account of the life and activities of Maha Mongkut, the reforming monarch of Siam:

King Rama II had designated the young Prince Maha Mongkut as his successor, but on the death of the King (in 1809) one of the sons by a lesser wife seized the throne.

Mongkut, then aged twenty-one, barely managed to escape to a monastery, where he found sanctuary by becoming a Buddhist priest.

With shaven head and in yellow robes, as undistinguished as any other mendicant monk, he went forth among the people with his begging bowl. Thus, although "retired from the world," he acquired a very worldly knowledge of how the common people lived and what wrongs they suffered.

It also happened, by fortuitous chance, that he became acquainted with Dr. House and the Rev. Mr. Caswell, two pioneer American missionaries. Mongkut found these strangers extraordinarily stimulating in their strange foreign knowledge and ideas, and he asked them to instruct him in the English foreign language, science, Western ethics, and Western theories of Government.

One can imagine that Siam's modern story might have been far different if these two liberally educated and broad-minded men had been merely creed-bound zealots.

In the year 1851, on the death of his brother, Maha Mongkut was unexpectedly summoned from his seclusion to ascend the throne.

Forthwith he began putting into practise the lessons he had learned in adversity.

He dumbfounded the Court by announcing that twice a week he would repair to the palace gate to hear the petitions of the people and that even the lowliest among his subjects was not to be denied approach to the royal presence.

On one of the first of these occasions, and before the Court functionaries had as yet learned that these "audiences" were to be taken seriously, a young girl rushed forth from the circle pressing around the gate and threw herself at the feet of the King.

An Englishman who has lived in Siam for many years told me the story. He had heard it from an eye-witness.

The King motioned that the girl should speak.

She said that her father was about to marry her off to a loathsome old man, who had paid thirty ticals for her innocence.

Try to imagine the shock to the Court attendants when they observed such presumption on a woman's part.

The guards ran forward to thrust her into oblivion. But the King's order called them back.

And then, at that dramatic moment, leapt from the royal lips the epoch-making proclamation, "A woman is not a cow."

"Such an observation had never before been made in 10,000 years," exclaims Mr. Kirtland, continuing;

It was revolutionary.

It was red heresy. It was nonsense, and a pretty dangerous joke, too—giving woman the idea that they were more important than cows!

The date of this royal pronunciamento, if it were only definitely known, might be celebrated as the Magna Carta day by the women of Siam. Of course, it didn't settle their emancipation then and there. But it was a tremendous beginning.

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Man on Earth

Man is one of the latest comers on earth, and has, according to Sir James Jeans, who writes in *Evolution*, still his life before him:

Anthropologists and geologists tell us that man has existed on earth for something like 300,000 years; we must go this far back to meet our ape-like ancestry. Between them and us some 10,000 generations of men have walked the earth, most of whom have probably given some thought, in varying degree, to the significance of their existence and the plan of the universe...

For in all probability the life in front of the human race must enormously exceed the short life behind it. A million million years hence, so far as we can foresee, the sun will probably still be much as now, and the earth will be revolving round it much as now. The year will be a little longer, and the climate quite a lot colder, while the rich accumulated stores of coal, oil, and forest will have long been burned up; but there is no reason why our descendants should not still people the earth. Perhaps it may be unable to support so large a populations as now, and perhaps fewer will desire to live on it. On the other hand, mankind, being three million times as old as now, may—if the conjecture does not distress our pessimists too much—be three million times as wise.

Looked at on the astronomical time scale, humanity is at the very beginning of its existence—a new born babe, with all the unexplored potentialities of babyhood; and until the last few moments its interest has been centred, absolutely and exclusively, on its cradle and feeding bottle. It has just become conscious of the vast world existing outside itself and its cradle; it is learning to focus its eyes on distant objects, and its awaken-

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ing brain is beginning to wonder, in a vague, dreamy way, what they are and what purpose they serve. Its interest in this external world is not much developed yet, so that the main part of its faculties is still engrossed with the cradle and feeding bottle, but a little corner of its brain is beginning to wonder.

Taking a very gloomy view of the future of the human race, let us suppose that it can only expect to survive for 2,000,000,000 years lo ger, a period about equal to the past age of the earth. Then, regarded as a being destined to live for three-score years and ten. humanity, although it has been born in a house 70 years old, is itself only 3 days old. But only in the last few minutes has it become conscious that the whole world does not centre round its cradle and its trappings, and only in the last few ticks of the clock has any adequate conception of the size of the external world dawned upon it.

For our clock does not tick seconds, but years; its minutes are the lives of men. A minute and a half ago the distance of a star was first measured and provided a measuring rod for the universe. A quarter of a minute ago, Hertzsprung and Shapley showed how the peculiar stars known as Cepheid variables provide a longer measuring rod, and taught us to think in distances so great that light takes hundreds of thousands of years to traverse them. With the last tick of the clock, Hubble, using the same measuring rod, has found that the most remote objects visible in the biggest telescope on earth are so distant that light travelling 186,000 miles a second, takes about 140 million years to come from them to us. * * *

Our··· infant, mankind has made the great discovery of the existence of the outer world, has formed some conception of his size, and adjusted his ideas, not by a process of slow revelation, but by a brain flash of the last few seconds. In his mature years and his staid old age he is no doubt destined to make many sensational discoveries, but he can never again live through the immortal moments at which he first grasped the immensity of the outer world. We only live through a few ticks of his clock.···The wonderful thing is that fate has elected for us what is, perhaps, in some ways the most sensational moment of all the life of our race.

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The Lesson of 1930

Mr. Sisley Huddleston, the well-known journalist, writes in *The New Statesman* on the lessons of the year 1930. His conclusions are summarized in *The International Digest*.

Scarcely anything that is charged against 1930 really belongs to that year. It belongs to 1919—or even earlier. For my part I am heartened to see so many people catching up to 1919. It is something that the truth should at last be dimly discerned. The truth, expressed quite simply, is that the conditions created by the treaties constitute the most terrible handicap to the peace and prosperity of Europe, and that the unending talk of peace is the clearest proof of an uneasy consciousness of the possibility of war.

It is not to be denied that some of the verbal and mystical accomplishments of the past few years were historically necessary. Thus the Locarno Pact and the Kellog Pact gave timely assurances to the world. They are not unreservedly accepted by everybody—or perhaps by anybody—and the nations are still asking for more and more assurances; but in so far as they served to soothe frayed international nerves they deserve all the praise that has been lavished upon them. Yet they do not take us on to the main road; they merely contain a promise that we do not mean to slip back.

In the past year something has indeed been done, not only politically but economically, to bring us to a fair starting-point. Thus the Young Plan for reparation payments was accepted. I have never believed that the arrangement was "final and definite," because the existence of the Young Plan, which places on the shoulders of one nation the war debts of the other nations for several generations, is an abnormality in the life of Europe. Already we hear demands for a nearer approach to normality; and it may be that before long the world will see that not only should there be a re-examination of German liabilities but of Allied liabilities as well, for these Allied liabilities are inextricable from German liabilitis. The transference of sums from country to country without corresponding services of merchandize ultimately benefits neither the giver nor the receiver, and indeed throws the world's economic machinery out of gear.

Nor it is possible to consider the evacuation of the Rhineland, which was one of the achievements of 1930, as a positive operation. It, too, was only a return towards normality. But if we should not take it for more than it is in reality, the withdrawal of the foreign troops, nearly twelve years after the war, has a considerable symbolic importance, and in practice it is a necessary preliminary to the very possibility of that policy of rapprochement of which we have heard so much. The immediate result was precisely what was to be expected. Germany did not express any gratitude for her liberation. On the contrary, she was emboldened to make other claims and doubtless the Hitlerite movement was stimulated by Germany's release. The opponents of the policy of reconciliation, and even some of the supporters of that policy, shook their heads sadly. What, then, did they want? With all its risks and inconveniences it was necessary, some time or other to emerge from a period of pure negation and to enter upon a period which offers at least the prospect of European reconstruction.

It is also to be put to the credit of 1930 that some attention was paid to the problem of armaments. The advance was not enormous, but it may take us away from the terrible competition which was, in worse economic circumstances, not dissimilar from that which preceded the war. Armed peace can only be the prelude to war, and even if we can begin, on the smallest scale, to reduce armaments, we should be thankful. The Naval Pact which was signed in London seems to make it certain that as between Great Britain and the United States there is no question of deadly rivalry; while Japan has, apparently with good grace, accepted her relative position among the naval powers.

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A variety of causes, however, contributed to the exasperation of the Franco-Italian rivalry, not only in respect of navies but in respect of general policy and prestige.

Disarmament has not yet been brought about, and the prospects are not too clear. The old basis that there must first be security is still held. Security is, of course, largely a state of mind, and therefore it has been necessary to insist on the moral guarantees against aggression. Those moral guarantees, however, are not considered to be sufficient by all the Governments, and they ask for specific pledges of assistance in case of need. Armaments, as it were, are to be displaced; and reduction in one country is contingent on the certainty of finding equivalent men and munitions in another country. That is the meaning of sanctions—a new form of international alliances. Obviously it is unlikely that, in the event of war, the different nations, which are no longer free, which have more or less solidly committed themselves to each other, which have in some measure reverted to the old system of alliances and counter alliances, which show a tendency to align themselves on the revisionist or the anti-revisionist side—obviously it is unlikely that they would all take the same view in the event of war. The doctrine of sanctions, which is a section of the creed of security, presents grave dangers.

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Religion and the Modern Age

The Japan Weekly Chronicle has the following interesting note on the position of religion in the modern age:

Some time ago Mr. Chesterton remarked that he could hardly pick up a newspaper or other periodical without finding therein an article which indicated a lively interest in religion; and this he took to indicate that notwithstanding all that the religions or sceptical had to say on the subject it was a very live issue indeed. It is naturally one of the chief pre-occupations of mankind, to whom the questions Whence? Why? and Whither? must always be of the greatest interest except where long and unrelieved hardship have brought them to the mental level of the beasts that perish. But whether Mr. Chesterton's conclusion was quite correct is open to question nevertheless. There is some reason to believe that at least one of the reasons why so lively an interest is created by discussion of religion is the immense amount of capital invested in it. Organized religious bodies represent enormous cash liabilities and affect the living of vast numbers of influential people—quite enough to account for the lively interest taken as soon as there is any suspicion that the position of these investments may not remain very safe. Whatever the cause we find among other evidences of the interest taken the fact that since its first publication in 1909 no less than thirty-eight editions of Professor Salomon Reinach's *Orpheus* have appeared, and of the latest edition an English translation has been issued by Routledge,...

Reinach makes a far-flung survey of religions but has to treat some of them rather summarily, since over half his book treats of the history of Christianity. From the Voltairean charge that the Church merely propagated superstition he defends it, as a large part of its work was actually a denial of great masses of superstition, and even today the Catholic priest hearing confessions has often to tell the person confessing that some of his beliefs are baseless superstitions! But on the other hand, the methods of combating superstition do not always commend themselves. Reinach finds no palliation for the atrocities with which the Albigenses and Waldenses were extirpated though he somewhat sadly remarks that even today there are not lacking religious writers who defend these cruelties. He also regards it as an aggravation of the offence that the Inquisition handed over its victims to the civil power for the final murder—but perhaps the hypocrisy involved in this proceeding is an acknowledgement that its wickedness was recognized—a faint spark of enlightenment shining through the murk.

But while Reinach is carried away by the fascinations of European history, it is in the comparison of religions that the philosophic value of his work lies. Most people today (except those religious fanatics who profess Communism with Marx and Lenin as its prophets, and who believe that they are totally without religion) talk about religion being a human need. But they find a great difficulty in understanding what they mean by the term. Students of comparative religion seek for a common principle—the highest common factor.

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About the League

Mr. Haurigot, a Franch journalist went down to Geneva and interviewed the officials of the Secretariat of the League of Nations with the object of finding out the truth about it. Here is the record of his conversation with a German official, as translated in *The Living Age*:

Ever since the first day I arrived, I was most eager to meet a German, but the man whom I finally visited did not actually belong to the Secretariat. During the first part of our conversation he seemed debonair. He was fat and short and spoke French as well as I. He offered me coffee, cakes, and a cigar and began talking before I could ask him anything. This was not the first time such a thing had happened to me. On the whole, people in Geneva have a great deal to say.

'So you have come to examine the League Secretariat. Well, you are going to discover an illusion.'

'What illusion?'

'The Secretariat is really a Franco-English enterprise, not an international institution at all. Think for a moment what it consists of. When it was established it did not include Russia and the United States, which of course are not yet members, or Germany. Its methods, its mentality, its structure, its labours took shape before Germany entered.'

'But how about the neutral powers?'

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'You have chosen good neutrals and you have done it skilfully, which is quite natural.'

'But the South Americans?'

'Generally, their ministers in Paris represent them in Geneva. They are not going to put themselves at odds with the French, on whom their career depends. And remember that the only Hungarian in the Secretariat is a book-keeper and that there is no Bulgarian or Austrian in its service.

'But remember, the men who held those offices were chosen at the instance of the Allies. Dufour-Feronce has spent his whole career in London. No, Germany entered the League of Nations by way of Locarno, by the back door, and she made a mistake.'

'But now that Germany occupies a permanent seat on the League Council, don't you think that she will work with a good will toward international co-operation?'

'Germany cannot look upon the League of Nations in the same spirit that other countries do. It makes the same impression on us that the *place de la Concorde* made on you before the War, when the statues of Alsace and Lorraine were veiled on holidays. What questions is the League dealing with now? The Saar valley, colonial mandates, Danzig, Memel. But these are serious personal affairs for us.'

'I don't understand your bitterness. It is better for the League to occupy itself with these questions than for nobody to occupy itself with them.'

'I don't know how it might have been for us, but it would certainly have been better for the League if Danzing had been annexed to Poland. The great error of the treaty that made Danzig a free city is that nothing was settled. It could have been better to take anything away from us, to make us pay any amount, provided matters were liquidated. But, instead, the Saar valley is complaining, Danzig is complaining, and our young people do not understand why regiments can parade publicly in Bern but not in Berlin.'

'Certainly, but who is responsible for all this?'

My interlocutor rose to his feet, not letting me finish my sentence. His face grew red. 'Sir, you are too young to have fought in the War. You speak of it as if it were an historical event. But, for men of my age, a dead body lies between France and Germany.'

'A dead body?'

'The question of responsibility for the War. All Germany is convinced that the War was an Anglo-Franco-Russian conspiracy, and a hundred and six of the deputies chosen at the last elections proclaim that Germany was not defeated.'

'That seems paradoxical'

'And so it is. See where our wretched peace treaties have brought us. There was no need of discussing war guilt at that time. Such a thing never happened before in history. What was needed was liquidation, and, since it was not achieved then, we are being obiged to accomplish it to-day, at the cost of much trouble. Some of the clauses of the Versailles Treaty are so absurd that no one could ever have dreamed of applying them.'

'You mean the question of war guilt?'

'Obviously.' My German friend sat down and I was stupefied at having provoked such an explosion, so remote from the subject we were discussing, simply by mentioning the word 'responsibility.' Yet this man is certainly considered very moderate in his native country. He has occupied diplomatic posts and married a Belgian. He then continued talking more calmly.

'So you do not believe in the usefulness of the League of Nations?' I asked.

'In its present form, certainly not. I know the argument you have heard: at least we get together and discuss. Do you believe that talking more about national interests makes them any less sharp? Bismarck was a very pro-French Prussian ambassador in Paris before 1870. He saw Frenchmen every day. Napoleon III swore by him. Yet war came and the French themselves are now beginning to say that Napoleon's followers wanted it, although such a view was not popular in 1871. One has to fight a new war before one can be frank about responsibility for the last one.'

My German friend walked back to town with me and I noticed that his cane was made of two parts. 'Is that a sword cane?' I asked.

In reply he told me this symbolic story, 'You remind me of the time M. de Jouvenel asked me the same question, adding, "There's a good example of Germany's simulated disarmament." By way of reply I pulled out of my cane not a sword but a poor umbrella, saying to him, "There's the eternal distrust of the French for you." Suiting the gesture to the word, my friend extracted his umbrella, sheltering me under it, for it was beginning to rain.

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Buddhism in Tibet

Mr. Walter Asboe writes in the *International Review of Missions* about Buddhism as it is practised in Tibet:

Tibet is a priest-ridden country, the proportion of priests to people being about one in seven. Everywhere one may see the red-robed lama with his shaven head mingling freely with the people. He is always treated with outward respect and often with superstitious awe, for he represents a religion which has for centuries stood for the best the Tibetans in their backward state of moral and spiritual development have known. The hierarchical system has ever been one of tyrannous oppression in which fear of tortures of hell and the inculcation of superstitious ideas have been assiduously fostered. The relegation of religion to the priesthood has contributed in ever-increasing degree to the prestige of the priests, and the Bhuddhist hierarchy is by no means slow in using its power to browbeat and tyrannize over the illiterate laity. Many of the monasteries possess granaries containing large quantities of wheat and barley which are supplied to the people at extortionate rates of interest. The result is that the bulk of population is in perpetual debt to the monasteries, thus restricting indivisual independence and private initiative.

Each Tibentan family endeavours to provide a lama for the church. In accordance with the law of entail which operates in some parts of western Tibet, the eldest son of the family is placed in a better position than his own father, and to all intents and purposes becomes the head of the family. As soon as the eldest son marries

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he enters upon the family estate, a small portion being retained for the parents, who live in a small apartment specially set apart for them. A small plot of land is also reserved for the unmarried daughters, and when the parents die or the daughters marry the land becomes the sole property of the eldest son. It frequently happens that one or more of the younger male members of the family, finding agricultural enterprise uncongenial where there is no hope of acquiring land in their own right, take holy orders and devote themselves to religious duties.

There is perhaps no country in the world where prayer is reduced to so mechanical a form as in Tibet. Invocation of guardian deities is the daily practice of the lamas, though this form of prayer is of a primitive order—the effort to induce the god to conform to the will of man. There are several devices for facilitating the act of so-called prayer. The first and most popular is that of the well-known prayer wheel, containing a long roll of paper on which is inscribed many times the mystic formula *Om mani padme hum*. By the mechanical device of causing the wheel to revolve thousands of prayers are credited to the operator who thereby gains a vast accumulation of merit for a future existence. There is a still more ingenious device which we may call the 'spinning barrel,' filled with paper on which choice prayers are inscribed. At the base of the barrel a wood propeller is fixed, upon which a strong jet of water is directed—usually from a watercourse. Thus the spinning barrel performs the prayers of the entire village day and night. Prayer flags are also used, and may be seen fluttering in the breeze for the benefit of the Tibetan too indolent to pray for himself.

Everywhere 'prayer walls' of all sizes are to be found. On the tops of these walls are hundreds of stones about the size of one's hand on each of which the mystic formula already mentioned is chiselled. By virtue of walking past or round the prayer wall (keeping it on one's right hand) all these prayers are accounted as said to the benefit of the one who so walks. Merit by means of mechanical prayer can also be gained by proxy. A wealthy man will sometimes employ a poor one to turn a colossal prayer drum six feet high by three feet in diameter. At each complete revolution a bell rings, to enable the devotee to ascertain the number of revolutions. This type of prayer drum is usualy to be found in the local monasteries.

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Limitation of Expenditure on Armaments

An important stage has been reached in the preparation for the World Disarmament Conference, to be held early next year. The Committee of Experts on Budgetary Questions called together by the Preparatory Commission has just finished its work. The main lines in the Committee's proposals are sumarized as follows in the League of Nations *News for Overseas Bulletin*:

The main lines of the Committee's proposals may be summarized as follows:

1. The limitation will bear, not on Parliamentary votes (the significance of which is very different according to the country), but on the payments actually made during each financial year, as shown in the appropriation accounts published and audited in each country. The budget, or Parliamentary votes, will of course retain all their importance for public opinion within each country, and the Governments will in practice be obliged to explain publicly how the estimates contained in their budgets are to be reconciled with the limitation of their actual payments which they have accepted.

2. The Committee has suggested that the Governments should undertake not to indulge in the purchase of armaments on credit in such a way as to increase the armaments which they could otherwise have acquired within the limits of the Convention.

3. The draft Convention provides for annual return of expenditure in a common form. Although these returns will not provide any basis of comparison of the strength of armaments between the different countries, it has always been recognized that a reasonable degree of uniformity was necessary for the general comprehension of the system of publicity and limitation. The Committee has drawn up this common form and has given detailed instructions as to the items of expenditure which are to be given in each of the eight to ten heads contained in the form.

4. It may be that not all Governments will be able to fill in this form strictly in accordance with the instructions, and the Committee has therefore proposed that each Government should be allowed to fill in the form in a slightly different method (according as its accounting procedure may require), *provided* that it explains this method to the Conference and undertakes to adhere to the same method during the period of the Convention.

5 The Committee's proposals provide that all armament expenditure is to be included from whatever source the funds are obtained—*e.g.*, from the budgets of the forces, from the civil budgets, from the funds of local authorities, or from entirely different sources.

6. Generally speaking, when any marginal cases arise involving either difficulties of definition or doubts as to whether they really affect the strength of armaments, the Committee has proposed that doubtful items of expenditure of this kind, if excluded from the returns of expenditure, should be made the subject of publicity.

7. The Committee has also made proposals regarding the steps to be taken if a marked variation in the purchasing power of currencies gives rise to the need for adjusting the limits of expenditure. The Committee has also proposed that the limits of expenditure should in fact apply, not to the expenditure of each year, but to the average expenditure of each successive four years, the expenditure of any one year being allowed to exceed the limit to an extent to be fixed by agreement.

These two provisions should make it easier for States to accept limits which will represent their real normal agreed requirements, instead of asking for limits which will represent their "peak" expenditure.

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University Education in India

On February 17, 1931, Sir Philip Hartog read a paper on "The Future of Education and Research under the New Constitution," which has been published in *The Asiatic Review*. In course of this paper Sir Philip offered the following observations on the problem of university education in India.

There can be no doubt that it would be an immense economy of public money if the vast number of students who enter them with no possible chance of success were kept out, by a stringent entrance test, say at the age of eighteen, and diverted to other careers. An Indian professor at one of the universities said to me, a short time ago, that the number of students in his institutions ought to be reduced by half. There are two obstacles in the way, "public opinion" and university finance. Indian fathers with influence are afraid that their own sons might be excluded by more efficient tests, and most Indian universities depend so much on fees that they are afraid of having their budgets upset.

The budgetting difficulty could be got over if other provinces would follow the example given by Bengal in the case of Dacca University, to which a statutory grant has been made under an Act of the provincial legislature.

Nor do I regard the backwardness of public opinion as insuperable. One of the most significant events in university history in India is the drastic and courageous action taken by the Muslim University of Aligarh to set its house in order. I was one of a committee of three appointed by that most capable lady, H. H. the late Begum of Bhopal, then Chancellor. We reported that owing to maladministration the university was in a deplorable condition, with a staff in many cases under-qualified and over-paid. The Court (entirely Indian in its composition) of its own motion reduced the Executive Council to a body of three, which entirely reorganized the staff and made many other reforms. I doubt whether any other body I know would have taken steps more drastic.

I see by the *Statesman* that Calcutta is doing something to bring order into the administrational chaos of its post-graduate work, which up to the present has been organized very wastefully without any heads of departments. I wish to pay a tribute here to the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for his early recognition of the fact that the reputation of a university must depend not only on its teaching but on its power of advancing knowledge. I do not agree with all the methods he used to give effect to his ideals. But it is true that until the Report of the Sadler Commission was issued there was no general recognition of the importance of research in Indian universities. Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar in Bombay, Colonel Stevenson, L.M.S., in Lahore. Sir P. C. Roy, and Sir Jagadis Bose in Calcutta, are among the few outstanding exceptions to the rule that professors did not regard it as part of their business to carry on and encourage research.

In the last ten years there has been a great change. The universities now ask for research qualifications from candidates for the post of Professor and Reader, and the volume of original work in India, though still small for the number of its teachers, is greatly increased from what it was in the years preceding 1917.

The recent award of the Nobel prize in physics and of the Hughes Medal of the Royal Society to Sir C. V. Raman will no doubt serve as a stimulus to the younger Indian workers, who are beginning to acquire a reputation outside India.

A university has three functions:

(a) The pastoral function, of which the object is to develop character and individuality in action.

(b) The teaching function, of which the object is to give instruction and train the understanding for useful purposes.

(c) The function of research of which the object is to extend knowledge, and by example and by the co-operation of teachers and students to develop individuality in thinking.

British educational administrators in the provinces rightly attached importance to the first two functions. I think that they, though not the Government of India, for many years underestimated the great importance of the third, especially important in a country where the traditional tendency is to keep the pupil in leading strings for far too long. I may refer on that point to a critic who will not be regarded as prejudiced, the late Lala Lajpat Rai.

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The Truce and American Opinion

The following note in *Unity* on a cable sent by Mahatma Gandhi to Mr. John Haynes Holmes, its editor, shows the trend of American opinion with regard to the truce in India. It also reveals in what light pro-British propaganda is reperesenting the truce in America:

The editor of *Unity* is in receipt of a cable message from Mahatma Gandhi which he must share with readers of this paper. This message is as follows:

Have followed with gratefulness your efforts on behalf of India. If India comes to her own, it will be the largest contribution to world peace. As a *Satyagrahi*, civil resister, I should strive for peace, as I must hold myself in readiness for war.

This message is a document of great importance in the present situation in India. It shows three things distinctly. First, that Gandhi's mind is set steadfastly on the ultimate goal of independence for his people. Secondly, that he is resolved to exhaust, at any cost of time and patience, every peaceful means of attaining this goal. Thirdly, that he is ready, at any moment when or if peaceful means fail, to continue that steady pressure of revolt which has already shaken British rule to its foundations. To those who have learned to know the mind of Gandhi, and to understand its methods and policies, these are matters of no surprise. But it is well to have them re-emphasized at first hand in these days when utterly misleading newspaper despatches are misinterpreting Indian conditions to the American public. One would

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Judge from what is coming to us in the dispatches that the decisions of the Round Table Conference are entirely satisfactory to the great masses of the Indian people, as well as to their leaders—that the Mahatma has in recent weeks been seeking a way of accepting these decisions, and at the same time of saving his own face—and that if the Mahatma for any reason does not surrender his cause to the Viceroy and to the Indians who went to London, he is a traitor at once to his own country and to the world. This, of course, is poisoned propaganda. The position of Gandhi and the Congress has been clear for months, and has not changed. The Nationalist movement has not the slightest intention of throwing away the vast power of revolt, organized with much infinite labour and sacrifice, for any such mess of pottage as was brewed at Westminster. Gandhi, as wise in statemanship as he is pure in saint-hood, is the one who is laying down terms. It is England and not India which must surrender and make peace. When the Mahatma started on his march to Dandi a year ago, he put his hand to the plough, and he will not look back.

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Winston Churchill's Failure

Winston Churchill's political career is something like a puzzle. "For thirty years," writes Mr. Wickham Steed in *Current History*, "Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill has been a star of some magnitude in the British firmament. The brightness of his light has waxed and waned by turns. Dazzling at times, at others it has paled unaccountably. Today it is dim." Mr. Steed seeks to explain this failure :

Whence comes this fading in the fortunes of a man undeniably brilliant, resourceful, bold and astute? With rare resilience he has risen, again and again, from what looked like crushing defeat. He cannot yet be "counted out." Foiled in one direction, he will assuredly seek to break through in another. His whole career is a record of refusal to admit discomfiture. Whether as soldier, journalist, polo player, orator, politician, writer, painter or bricklayer he has been all these successively or simultaneously, he has never said die. His multitudinous activities have been so many openings for an indomitable temperament and for talents of infinite variety.

He has been the butt of countless epigrams. More "studies" have been written of him than of any English public character. "It is not that Mr. Churchill is more multitudinous than others," writes A. G. Gardiner, the eminent Liberal critic, in 1913, when Mr. Churchill was still a Liberal, "it is that one seems to look in vain for that fundamental note that makes the disorders of supreme men plain. . . . It is the ultimate Churchill that escapes us. I think he escapes us for a good reason. He is not there." After the war, in 1926, when Mr. Churchill had rejoined the Conservatives, the same shrewd observer said ; "He is never a demagogue nor a sycophant, and if he changes his party with the facility of partners at a dance, he has always been true to the only party he really believes in—that which is assembled under the hat of Mr. Winston Churchill."

It is a large hat, sizes bigger than the hats of normal men, Yet "the party" beneath it has grown smaller by degrees. The late E. T. Raymond, most pungent of "character students," wrote in 1918: "At 37 men looked on Mr. Churchill as a statesman of some achievement. At 47 he is discussed as a politician of considerable promise. . . . From the great Duke (of Marlborough) he inherits, perhaps, his courage, his warlike tastes, much of his intellect and no little of his facility for espousing new causes and discarding old ones. . . . The sedative influence of principle he is unhappily denied." Mr. Asquith once remarked: "Winston has genius without judgment;" but it remained for one of his chief colleagues in the last Baldwin Administration to utter blandly the severest stricture of all: "If Winston would give up politics and stick to writing, he might be the most brilliant British historian since Macaulay."

"Give up politics." What likelihood is there that Mr. Churchill will over "give up politics"? It seems as slender as the chance that he will ever be Prime Minister. Politics are to him the breath of life; the political arena is, in his eyes, a limitless field of adventure. Of all the epithets that have been hurled at him, "Gentleman Adventurer" describes him most aptly. He is high-hearted and fearless, gifted, self-dramatizing, self-conscious, irrepressible and rhetorical ; yet, by common consent, he misses greatness by the merest fraction of an inch. His dashing exploits and splendid failures would suffice to fill the lives of half a dozen lesser men. Four years hence he will be 60 ; but none thinks of him as elderly or sedate. His latest book tells of his boyhood and adolescent adventures. It is a masterpiece of self-revelation. In many a passage it warrants the saying of H. G. Wells : "There are times when the evil spirit comes upon him, and then I can think of him only as an intractable little boy, a mischievous little boy, a knee-worthy little boy. Only by thinking of him in that way can I go liking him."

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Indian Method

Though a little apprehensive that the direct application of spiritual methods to a domain which is specifically temporal—civic and national—may end in streams of blood, the distinguished French philosopher, M. Jacques Maritain pays a generous compliment to Mahatma Gandhi and the methods of political agitation in India in his newly published book, *The Things That Are not Cæsar's*. "The example of Gandhi," says M. Maritain, "should put us to shame. It is everywhere forgotten in Europe, which once was Christian, that if specifically political means ought to be applied to specifically political ends, nevertheless, by the very fact of their proximate end being subordinated to a more exalted end, the use of such means ought itself to be rectified and elevated by more exalted virtues and impregnated as it were by their spirit. Only on that condition are they completely good and effective *in their order*; for only in that case are they perfectly subject to the whole order of their ends." This close inter-relation of the temporal and the spiritual is emphasized by the editor of the *Prabuddha Bharat*, who says :

Recent political events in India have drawn the attention of the whole world to it. The other day a press reporter said that even in a far away place in Jugo-Slavia a person was enquiring of him about Mahatma Gandhi and his movement. The credit of Mahatma Gandhi lies in the fact that even in the stormy activities of politics all his actions are pitched to a high standard of religion, in the broader sense of the term. His politics is not separate from religion; in other words, even through his political activities he wants to attain his personal salvation. That is a wonderful thing in the eye of the world.

In India, religion has not been kept apart only for a certain day of the week, but it covers all phases of activities within twenty-four hours of the day. Here one has to transform all his activities into an offering to God. Mahatma Gandhi greatly typifies this aspect of the Indian life.

With regard to present Indian affairs, *The Hibbert Journal* in one of its issues writes: —"It would, however, be a disastrous mistake to regard these events exclusively from the political point of view, since in India religion and political interests are intimately and indeed inseparably united. In truth, in no other land has religion so deeply penetrated and enveloped, so firmly held and profoundly influenced, life as a whole. Its subtle atmosphere spreads everywhere and pervades all things, . . . In India religion has never been departmentalized And here assuredly she is entirely in the right. For a secular state would, in the end, prove an impossibility. The interests and activities of a purely secular state would necessarily lack . . . that spiritual principle, without which, is would, indeed, be nothing better than a galvanized corpse having only the semblance, not the reality of life, . . . And it is, in our judgment, by the essential pantheism of her religion that in the end, India will be found able to save herself from the disintegration that at present appears to threaten her ; and, further, *only if in this respect we are prepared to learn of her, shall we, too, as an empire, be spared the like disaster.* (Italics are ours). And by religious pantheism, let us remark, we mean only that higher pantheism which discerns the Atman or Self in all things and all things in the divine Atman or Self."

Yes, this is a great lesson which the world has to learn from India and India has to teach the world ; namely, that God pervades all, and as such all our actions should be attuned to that idea. Unfortunately, due perhaps to the dark period of history through which India had to pass, all India is not fully conscious of this noble mission; some of her children are even prepared to reconstruct the entire national life on a Western model. There are many Indians who feel proud of their religion and philosophy, but their pride proceeds not from any deep knowledge of them, but is fed by the praise some Western scholars have for Indian religion and philosophy. What is necessary is that a great attempt should be made by every Indian to ransack every little gem of truth that is to be found in the religion and philosophy of the country, to realize that in life and spread that all over the world for the good of the humanity at large....

There should be a class of people who by rightly interpreting Indian culture and civilization can influence the Western mind and draw its attention to the beauties lying hidden in them; and there should be another class of people who being the embodiment of Indian religion and ideal will be able to transform the very life of the persons they come in contact with. One class will appeal to the intellect and the other to the heart. The author in his last remark is perhaps labouring under a misconception, when using the word "missionary." If Hindu missionaries go out to preach, they do so not so much with a recruiting motive as to stimulate the faith of the people in their own religion. For is it not one of the fundamentals of Hinduism that all religions are in essence true, being simly different paths to realize the same God?

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What the Congress Has Gained?

There are many critics who say that considering what the terms of the so-called truce are, the Congress should have accepted the Round Table Conference in its first session. Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya would have it so. Writing in *The Indian Review* on the truce and its lessons, he says:

Amidst cavil, abuse and misrepresentation the Congress had carried on its own movement of Civil Disobedience,—we now know, with what results. It is some little gratification to find that those who would not touch it with a pair of tongs have now congratulate the Congress on its achievement, but are still at a loss to know what it is that the Congress gains by agreeing to join the Round Table Conference, now as against in November last. This is a pertinent enquiry and must be answered.

If in November last the Congress had joined the Conference, it would have been browbeaten as the members were in London on several points. Take the Burma question, turn up the pages relating to its discussion. On the very first day the problem of separation was debated, it was decided and the Chairman made it a matter of ruling. Men like Mr. Chintamani felt helpless in the matter. Then came the plenary sitting of the Committee where matters did not improve. A final hope was expressed that in the plenary session of the Conference the very principle might be attacked, but here speeches were taken as read and members were lost in wonderment. They had no sanction behind them, Their so-called constitutional methods could not bear better results and there was no reserve force which they could fall back upon. If the Congress had joined then, it would have added a dozen more to the ninety-two already assembled at the St. James' Palace with no better experience. Now it may look forward to participation in a spirit of manly self-reliance and with a certain reserve strength behind it which will be a source of inspiration to itself and a source of fear to the British.

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The Power of Swadeshi

Mrs. Hilda Wood writes in *Stri Dharma* on the power of Swadeshi:

In the case of Indian freedom today although the boycott of foreign goods is the best means to bring the British to their senses, the work of Indian Swadeshi is not only the boycott of foreign cloth, but has the much more permanent and constructive side of fostering home products. This work requires a slow but steady education of the people as to the economic benefit of giving support to their country's industries.

England buys from India only those things which she cannot possibly produce more cheaply herself. This is as it should be, but India goes on buying from abroad those things she *could* produce more cheaply herself, and mainly with what is at present unoccupied labour. England, moreover, buys goods made from a low paid peasantry, while India buys goods from a relatively highly paid people. So India is kept poor. There is a very unequal exchange of the products of labour, though the margin of loss to India may seem small in money. The yearly drain from British India of products for which there is no return is put at upwards of Rs. 30,000,000 a year. But one cannot measure the goods exchanged in terms of money. One can only measure them by looking at the actual goods remaining in the possession of the parties of the transaction.

Some years ago President Coolidge pointed out that the claims of traders operating in foreign countries was the chief modern cause of war. Therefore, no nation must neglect to develop those industries for which it has the natural resources, the labour and the talent. Though international trade has its value, it would be a ridiculous thing to carry goods to and fro unnecessarily, besides destroying the variety of occupations which is necessary for the stability of a country, especially in times of transition, which are increasingly frequent, as is to be seen, for example, in the immensely reduced consumption of woollens, or in another way in the disappearance of horses and the horse trade. Besides, the life of a nation is somewhat like the life of a man. The child may need the gifts the mother can offer, but the growing boy and strong man must work for himself.

There is no need for me to go into the industrial past of this country. It is well known to all. Men came from afar to shake the pagoda tree. Those were the days of India's great manufacturing fame; she was the greatest manufacturing country of the world, and it is perfectly obvious that she can be so again if she supports her Swadeshi industries and puts them on an economic basis. Unfortunately, those who are thinking of this matter forget the difference between a financial basis and an economic basis. It may be good finance to pay the workers as little as possible but it is extremely bad economics. The only way to promote Indian industries is to create consumers. This means that the vast working population must also be a purchasing population. With all the natural resources and labour capacities of India, it is quite possible for everybody to have a nice house with all simple instruments of culture and refinement.

In India a consuming public is what is required. Our rich men and women must be educated to understand the value of the circulation of wealth in the country as compared with hoarding, buying jewellery, and unproductive banking. In the political field many realize the evil effects of the drainage of wealth *outside* the country, but fail to see that there is an even greater danger, the lack of circulation of wealth *inside* the country.

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Workmen's Compensation

Insurance World draws attention to the defects of the administration of the Indian Workmen's Compensation Act (1923) in course of an editorial:

There are several factors which render the operation of a measure of this kind difficult in India. The most important difficulty is that the

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ordinary workman is not in a position to enter into expensive litigation, and there is no organized body to help him to conduct a protracted case. Generally also, the workman is ignorant of the financial relief to which he is entitled under the Act. There is further a great lack of qualified men to put up the workman's case properly. It is however, gratifying to note that with the growth of the Trade Union movement in India, the provisions of this Act are coming to be utilized more and more. According to the Annual Report of the Government of India, it has been working very smoothly, and there has been a marked increase in the number of claims made under the Act, and in the amount of compensation paid by the employers.

The report on the working of the Workmen's Compensation Act in Bengal during the year 1929, has recently been published. The report shows that the number of claims was nearly the same as that in 1928, but there was a great increase in the deposits of compensation. The total sum deposited increased by about 70 per cent and the number of cases was double that of the previous year. The fact that about twenty persons employed in unorganized industries filed claims under the provisions of the Workmen's Compensation Act, goes to show that the knowledge of the Act is spreading.

Though Mr. M. H. B. LETHBRIDGE, the then Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation has prepared the report very cleverly, still it must be admitted that Government have done very little in spreading the knowledge of the Act to the illiterate and ignorant labourers of Bengal. . . .

In a densely populated province like Bengal where many industries employing thousands of workmen are in operation, these figures bear out the fact that the workmen are not sufficiently informed of the benefits of the Workmen's Compensation Act. Steps should be taken in this direction at an early date, so that the wretched conditions under which the workmen of our country toil, may be ameliorated to some extent.

The report further states that the majority of cases, in which compensation has been paid, have been in Calcutta and other industrial centres. This clearly shows that there must have been many workmen in the muffassil who could not get compensation simply due to lack of knowledge and information.

However, in spite of the meagre results, the Act is gradually making headway and it is expected that the workmen will be able to get more benefits in future from the provisions of the Act. It will be interesting to mention here that in England the total compensation paid under the Workmen's Compensation Act was £6,569,918 in 1929, and £6,457,273, in 1928.

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Nationalism and Imperialism

We congratulate *The Hindu* on its excellent annual for 1931, to which many distinguished writers, both of England and India, have sent their contributions. One of the most distinguished of them, Sir Norman Angel, writes in it on the conflicting claims of nationalism and Imperialism :

For thirty years the present writer has fought Imperialism ; and in and out of season has declared it to be an evil thing. He has opposed every war in which, during those years, his country has been engaged ; and he has known what it is to be something of an outcast in consequence. He is not therefore likely to have very lively prejudices in favour of the policies or philosophy of an Imperialism which he has fought all his life. But the right alternative to Imperialism, the domination of one by another, is not the independence of each. That merely produces the Balkanization and anarchy which a few years ago turned Europe into a shambles—and will turn it again, if its peoples remain the victim of these moral and social fallacies. The right alternative to Imperialism domination is co-operation, federalism in some form.

The mistake which Nationalism (and I have in view particularly the Nationalism of Europe with which I am more familiar than the Nationalism of the East) makes in this connection perhaps, is the confusion of equality and independence. The victim of Imperialism has certainly the right to ask that, in entering into any co-operation with the Powers that may have dominated him in the past, he shall do so on a basis of equality of right. The mechanism by which that can be expressed in actual political life may be difficult to devise or discover. But somehow we must manage it, and we might well have managed it long before this, and an infinity of misery have been spared the world, if, in the past, one immoralism like Imperialism, had not been confronted, as the only alternative, with another immoralism—or, if you will, "impossibilism"—like Nationalism, a nationalism demanding unqualified independence in a world in which independence and the organization of any workable human society is a contradiction in terms.

The danger of a conception like Nationalism as we see it at work in Europe—disrupting, disintegrating, preparing the soil for chaos and breakdown—is that it has within it certain instinctive elements which are entirely good, and in the absence of which perhaps we could have no human society at all. Nationalism is a rough and ready way in which we express the feeling that man is a social being, that we make a "corporate body," that we are in truth members one of another. But instincts which may have grown out of self-preservation may themselves become means of destruction, if uncorrected by social discipline and intelligence. Some months ago in a theatre, someone raised the cry of "Fire." The audience obeyed the instinct of self-preservation, rushed to the doors which happened to be closed; many were trampled to death. There was no fire. It was a false alarm. Those people perished by reason of an ill-disciplined response to instinct. A few weeks later, in another theatre the same cry of fire was raised. The Manager jumped on the stage and in a dramatic voice called for order. The theatre was emptied without confusion and no one was hurt; though this time there was a *fire*, and the place was burned to the ground. In the second case instinct was checked, the first thought was made subject to the second.

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To say of Nationalism, therefore, that it has its roots in deep instinct, is not necessary to justify it. The religious instinct itself has at times been murderous—as witness the European wars of religion, the massacres, the Inquisition. But Nationalism is the political religion of the modern world.

Man is never really threatened by evils which are plainly and obviously evil. He will turn from them. But when evil comes, mixed with good, or able to masquerade as good and when an unworkable and essentially mistaken social principle can rally to itself the drive of noble passion then indeed is he in danger.

I would not wish to appear to evade the application of these very general principles to the situation in India, where of all places of the world at this moment, they are of most import.

On very many occasions in the past I have indicted, with all the emphasis—passion if you will—that I could command, the attitude of "superiority" which those of the West have so often adopted to those of the East; have insisted that until this were abandoned co-operation between the two would never be possible; that the East never would, and never ought to accept any approach save that of absolute equality of status. Upon that principle of equality of status Indians have every right to insist and should insist. It is a principle which goes and ought to go far beyond the limits of politics, and it should be made plain to Europeans that so long as their contacts with those of other races carry the implication that those others are "inferior," just so long will co-operation be impossible.

But the human and just demand and entirely social demand for equality should not be confused with an entirely anti-social claim for "independence;" the "right of anarchy," the refusal to co-operate. Yet it is plain that in the minds of very many, little distinction is made between the claims; they are often indeed presented as synonymous. And out of that confusion may come, even when there is good-will on both sides, infinite misery and disaster which a liitle clarity of thought might have avoided.

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An Appreciation of Mahatma Gandhi

Mr. Reginald Reynolds writes on the personality and methods of Mahatma Gandhi in *The C. S. S. Review* :

As the unique contribution of this great man to the world and by far the most momentous thing in modern times I would place first his systematic application of religion to politics. Co-ordination of communal with individual morality has long been the most patent and crying need of civilization. Once more it is to the credit of the early Quakers that they recognized the moral discrepancy involved in a political system which justified and applauded in the name of statecraft all that was condemned as heinous and vile in the individual life. Thus, organized murder is justified when undertaken by the state. Organized robbery is justified—in the old days as conquest pure and simple, but nowadays in the name of "mandates" and "sacred trusts." Bombastic pride is passed off as patriotism.

Lying, cheating and hypocrisy are glossed over in the name of diplomacy. All manner of greed and covetousness plays havoc with the world under cover of "vital national interests." And finally the very people who most strongly repudiate the slavery of man to man condone and applaud the slavery of nation to nation.

Gandhiji has avoided a like calamity by starting, as it were, at the other end. He does not depend upon a body of selected followers and a model State. He starts with an existing state and with the average man the Man in the Street, in fact. He takes a nation as he finds it, with its saints and heroes, and house-holders and peasants and paupers, its sinners and cowards, its strong men and its weak men. And this he touches with his philosopher's stone, drawing the lineaments of a new nationhood. Just as Jesus himself boldly commanded men as individuals to be perfect, so Gandhiji has put this same impossible standard before the State. Not of saints but of common men and women is his material; but such fath burns in that great heart of his that he aspires to be the architect of Utopia.

Now this is folly, as the world measures wisdom: but it is the divine folly of St. Francis and the great fools of Christendom. Failure, one might say, is inevitable; and with what joy the worldly-wise point out the numerus times and places where the Mahatma has failed! How does the man expect, they ask, that ordinary people will follow his eaching? He is playing with fire.

They have reasons; for it is with the fire of Truth that Gandhiji is playing. "My Experiments with Truth" was a very apt title that the Mahatma gave to the story of his own life, and he knows how the Truth burns. But he knows too that whatever the agony and loss upon the way, the goal justifies all things. In the pursuit of his ideal he counts no cost too great. He knows that whatever gain may seem to be won by temporizing with Truth, all is loss in the long run. "Magna est veritas et praevalebit" might well be his motto.

So, while you and I are dabbling in the shallows of reality, this Great Captain goes boldly into the deep and bids his followers go with him fearlessly. Doubtless there were many on the Iberian shores who jeered at that fool, Columbus. Yet, had Columbus failed and perished with all his men, his failure would have been nobler than the greatest success of those who jeered. So it is with Gandhiji and with us; his smallest failure is worthier than our greatest victory.

But if in our crude, materialist way, we must measure all things with this tape—measure of 'success,' Gandhiji still triumphs. For in spite of every set-back he is building up slowly an indestructible edifice. Just because he is working with such common material he has nothing to fear from reaction. Because he has included the worst elements in his scheme of conversion, there is no outside force that can destroy what he builds. And not only it is true that his successes vastly outnumber his failures, but it is also true that every failure is turned to advantage in the accumulated knowledge of the new statecraft.

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Hindu Contribution to Urdu Poetry

It is not generally known that Hindus have contributed a good deal to the enrichment of modern Urdu Poetry during the last hundred years or so. Professor Mohan Singh Uberoi writes on this subject in *The Khalsa Review*:

Modern Urdu poetry may be said to begin roughly from the year 1858 A. D., for the great upheavel of the Mutiny, the final passing away of the Moghul Empire, and the transference of the political power and sovereignty from the Company to the British Crown marked the commencement of a definite change in the ways of Indian life and thought, which change is still proceeding apace.

Engaging in a retrospect, one finds that the Hindu had been ever since the emergence of Urdu-e-Mualla as a definite, satisfactory vehicle of poetic sentiments and emotions, formed and developed after the Persian poetic models, in the 17th century A. D., doing his humble bit for Urdu. But he does not appear to have found much leisure from his study of Persian which claimed his attention in priority to everything else for it was a matter of earning his livelihood, through his expert knowledge of this language of the rulers. He had to minister primarily to his material needs and struggle hard to live.

Just before, and sometime after the Mutiny when there was peece, equality of status, leisure ond religious freedom and tolerance, the ever-present but till then for some centuries, dormant spirit of Religious Devotion and Cultural Conservatism asserted itself and the Hindu poet began to produce Urdu prose and poetical versions of his national, sacred lore. The Printing Press and the emergence of an educated reading-public made it possible for Kayasth and Kashmiri Pandit writers of the U. P., and the Panjab to turn out a very large number of poetical works of great narrative skill, phsychological analysis and spiritual insight.

The Hindu contribution to Modern Urdu Poetry is strongest on the side of subject-matter. The cultural possessions and pre-possessions of Hinduism have received their due expression in Urdu Poetry of the last half century. On the side of form the Hindu contribution does not seem to be uniformly good, even exact or prosodically correct; or again extraordinarily refreshing or pleasantly new, though of the work of some poets, at least, the reverse could be said with ample justification. But here, too the cultural prepossessions of the Hindus—Superiority of matter to manner, spirit to form, mind to body and the æsthetic disregard of the first for the second in each case—has asserted itself and prevented him from securing as much of precise detail, minute workmanship and formal preciseness as is dear to the formalist who considers all that as the *sine qua non* of good poetry (which may not be great).

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The College and Village Reconstruction

The National Christian Council writes on the increasing part that the colleges are taking in the work of village reconstruction.

A gladdening sign of the times is the increasing interest the college is taking in the village. This is well, for the village has given its best to the college and it is but fitting that the debt should be repaid. It is our privilege this month to include another address delivered to the students of the Scottish Church College by that trusted friend of the rural people, Sir Daniel Hamilton and to reinforce his plea for service, Dr. Urquhart and his colleagues are to be congratulated on this enterprise in securing for the rural cause an advocate who speaks with such literary distinction and unquestioned authority. Sir Daniel is no mere dreamer; he has fought with lions in the business arena, and out of the jungles of the Sundarbands he has carved a co-operative state in which neither a money-lender nor a lawyer can find a place. For those of our readers who look askance at rural re-construction units and other new fangled schemes for building the New Jerusalem we could wish no better fate than to be washed ashore by some kindly storm on the Island of Gosaba where the things Sir Daniel pleads for are already in action. What he, as a private citizen, has done the rightly thinks the State might do to still better purpose, and we are delighted to hear that his offer has been well received by the Government of India. If his scheme could be carried out on a comprehensive scale, and the need is surely desperate enough to warrant such an endeavour, it would open the gates to a better way of living for our rural brothers and sisters and the doors of worthy occupation to thousands of our educated young men and women who to-day stand idle in the market-place because no man has hired them. It is here the conception of a co-operative state makes an effective appeal; we are ever calling young men and women to rural service, but what are we calling them to? Too often, all we can offer is a blind alley, a call to self-sacrifice that leads nowhere; but here is something of better promise. It is a well considered plan to raise the whole level of rural living, religious, economic and social to make it possible for the peasant to raise his head unashamed to heaven and the best brains in the country to find worthy and challenging employment as teachers, doctors, farmers, builders, business men, reformers and prophets. They who uplift the village, the village will uplift them.

In the rural re-construction unit, as propounded by Dr. Butterfield, we have the co-operative state in miniature. It offers a practical Christian policy for rural service; but it tarries for lack of leaders. It is here we look wistfully and hopefully to the Christian college, for it seems to us that it alone can supply the trained leadership of the quality the occasion demands. The desire to serve is not everywhere present and the will to achieve is not apparent. How can the enthusiast know the way lacking; but the way to achievement is not apparent. How can the enthusiast know the way unless there be someone to show him? For this someone we look to the Christian college.

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Rabindranath Tagore's National Anthem

[The proceedings of the last Karachi session of the Indian National Congress began with the singing of three stanzas of Rabindranath Tagore's Bengali national anthem "Janaganamana-Adhinayaka Jaya he Bharata-bhagyavidhata." The Poet has recently translated all the five stanzas of the song into English and sent the translation to us for publication in *The Modern Review*. The original, with musical notation, is to be found in the Poet's *Gita-Panchasika*. Ed., *M.R.*]

Thou art the ruler of the minds of all people,
Thou Dispenser of India's destiny.
Thy name rouses the hearts of the Panjab, Sind,
Gujarat and Maratha, of Dravid, Orissa and Bengal.
It echoes in the hills of the Vindhyas and Himalayas
mingles in the music Jumna and Ganges,
and is chanted by the waves of the Indian Sea.
They pray for thy blessing and sing thy praise,
Thou Dispenser of India's destiny.
Victory, Victory, Victory to thee.

Day and night thy voice goes out from land to land,
calling Hindus, Buddhists, Sikhs and Jains round
thy throne and Parsees, Mussalmans and Christians.
Offerings are brought to thy shrine by the East and West
to be woven in a garland of love.
Thou bringest the hearts of all peoples into the
harmony of one life,
Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,
Victory, Victory, Victory to thee.

Eternal Charioteer, Thou drivest man's history
along the road rugged with rises and falls of Nations.
Amidst all tribulations and terror
Thy trumpet sounds to hearten those that despair
and droop, and guide all people in their paths of
peril and pilgrimage.
Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,
Victory, Victory, Victory to thee.

When the long dreary night was dense with gloom
and the country lay still in a stupor,
Thy Mother's arms held her,
Thy wakeful eyes bent upon her face,
till she was rescued from the dark evil dreams
Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,
Victory, Victory, Victory to thee.

The night dawns, the Sun rises in the East,
the birds sing, the morning breeze brings a stir
of new life.
Touched by the golden rays of Thy love
India wakes up and bends her head at thy feet.
Thou King of all kings, Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,
Victory, Victory, Victory to thee.

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NOTES

The Cawnpore Atrocities

Newspapers have published details of the numbers of Hindu and Musalman men, women and children murdered or injured, of the houses of Hindus and Musalmans plundered or burnt, and of the number of temples and mosques destroyed or damaged, in Cawnpore during the recent suicidal riots. These comparative figures do not add to the glory of either community, but blacken them both. The Cawnpore atrocities show to what depth of degradation human nature can go, degradation lower than that of brute beasts. To whatever Indian community one may belong, one must hang down his head in shame at the thought of these diabolical deeds.

The belief of the Indian public that the mobs acted under the direct or indirect instigation of, and under the influence of excitement produced by, interested parties is most probably well founded. The actual prime movers may be difficult or impossible to trace, but there can be little doubt about the class to which they belong. But one can derive little consolation from such reflections. Many a decisive battle in Indian history was lost because of the corruption and treachery of this general or minister or that. Who can pride himself upon or console himself with the fact that he belongs to a people which produced so many corrupt men and traitors ?

Similarly, in relation to these riots, neither the Hindu nor the Musalman community can derive pride or pleasure from the fact that it contains a larger number of ferocious fools and cat's-paws than the other.

While the origin of these riots has yet to be determined definitely, there is little doubt as to who were responsible, by their neglect of duty, for their prolongation. Witnesses before both the official and non-official enquiry committees (including a European military officer who appeared before the former) have deposed to the fact that the executive and police officers in charge of law and order in Cawnpore, did nothing to suppress the riots but behaved like unconcerned spectators during several days when prompt action would have sufficed to nip the trouble in the bud.

It has also been asserted by many respectable persons from personal knowledge that the District Magistrate told people who wanted his help to "Go to Gandhi." History may have repeated itself. Similar advice was formerly given at Dacca and other places under similar circumstances. Such advice, whether given by this foreigner or that, will, of course, be followed implicitly, and the occupation of the insolent advisers will be gone.

—

Not Under Swaraj, But Under British Raj

The following telegram has appeared in the papers :

London, April 21.

"The deplorable communal outbreak at Cawnpore had a serious reaction on English public opinion," said Mr. Isaac Foot, a Liberal delegate to the Round Table Conference, addressing a gathering of sympathizers of Indian aspirations. Continuing he said : "Britain is entitled to say to the people of India that she recognizes the justice of India's claim to self-government, but their capacity for self-government should be judged by their capacity to settle the communal problem."

Mr. Foot thought there should be no objection in this country to the communal question being referred to the League of Nations, provided major communities agreed to the proposal.—Free Press Beam Service.

Mr. Isaac Foot, like other English politicians who have said similar things on similar occasions, forgot or wilfully shut his eyes to the fact that these communal outbreaks have been taking place, not under swaraj, but under the British raj. So, while we accept our full share of the blame for them, we must also assert the undeniable truth that these riots prove beyond doubt the unfitness of the Britishers to rule India. This unfitness is further proved by the facts that the older British rule grows in India the more numerous, larger and more sanguinary do these outbreaks become, and that whenever the Hindus and Moslems try earnestly to make a joint effort to obtain

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self-rule by coming to an agreement among themselves, these outbreaks have an uncanny way of occurring at the nick of time to give a handle to the foreign opponents of self-rule to frustrate and mock such efforts.

British opponents of Indian self-rule argue in a sort of vicious circle. They maintain that they are here to prevent breaches of the peace between Hindus and Moslems. When it is pointed out that, in spite of their alleged preventive efforts, these breaches go on becoming more frequent and formidable, they can only argue that these would have been still more frequent and formidable but for their presence. Hence, for a conclusive answer to the question whether British rule has a tendency to check or to stimulate communal tension and outbreaks one must wait for the time when British domination over India shall have ceased. When the people of India become masters of their country, then will come the time for holding them responsible for what will happen here. As Britishers are masters of the country now and Indians cannot do all that is necessary to establish communal harmony, the latter cannot justly be made to shoulder all or most of the blame for communal outbreaks.

But even after *purna swaraj* has been established if there be communal outbreaks, that would not prove our lack of capacity for self-government, any more than sectarian and racial riots in England and the U. S. A. and other independent countries even in this twentieth century after Christ prove that those countries should be brought under the rule of some other foreign powers.

—

League of Nations and Communal Problem

As for *referring* the Indian communal question to the League of Nations, though we have no objection to such reference on principle, we do not see the necessity for such reference. The League's solution of the minority problem is the standardized international solution embodied in Minorities Guarantee Treaties operating in some twenty States of Europe, in some of which there are Muslim minorities. These Treaties have been signed by the original members of the League, including India and Great Britain. The present British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Henderson, stated as chairman of the League Council meeting held in January last that the system of the protection of Minorities is now a part of the public law of Europe and of the world. As India is not outside the world and as she is a signatory to the Minorities Treaties, the League's solution ought to have applied to India automatically. What a pity that what Great Britain has guaranteed as good for Europe, she does not permit India to appropriate! On the contrary, she demands that the people of India must agree among themselves before they can have self-rule, while British politicians of a certain class and British bureaucrats give every encouragement to a section of communalists not to come to any agreement except on anti-Nationalist lines.

—

"Political Liberties and Rights of Minorities"

A recent Reuter's telegram runs as follows :

London, April 20

In the House of Commons Mr. Wedgwood Benn informed Sir William Davison that he had seen the resolution of the All-India Moslem Conference and also of the All-India (Shia ?) Conference on April 6 on the subject of the attitude of the British and Indian Governments towards the Congress and Mr. Gandhi, and pointed out that the statement of the Government policy made by the Premier at the concluding session of the Round Table Conference and also his (Mr. Benn's) speech in the House of Commons on March 12 had made it clear that the new constitution must contain such guarantees as the minorities required to protect their political liberties and rights.

GOVERNMENT'S FIXED POLICY

Sir William Davison suggested that a statement was desirable to the effect that the British, under all circumstances, would see that the rights of the Moslems were guaranteed.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn replied that he had re-stated the Government's fixed policy in the matter.

Have minorities in any free country any other political liberties and rights than those possessed in common by all its nationals ? Have the majority in India ever tried to deprive the minorities of their political liberties and rights, whatever these may be ? Is it not a fact that the special treatment and protection which the League of Nations Minorities Treaties and Soviet Russia give is strictly confined only to linguistic, cultural, racial and religious aspects or features, and that those treaties are designed to prevent any section of the

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people feeling that they are a separate state within a state and owe any narrower allegiance than to the entire nation ?

Sir William Davison seems to cherish the ambition of his nation to remain for ever the protectors of the rights of the Muslim Indians. He forgets that British arbitership of India's destiny must cease and that it is the Muslim Indians alone who can protect their own rights with the co-operation of the Hindus and other communities of India.

—

Lord Irwin's Reply to Bombay Muslim Address

The following passages occur in Lord Irwin's reply to the address given to him by the Muslim community of Bombay :

> Indian opinion is now striving to lay the foundation of a homogeneous nation, and if there is one thing more certain than another, it is that no political society can prosper or be at peace with itself unless the minorities included in it are reasonably satisfied with their condition. Therefore it is no answer to say that what the minorities deem essential for their interests are inimical to the evolution of Indian nationhood.
>
> If, as I believe to be the case, there is a wide feeling of apprehension among the minorities, I would say that the only wise course for the majority community is frankly to recognize those apprehensions, unfounded though they may adjudge them to be, and be prepared to give them the reassurance they desire and claim, until such time as of their own free choice the minorities are with substantial unanimity prepared to let it go."

We do not remember that any Governor-General of India or any other British statesman in office ever tried to allay or minimize the "feeling of apprehension among the minorities," of which Lord Irwin recognizes the existence, by arguing that it was unfounded. On the contrary, the Muslim deputation which waited upon Lord Minto to obtain separate representation, did so at the suggestion of that Viceroy. So, as most British politicians connected with India have done their best to encourage separatist tendencies among Indian minorities, it does not surprise us that Lord Irwin should have delivered himself of the opinions quoted above as his parting shot, as it were. But the passages are self-contradictory. Politically-minded Indians want, according to his Lordship, to lay the foundations of nationhood. He recognizes that fact. But he advises Indian Nationalists to agree to the demand of the minorities even though the Nationalists may be convinced that the demand is inimical to the evolution of Indian nationhood ! In other words, he advises our Nationalists to adopt knowingly a a suicidal course. And that, not for a definitely fixed period, but "until such time as of their own free choice the minorities are with substantial unanimity prepared to let it go." We do not suggest that Lord Irwin said these things with any sinister Machiavellian purpose—particularly as Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and some other Congress leaders seem to be of the same way of thinking as Lord Irwin. But if his Lordship's advice were followed, there would be ample opportunities for British statesmen during an indefinitely long period of time to instigate and encourage the minorities to stick to their separatist anti-Nationalist "rights" or concessions.

We are anxious not even to seem to do injustice to Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders of his way of thinking. They are eager to win self-rule quickly and they are Hindus. If they were to try to argue with Muslim communalists to convince them that Nationalism, pure and undiluted, would be best for all Indians, even Congress leaders of their integrity and eminence would be unjustly denounced as ill-disguised Hindu Mahasabhites. We do not suggest (because we do not know) that their desire to concede all unanimous or almost unanimous Muslim demands springs from fear of any such denunciation. We are simply pointing out the probable results of any effort on the part of Congress leaders to follow the slow method of reasoning with Muslim communalists. Sardar Patel was right in saying in his presidential address that endorsing the demands of the minorities is "the quickest method." But it is not the right method, nor the quickest if judged by ultimate results.

It is best to argue and show up the illogicality and harmfulness of the sectional demands. Those who have been doing it for a long time may have been looked upon as communalists themselves and as hostile to the minorities. But that does not matter. What matters is that already a large section of the Muslim community has become partly Nationalist, though that may or may not be, due in the least to what those logic-ridden persons have said and written and published. They need not grudge Congress leaders a monopoly

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the credit of being non-communal. Nor need they mind being considered narrow-minded and communalistic so long as they stand for logic and justice all round.

—

"The Hindu Mahasabha's Scheme"

The following paragraph appeared in the editorial columns of *New India* of March 26, 1931 :

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha has passed this week a resolution on the minorities question which is unexceptionable in form and substance. It regards Responsible Self-Government as incompatible with the existence of separate electorates and is opposed to the reservation of seats in a Legislature on the basis of religion or community. The other points in the resolution are uniformity of franchise for all communities, no weightage for any minorities in a Legislature, no protection to a majority community, residuary powers to be vested in the Federal Government, and no alteration of the boundaries of existing Provinces except after expert examination. The only concession to the demands of minorities that the Hindu Mahasabha is prepared to make is the insertion of statutory safe-guards for the protection of the linguistic, cultural and religious rights of minorities. It is true that in dealing with the problem of minorities the League of Nations has not gone beyond the terms of the Mahasabha's resolution. If India were considering the Hindu-Muslim problem for the first time, without previous commitments on either side, the Mahasabha's solution would be admirable. But one has to compare this with Mr. Jinnah's 14 points to realize how wide is the gulf between the standpoints of the two communal organizations. A compromise is inevitable, which in some respects will involve a sacrifice of the rights of the Hindus. But the price will be worth paying if India can be assured of freedom from outside control, and communal considerations may be expected to fade away before the realities of political power.

If a mistake was made in the past, that is no reason why it should be persisted in and perpetuated.

As for a compromise, we cannot speak for the Hindu Mahasabha, but personally we would not oppose such a compromise for a definitely fixed short period as would cease automatically at the end of that period and as would not be permanently or for long injurious to the cause of democracy and nationalism.

—

"Hindu Mahasabha's Lead"

The following paragraph has appeared in the editorial columns of the Lahore *Tribune* :

It is generally forgotten that to the Hindu community, taken as a whole, separate electorates are more advantageous than to any other community. No system of separate electorates can deprive the Hindus in six out of the nine provinces into which India *minus* Burma is at present divided of their majority ; nor can you deprive them of their majority in the Central Legislature under any scheme of separate representation that has the least chance of being regarded as practicable. It follows that under separate electorates Hindus as Hindus will be ruling both in India as a whole as well as in the majority of the Indian provinces. That in spite of this obvious advantage of separate electorates from a purely communal point of view the Hindus have always been strongly and uncompromisingly opposed to separate electorates both in the provinces in which they are in a majority and in the provinces in which they are in a minority shows that the attitude of the Hindu community in this matter has been determined above everything else by considerations of national well-being. There is ample proof of this determination in the statement which the Hindu Mahasabha issued a few days ago. "No form of national responsible self-government, which India is struggling to achieve and which England is pledged to agree to," it says, "is compatible with separate communal representation in the Legislature or in the administration, which functions for the general good and well-being of the country as a whole." These words contrast admirably with the letter and spirit of the statements that have during the last few days been issued by more than one body of Muslim leaders on the same subject.

—

New Congress Working Committee

The names of the members of the Working Committee of the Congress for the current year are given below, spelt as in the Congress official booklet containing All-India Congress Committee addresses and with the names of the Congress provinces to which they belong.

1. Shri Vallabhbhai J. Patel (President), Gujarat ;
2. Shri M. K. Gandhi, Gujarat ;
3. Jawaharlal Nehru, U. P. ;
4. Dr. Syed Mahmud, Bihar ;
5. Syt. Jairamdas Doulatram, Sind ;
6. Shri J. M. Sen-Gupta, Bengal ;
7. Shri Jamnalal Bajaj, Bombay ;
8. Shri K. F. Nariman, Bombay ;
9. Shri M. S. Aney, Berar ;
10. Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, Bombay ;
11. Dr. Mohammad Alam, Panjab ;
12. Shri Rajendra Prasad, Bihar ;
13. Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Panjab ;
14. Dr. M. A. Ansari, Delhi ;
15. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Bengal ;

Thus, of the fifteen members of the Working Committee, three belong to the city of Bombay, two to Gujarat, two to Bihar,

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two to Bengal, two to the Panjab, and one each to U. P., Sind, Berar and Delhi. Of the twenty-one Congress provinces, 12, *viz.*, Ajmer, Andhra, Assam, Burma, C. P. Hindustani, C. P. Marathi, Karnatak, Kerala, Maharashtra, N.-W. F., Tamil Nad and Utkal, go entirely unrepresented in the Working Committee.

It has been said that the Working Committee of the Congress is the Cabinet of the President for the year and that it should contain men after the heart of the president so that no jarring note may be struck at the deliberations of the Committee. If entire harmony were the sole or the main object to be kept in view, it would be the most economical and the quickest method of doing work to make the President for the year the Dictator for that period with the power and option to consult whomsoever he liked.

It is admitted that in a Working Committee or a Cabinet it is necessary for most of the members to be persons of same or similar views. But as no man or group of men of similar views can consider matters from all the necessary points of view, or can be infallible in judgment, it is often an advantage to have a small minority of members whose angle of vision is somewhat, though not entirely, different from that of the majority. For this reason, the principle followed in selecting the members of the Working Committee is not entirely unexceptionable.

As the Working Committee consists of fifteen members, whereas the number of Congress provinces is twenty-one (it ought to have been twenty-two, the City of Calcutta being made an independent province like the City of Bombay), there is no room in the Committee for a representative from each province. Even if the number were made twenty-one, it might not be expedient and practicable to have a member from every province. For it is obviously necessary for quick despatch of business to have a few members from the province to which the President for the year belongs. Hence, it is suggested that the number should be raised to twenty-five, which is certainly not an unwieldy number for a big country like India. This would make it practicable to have at least one member from each province and more than one from the province to which the President for the year belongs.

The list given above shows that the whole of south India, including Utkal and Maharashtra, and almost the whole of the central region of India, do not exist, so far as the Working Committee is concerned. British India—to use a humiliating name—has an area of 1,094,300 square miles. Of this area, the people living in 6,23,832 square miles roughly, including Burma and Baluchistan, are unrepresented in the Working Committee.

It is admitted that the persons who are in the Committee are capable and patriotic and hold views similar to those of the President. But without meaning any disparagement of their capacity and public spirit, it may be said that Congressmen of substantially the same qualifications and holding views similar to those of the President may be found in the unrepresented areas. So, it would have been practicable to select men from some of the unrepresented areas in the place of one or more of the members belonging to provinces from which more than one member have been selected.

If the number of members of the Working Committee were raised to twenty-five, it would not be difficult to find at least one capable and public-spirited Congressman of the President's way of thinking from each Congress province.

As Congress work should be done in each province, the Working Committee should be in possession of information relating to the facilities or the absence of facilities for doing such work and the difficulties in the way of such work to be overcome in each province. Local men would be best able to supply such information. It is true, the Working Committee may obtain such information from the Committees of the unrepresented provinces. But this argument, followed to its logical conclusion, would make it unnecessary to have any member at all from any province—the President's office obtaining all information from *all* provinces by correspondence. If it be necessary to have any member from any province it is necessary to have members from all provinces.

In the Congress official report of last year's work (since withdrawn), it was remarked that the south of India did not pull its full weight in the *Satyagraha* movement. Assuming that to be a fact, in order to remove that deficiency it would have been proper and should have been considered necessary to select at least one member from the Madras Presidency who could have constantly and again and again told the Committee what difficulties or unfavourable circumstances or defects of

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mental make-up were responsible for such a regrettable state of things in order that in the current and future years the South could render a better account of itself. But this has not been done. To outsiders it might almost seem as if the Congress authorities have punished the South for what they considered its delinquency.

There is some unconscious humour in the reasons given for not including this or that celebrity in the Working Committee. The reasons given for the non-inclusion of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose may be summed up by saying that, though he would not be in the Committee, he has agreed to co-operate. From this let no wrong-headed man conclude, illogically, that all or some of those who are in the Committee would not have co-operated if they had not been chosen members of it. The non-inclusion of any South India man should not be construed in any perverse manner, because Mahatma Gandhi, according to his own statement, owed a great deal of his success to a patriot from that region. It is to be hoped that no one would be so devoid of a sense of humour or of logicality as to conclude from the above that Gandhiji owes nothing of his success to the loyalty or co-operation of any of those who are in the Working Committee.

As regards keeping out Malaviyaji, it has been said that there could be no question of offending Malaviyaji, as he is above being offended. It would not be logical or natural to enquire who among the Working Committee members are not above being offended. "No organization can add to his status or importance by enrolling him as a member. His membership can add to its prestige." We are convinced that it was not meant that he was not sufficiently mediocre to be a member of the Working Committee. "The Working Committee deliberately kept him out in order to preserve his independence and freedom of action at a given moment." May the public have some idea of the nature of that given moment? Would his connection with the Hindu Mahasabha have anything to do with that moment? "Without being a member, since the release of leaders, he has always been attending the Working Committee meetings and taking an active part in its deliberations. Valuable as his work on the Committee has been, the members thought that his being subjected to the Committee's discipline might prove embarrassing to him..." This arrangement permits the Committee to avail itself of Malavyaji's advice at its deliberations and at the same time leaves intact his freedom of action." After this nobody can suspect that there can be any taint of *dvairajya* (द्वैराज्य) in the Congress. "Indeed even the Government has recognized his unique position in society by separately inviting him to the R. T. C." As Gandhiji had talks with Lord Irwin on several recent occasions relating to the R T. C., this observation of his shows that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has been invited to it in his individual capacity, *not* as a representative of the Hindu Mahasabha.

In our humble opinion it would have been a sufficient explanation to say that all the ablest Congressmen could not possibly be made members of a committee of fifteen.

—

C. W. C.'s Report

The report of the Congress Working Committee, since withdrawn, contained more than one remark which gave rise to criticism. Attention has already been drawn to one such remark, *viz.*, that relating to South India. As the *ipse dixit* of no committee can be assumed to be true unless facts and reasons are given in support of it, it is to be hoped the Working Committee will in future avoid making remarks unsupported by facts.

The district of Midnapur in Bengal was mentioned in the Report only in connection with the undesirable activities of the Police there. That would lead one to suppose that the people of that district did not distinguish themselves by their non-violent heroism, as they actually did.

The writers of the Report administered a rebuke to the indigenous section of the Press for not ceasing publication in obedience to a resolution of the Working Committee. This rebuke was neither pertinent nor wise. As the papers were not the property of the Congress, they were not bound to take their orders from it. Moreover, the Committee had not had even the sense of propriety and the courtesy to consult the journalists before promulgating its ukase. So far as newspaper men were concerned, there was not much to choose between the temper and methods of the

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alien bureaucracy which promulgated the Press Ordinances and those of the indigenous patriots who issued their Press ukase. The only difference was that, whereas Government wanted to kill or thoroughly gag the Indian section of the Press, the patriots ordered it to be *felo de se*. It did not occur to the Committee that the *Satyagraha* movement could not spread and acquire volume and momentum without publicity and that "unauthorized newspapers" would not suffice for the purpose. We are not and do not pretend to be infallible; but we claim the right to state that even the unheroic and commercial way in which most journalists carried on their work contributed to a very small extent at least to the success of the movement. The Committee, of course, could not be grateful to the Press; but they ought not to have made themselves ridiculous by their superior airs and their *brutum fulmen*. It would be foolish to question the undoubted self-sacrifice and heroism of the members of the Working Committee. But the individual and collective judgment of even self-sacrificing heroes may not be infalliable.

—

Mahatma Gandhi and Gujarati

On the 18th April last Mahatma Gandhi was presented with a civic address by the Bombay Corporation, to which he replied in Gujarati: "In conclusion, Mahatmaji, explaining why he spoke in Gujarati, said it was not right that they should carry on their deliberations except in mother tongue." This was quite a correct sentiment.

Gandhiji's mother tongue is Gujarati. But he usually makes speeches and carries on deliberations in Hindi, because in his opinion that is the national language;—and he does this even in provinces of which the mother tongue is not Hindi. Therefore, the reason given by him for speaking in Gujarati in Bombay can only mean that at least in local and provincial affairs it is in his opinion not only permissible but obligatory to use the, or the most prevalent, local or provincial vernacular. This is certainly right. We go further. We hold that, whatever the subject of the deliberations may be, no one in any place ought to be deprived of the right to speak in the most prevalent vernacular of that place.

Assuming that our interpretation of Gandhiji's explanation is correct, it may be observed that Gandhiji ought to have spoken in Marathi. For according to the Census of 1921 (figures for the present year's census are not yet available), the numbers of speakers of the five most prevalent vernaculars of Bombay City are:

Marathi	604,449
Gujarati	236,047
Hindi	173,641
Kacchi	39,521
Konkani	32,598

In 1921 in Bombay City 51.4 per cent of the population spoke Marathi and only 20.1 per cent spoke Gujarati. It may be safely assumed that Marathi still leads the way.

Nevertheless, Gandhiji did nothing out of the way in using *his* mother tongue. In the League of Nations Assembly meetings, though the languages prescribed for use are English and French, any delegate may use his mother tongue. When any one does so, others present are naturally courteous enough not to shout "French, French," or "English, English." We say this from personal knowledge, as when Germany first entered the League in 1926 and Herr Stresemann made his speech in German, we were present at the Assembly meeting in Geneva.

—

Why Not Sindhi in Sindh?

Mahatma Gandhi may be interested to know that during last Congress week at Karachi Prof. Chablani, a Sindhi gentleman, was not allowed to speak in Sindhi on the subject of separation of Sindh at a Conference of Hindus. The meeting was being held in Sindh, the audience consisted mostly of inhabitants of Sindh, the subject of the resolution in support of which Prof. Chablani spoke related to Sindh, and his mother tongue was Sindhi. Yet a clamorous few made it practically impossible for him to speak in Sindhi. He had to use such Hindi as he could command. This piece of news will gladden the heart of Hindi-speaking linguistic imperialists, not of Mahatma Gandhi in his rôle of advocate of the mother tongue on proper occasions.

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Number of Speakers of Hindi

If the speakers of Urdu and of the different dialects of Hindi be taken together,

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their number is easily found to be far greater than the number of speakers of any other modern Indian language. Therefore, if the number of speakers of a language is to be the only or main consideration in adopting it as the "national" language, the claim of Hindi-Urdu or Hindustani is undisputed. Hence, it is quite unnecessary to exaggerate the number of speakers of Hindustani, consciously or unconsciously. That, however, is sometimes done, and a higher comparative position among the languages of the world is assigned to Hindustani than is warranted by correct statistics.

Thus we read in *Swarajya*, April 17, that at a meeting held in Madras Mr. S. S. Rajagopalan stated that 22 (twenty-two) crores of people spoke Hindi in India !

At the recent Second Literary Conference held in Allahabad under the auspices of the Hindustani Academy, Dr. Tarachand, its secretary, spoke as follows, in part, as reported in *The Leader* :

"The population of the English-speaking people was the highest, namely, 16 crores, while another 6 crores could understand it. Next came French, which was spoken by about 4½ crores and understood by 7½ crores..... Approximately Chinese was spoken by 30 crores and Persian and Arabic by 3 crores...According to the census returns of 1921 the number of people speaking different languages in India would be as follows: Bengali, 4,93 lakhs; Marathi, 1,92 lakhs; Gujrati, 95 lakhs; Panjabi, 1,92 lakhs; Tamil 1,88 lakhs; Telugu 2,36 lakhs; Lemari (*sic*), 1 crore; and Malayalam, 74 lakhs. But if Western Urdu and Eastern Hindi and Rajasthani were included in Hindustani, the number of people who could speak and understand Hindustani would be not less than 14 or 15 crores. This means that the position of Hindustani among the languages of the world would be second or third."

The following table is taken from Whitaker's Almanack, which is an easily available book :

Languages of the World.
(Mother tongues)

Language.	People.
English	180,000,000
Russian	140,000,000
German	80,000,000
French	70,000,000
Spanish	50,000,000
Italian	50,000,000
Portuguese	25,000,000

Only European languages have been given in the above table.

The number of speakers of the principal Indian languages, according to the census of 1921, will be found in the following table :

Language	Number of Speakers
Western Hindi	96,715,000
Bengali	49,294,000
Telugu	23,601,000
Marathi	18,798,000
Tamil	18,780,000
Panjabi	16,234,000
Rajasthani	12,681,000
Kanarese	10,374,000
Oriya	10,143,000
Gujarati	9,552,000
Malayalam	7,498,000
Western Panjabi	5,652,000
Sindhi	3,372,000
Assamese	1,727,000
Eastern Hindi	1,400,000

Among European languages, next after English, Russian is spoken by the largest number of persons, *not French*. The speakers of French are exceeded in number by those of German also.

"Dr. Tarachand asserted, if western Urdu and eastern Hindi and Rajasthani were included in Hindustani, the number of people who could speak and understand Hindustani would be not less than 14 or 15 crores."

We do not know to what language the speaker referred by "western Urdu" ; we do not find it in the Census report for 1921. But the total of speakers of western *Hindi* (not western *Urdu*), Eastern Hindi and Rajasthani is 110,796,000, or eleven crores in round numbers, *not* 14 or 15 crores, and, therefore, even assuming that Rajasthani ought to be included in Hindustani (which is not self-evident), the number of speakers of Hindustani is not even about half the population of India.

—

On Hindi or Hindustani

If we are not mistaken, the Nehru Committee's Report expressed the opinion that either Hindustani or English should be used in the proceedings of the Central legislature. In any case, under Swaraj that would be the wisest method.

But so far as the Indian National Congress is concerned, Mahatma Gandhi has expressed his positive determination to "not heed the demand for English," and as he is the dictator, nobody can say nay. Nevertheless, we may be permitted to say what we think. And that we shall do in English, as Mahatma Gandhi does in his *Young India*.

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Speaking in Hindi before the Federation of Chambers at Delhi Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have observed:

"In no other country, dependent or independent, had he seen this deplorable condition as in India that its people should use a foreign language. In South Africa, which is a thinly peopled country, there has been a long struggle for precedence between English and Taal (a dialect of Dutch) with the result that the English colonists had to yield to the brave Dutch in recognizing Taal as the official language on the same footing as English."

The linguistic information supplied by Mahatma Gandhi about South Africa requires to be supplemented—from Chambers's Encyclopædia, as follows:

"For various reasons more Dutch speak English than conversely. Bilingualism is increasing. Fully half the European population now speak both languages (as against 42 per cent in 1918). One-fourth speak only English, and rather less than a fourth only Dutch. It has been estimated that Dutch is today the mother tongue of about 60 per cent of the white inhabitants of the Union." Vol. IX, p. 536.

So just as in South Africa (we take that State as an example as Gandhiji has done so), large numbers of independent people do use a foreign tongue, both Dutch and English being spoken by half the white population (and the number of bilinguists is increasing there), what harm would there be if both Hindustani and English were used in our All-India proceedings and publications? Both Hindustani and English are after all Indo-European languages, and Indians, including Mahatma Gandhi and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu—to mention only Congresswallas, have enriched English literature in its broadest sense. To refuse to use English, simply because the English people have been and are ruling India, would be to deprive ourselves of a very convenient implement and weapon owing to the inferiority complex and perhaps also to sub-conscious pique.

Apart from South Africa, there are other examples of independent peoples using foreign languages. In the League of Nations the number of Member-States is more than fifty. English and French are the official languages of the League. But not more than ten of these Member-States can be said to have either of these languages as their vernacular. The vast majority of them have other mother tongues. But they do not raise any objection to the use of French or English, because they have commonsense, because their peoples are practical men and because they do not labour under the inferiority complex, never having been conquered by the French or the English.

The position of Mahatma Gandhi and his followers is such that they can afford not to argue. They might, however, say that those who do not object to the use of French and English in the League are Europeans and those languages are after all European languages. But Persians, Japanese and Chinese are not Europeans and are independent. They, too, have agreed to the use of French and English in the League. All speeches are generally made there in either of these tongues and translated into the other. In publications both are used. In addition to these two languages, any delegate may use his mother tongue, his speech being also translated into French or English. This is like what would be the case with the Congress if its bosses allowed the vernaculars of India other than Hindustani to be used at Congress meetings.

—

Mahatma Gandhi's Linguistic Example

Men can make their views known to others generally by speech or writing. Mahatma Gandhi insists on speaking only in Hindustani for All-India purposes. But so far as writing goes, he uses English in *Young India*, which circulates and is meant to circulate all over India. If it be permissible for him to use English for making his opinions known to Indians by writing, why should others be prevented from using English for making their opinions known orally to Indians assembled at Congress meetings? It is no argument to say that English speeches would not be understood by the whole Congress audience, as Hindi and Urdu speeches also are not understood by the whole audience. And Gandhiji's *Young India* also is not understood by the vast majority of Indians.

We are not unaware of Emerson's saying to the effect that consistency is the bugbear of small minds. But great minds have reasons for their incosistencies, and smaller men ought to be allowed to utilize those reasons.

We know from experience gained by financing the Hindi magazine *Vishal Bharat* for more than three years that high-class contributions in Hindi do not

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appeal to as large a class of educated people in India as such contributions in English, *e. g.*, in *The Modern Review*, do. Our losses in *Vishal Bharat*, which cannot be expressed in less than five figures but which it may be able to survive, have compulsorily made us linguistic philanthropists. For professionally we are *bania*, though by birth Brahman. And therefore we ought not dogmatically to conclude that the reason why Mahatmaji, a Brahman and non-violent Kshatriya by vocation, conducts his All-India organ in English is identical with our reason for conducting *The Modern Review* in the same tongue. But, nevertheless, there may be some truth in our guess that Mahatmaji could not have got the same class and number of readers in Hindi as he does in English. In future, it may be possible to receive the highest education and the largest amount of information through the medium of some of our vernaculars ; but at present it is impossible.

—

Motive for Learning Hindustani

It is intelligible that by making Hindustani the only language allowed to be used in Congress proceedings, an appreciable incentive would be given to the spread of the knowledge of that tongue. For commercial reasons also it is necessary for men of business to learn it. But for political, commercial and cultural reasons it would not be practicable to dispense with English. Because, (i) the logic of history has already made a larger number of Indians learn English than any other European language; (ii) it is the most widely used European language in the world for all purposes combined; (iii) we require to know some European language for culture and intercourse with foreign countries, and for Indians English is the handiest; (iv) English is the most widely used language in international commerce ; and (v) it is one of the two languages used by the League of Nations. As it is necessary for us to know and use English for so many reasons, why entirely taboo it in the Congress for sentimental reasons ?

—

Taboo of English a Mere Make-believe

Prohibition or discouragement of the use of English in the Congress has been hitherto more or less a make-believe. If we live to see the next Congress at Puri, we should expect to see whether the taboo had by then become a reality—and we should also witness our literate and illiterate Utkal friends gathered under the Congress pavilion following quite intelligently Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's Hindi, Dr. Ansari's Urdu, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Urdu-Hindi, Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel's Gujarati-Hindi and possibly Sjts. J. M. Sen Gupta's and Subhash Ch. Bose's Bengali-Hindi.

The Working Committee's Report was written and printed in English, the Congress resolutions, placed before the Subjects Committee and afterwards before the Congress at Karachi, were drafted in English (and afterwards translated with indifferent success into Hindi), and the speeches of the President and of the Chairman of the Reception Committee were originally written and printed in English. Modern politics even in Gandhiji's India is a western thing. So are modern economics and industries. Resolutions and speeches on modern political and economic topics cannot *at present* be drafted with such nicety and with such provisos and safeguards in any Indian vernacular as in English—in future they may and will be. So English should not be hurriedly discarded in theory as it cannot be discarded in practice.

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Hindi "and" Urdu

Whatever grammarians and philologists may say, the Hindi written and spoken by an orthodox and learned Brahman-pandit and the Urdu spoken and written by an orthodox and learned Maulana are practically different languages, though the language of the common people, Hindu and Moslem, in some regions may be the same ; and Mahatma Gandhi has admitted this fact by writing in *Young India* (April 9), "Let us try to learn the Urdu language and Urdu script and understand the Musalman's insistence on it."

So Mahatmaji's insistence on Hindustani means that we non-Hindi-speakers must know our respective mother tongues and their scripts, know Hindi and the Nagari script, know Urdu and the Arabic script, and, *pace* the Congress, know English and the Roman script, too. Some of us may be too old and too busy to learn so many things in order to figure before the

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Congress loud speakers. But our grandchildren are surely going to have a jolly time of it. If they want to be politically up-to-date, they must know at least four languages and four scripts. They will, of course, be formidable linguists, though owing to the necessity of having to give so much time to learning languages, there may be a little less room in their minds for certain kinds of useful information than there would otherwise have been.

As for old folk like ourselves, we must be content to be voted back numbers by the Congress.

—

Linguistic Areas and Bookishness

Under the new regime, *i. e.*, the Congress regime, the people of Hindustani-speaking regions have already been unintentionally placed in a more advantageous position than others and will in future be still more so, by the mere accident of birth. For, generally speaking, other things being equal, grown-up men cannot generally begin to learn and use and understand a language which is not their vernacular, with as much ease and effect as those whose mother tongue it is. The handicap would be the greatest with South Indians, and, as we shall presently see, they have begun already to overcome the obstacle with characteristic practical sense and zeal. And they will succeed. For the South is more "bookish" than the North. So, though temporarily the less "bookish" regions may dominate the more "bookish" ones—by no means for the first time in history—the South will turn the tables at no distant date.

The following table shows what percentages of the population are under bookish instruction in the different provinces according to the latest educational report and also the provincial percentages of literacy or bookishness :

Province.	P. C. under instrution	Literacy P. C.
Madras	6.6	9.8
Bombay	6.4	9.5
Bengal	5.6	10.4
U. P.	3.3	4.2
Panjab	5.9	4.5
Burma	5.3	31.7
B. & O.	3.3	5.1
C. P. and Berar	3.1	4.9
N.-W. F.	3.6	5.0
Assam	4.4	7.2

Hindi Propaganda in the South

The effort to spread a knowledge of Hindi in South India was started in 1918, says Mr. K. Santanam. The work was conducted by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad, till 1927, when it was found necessary to organize a separate Sabha for South India.

During these years, the Sabha has taught four lakhs of students. But unfortunately our boys have no firmness of purpose and consequently a considerable number of these people left off after a month or two. It is however satisfactory to know that 2½ lakhs of pupils have acquired a working knowledge of the language.

Eleven thousand students have appeared for these examinations and ten thousand of them now possess some certificates from the Sabha.

From the beginning the Sabha undertook the publication of readers to Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese students and latterly it has built up an efficient press for this purpose. Three lakhs of copies of these readers have so far been issued, consisting of thirty-five different varieties of readers, each of which has run through many editions.

The Sabha has conducted its propaganda work at about four hundred centres and at the time of this report its pracharaks are conducting classes at a hundred and fifty places. Over 250 teachers have been trained by the Sabha for this purpose.

Last month a public meeting was held in Madras under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A. summer school of Hindi with Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, Advocate-General, in the chair. After other speakers had urged the importance of learning Hindi from their points of view, the chairman said that, "as India was on the threshold of great constitutional and political changes, it behoved every one to adopt a common language, and no language except Hindi could become the Lingua Franca. Lawyers who wanted to become All-India men should take to learning Hindi immediately."

—

Hindi in Business

At the Hindi conference held in Karachi on the 30th March, a resolution was passed "calling upon all local representatives and other institutions, as well as every legal, medical, trading and other Indians to have sign-boards and other notifications intended for the general public in the provincial and national languages only, as the use of English was an admission of the inferiority complex, indicative of slave mentality and subversive of national dignity and self-respect."

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We are certainly in favour of sign-boards in Indian scripts. One of the things which pleased us most in Ahmedabad during a brief visit was the abundance of sign-boards in Gujarati script. But it cannot be said that the use of the English or rather Roman script must always and under all circumstances be "an admission of the inferiority complex, indicative of slave mentality and subversive of national dignity and self-respect." Let *purna swaraj* be won—it can be won without eschewing English—and then the use of English will cease to be indicative of slave mentality, etc. In many non-British independent countries the Roman script is used for business purposes. In India, too, we do not see why sign-boards should not sometimes and in some places be in English also.

As regards notifications, we suppose that word includes newspaper advertisements also. If so, notifications will and should appear in English so long as there are English newspapers in India. Congress has not yet voted for the abolition of English newspapers in India, nor has any Hindi conference.

We should also like to know whether the resolution under discussion was originally drafted in English or in Hindi. If in Hindi, what words taken from Hindi literature of pre-Freudian days, were used for "inferiority complex"? The boycott of what is foreign may succeed to a certain extent as regards foreign goods and foreign fashions, but it would be futile, as well as harmful, to try to boycott indiscriminately all foreign knowledge, ideas, ideals, etc.

But let us confine ourselves to business. It should be plain that men of business, other than small traders, cannot do without the use of English. They must have dealings with foreign concerns, whether located in India or abroad, and business with them must be carried on in some European language. For us English is the most convenient. Indian men of business must send and receive some telegrams and letters in Roman script and some European language and some code using Roman script.

Many of our Indian mercantile houses have trade relations with more continents than one. Under swaraj there will be more such firms. They cannot dispense with the use of English. Let us not, therefore, lend ourselves to a defiant boycott of English which has only the deceptive semblance but not the convincing substance of reality behind it.

We depend for our knowledge of modern industries, commerce, banking, big business of all sorts, finance and economic problems in general mostly on English and partly on other European publications. We had once upon a time occasion to call upon a famous Indian political leader at his request at the palace of an Indian merchant in Calcutta, with whom he was staying for a few days. As we had to wait long and alone (though in vain) in the library of the merchant prince, we whiled away our long wait by scanning the titles of the books. They related mostly to economics, labour, socialism in a broad sense, industry, etc. The collection was splendid and up-to-date. We wondered if the owner had time even to dip into his books. If he had confined his collection to Hindustani or any other vernacular books on those subjects, it would have been necessary for him to spend not more than a hundred rupees, instead of the many thousands which he must have done. For some Hindi writers by original composition, some by plagiarism and others by acknowledged translation have increased the bulk of Hindi fiction; but there is not the same pecuniary inducement even to translate standard works on the subjects mentioned above nor ability to do so, nor the adaptibility of Indian vernaculars for the purpose at their present stage of development.

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Compulsory Study of Hindi

The Karachi Hindi Conference also passed a resolution for the compulsory study of Hindi in national educational institutions. How many languages our children are to learn *compulsorily*, cannot be determined by patriotic sentiment alone. Patriots ought to take counsel with those who know Pedagogics in all its aspects. One's mother tongue one must learn. It would be advisable to learn a classical tongue—say Sanskrit, or Arabic or Persian. In our opinion, English should be learnt. These make three. Then Hindi and Urdu, in two different scripts, according to the Congress prescription, must be learnt. Thus we have to teach our children five linguistic subjects. In addition, we suppose, we must admit the

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claims of a little mathematics, geography, history, hygiene, some science, a little drawing for scientific purposes, and so on. Shall we have any music, or painting, or. . . . . ?

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The Question of Script

At the Karachi Hindi Conference Mr. Kalelkar of the Gujarat Vidyapith is reported to have said that the Hindustani language in Sanskrit characters could alone be the lingua franca of India. Perhaps he meant Nagari characters. For in India there are different Sanskritic scripts. The Sanskritic alphabet is admittedly the most scientific and phonetic of all those in actual use in the world. But it is not absolutely scientific and phonetic. Moreover, it is not so convenient for printing, typewriting and telegraphy as the Roman script. For its convenience in these respects, it is gaining ground where it was not formerly prevalent; *e.g.*, in Turkey, in Soviet Russia, etc. In the latter the Latin alphabet has been adopted by 36 nationalities formerly employing Arabic script and those without a written language, resulting in increased literacy.

But the Roman or Latin alphabet or script is neither scientific nor phonetic. It may be made phonetic to some extent by the use of diacritical marks. But one used to such phonetic uses of the Latin script would find his difficulties of learning and correctly pronouncing European anguages increased.

Hindu Indians would vote for some Sanskritic script, but Musalman Indians in general will not at present perhaps vote for Sanskritic script.

Perhaps the best ultimate solution will be the adoption of a phonetic script all over the world, such as that used in shorthand of some kind or other.

—

Our Linguistic Suggestion

In this issue we have devoted perhaps what may appear to be too much space to the question of the language of Congress proceedings. But the subject is important, and, if we want to have the advantage of the political knowledge and wisdom and intelligent assent of the largest number of the intelligentsia and others, we ought to devote some thought to it. In our opinion, the proceedings of the Congress ought to be conducted in Hindustani or English or the (most prevalent) vernacular of the province where a session is held. If a speaker can speak in Hindustani, he should speak in it. If not he should have the option of speaking in English or in the vernacular of the province. If he speaks in a vernacular other than Hindustani, his speech should be translated into English or Hindustani. Briefly, the method followed by the League of Nations should be adopted.

We have made these suggestions in order that there may be intelligent voting in Congress and intelligent following of its proceedings, instead of uninformed voting under the influence of this great leader or that, and in order that the political capacity of those who hitherto did not speak in Hindustani but in English and who cannot now acquire a sufficient mastery of Hindustani, may not be lost to the Congress and the country.

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Languages of the "Commonwealth of India" and Congress Language

The following is to be found in the Supplementary Report of the Nehru Committee, page 23 :

In accordance with the sam resolution of the Lucknow Conference we also recommend that the following new clause be added to the original recommendations after clause 4 under the new heading "Language" (p. 103) :

"4 A (i) The language of the commonwealth shall be Hindustani, which may be written either in Nagari or in Urdu character. The use of the English language shall be permitted.

"(ii) In provinces the principal language of a province shall be the official language of the province. The use of Hindustani and English shall be permitted."

This recommendation was in accord with the following passages in the Nehru Committee's Report, page 62 :

"A democracy must be well-informed and must be able to understand and follow public affairs in order to take an effective part in them. It is inconceivable that a democracy can do this if a foreign language is largely used. It becomes essential, therefore, to conduct the business and politics of a country in a language which is understood by the masses. So far as the provinces are concerned this must be the provincial language.

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"We are certainly not against the use of English. Indeed, from the necessities of the situation we feel that English must, as at present, continue for some time to come to be the most convenient medium for debate in the central legislature. We also believe that a foreign language, and this is likely to be English, is essential for us to develop contacts with the thought and science and life of other countries. We are however strongly of opinion that every effort should be made to make Hindustani the common language of the whole of India, as it is to-day of half of it. [This is not a fact. Ed., *M. R.*] But, granting all this, provincial languages will have to be encouraged and, if we wish the province to make rapid progress, we shall have to get it to do its work in its own language."

It is not yet three years since the above recommendation was made and the above passages written. In the interval the political enlightenment and wisdom of the country have advanced with such rapid strides and our vernaculars in general and Hindustani in particular have enriched their vocabularies and literatures to such an unimagined extent that the need of English is no longer felt—apparently, of course. So, a linguistic revolution has been effected in less than three years. Linguistic *Inquilab xindabad*, "Long live Revolution," then, so that hereafter in the glorious future ahead there may be similar yearly, monthly, weekly—nay, daily, revolutions.

Even after becoming masters of large portions of India and undoubtedly the strongest power in the country, the British rulers did not displace Persian as the court language within the period of three years. But we nationalists, before we have won Swaraj and during the period when we were only proposing to have it, we nationalists have already (apparently) dispensed with English. This shows our superiority to the English.

We can tolerate the gift of Muslim rule in the shape of the large number of Persian and Arabic words and phrases in Urdu. But English is intolerable.

A man may be in all other respects a fit servant of the country, but we must not avail ourselves of his services in connection with the Congress if he be too busy or too old or too something else to be able to master Hindustani as well as he did English in the plastic years of life. One can clothe one's body in *Khaddar* in the course of an hour, but one cannot clothe his ideas and thoughts and opinions in Hindustani so quickly.

—

Conference of Muslim Nationalists

The Conference of Muslim nationalists from all parts of India, recently held at Lucknow under the presidency of Sir Ali Imam, marks a distinct and welcome stage in the progress of the Indian Muslim community towards nationalism pure and simple. It was more representative of Muslim India than the so-called "All-Parties" Muslim conference held previously at Delhi, which was really a conference of those who are under the thumb of the British bureaucracy and Sir Fazli Husain. The Lucknow conference was largely attended. The position in Muslim society of those who attended it and of those who took prominent part in it was not in the least inferior to that of the separatists who assembled at Delhi.

—

Sir Ali Imam's Address

Sir Ali Imam's presidential address was an expression and embodiment of the national outlook in all respects. He did not plead for anything sectional or communal.

He began by saying:

That day's big gathering reminded him of the Morley-Minto Reform days when the number of supporters of the Joint Electorate Scheme barely exceeded the number of fingers on a man's hand. He himself belonged to that school of political thought, which laid great stress on Separate Electorates and was in fact a member of the deputation that waited on Lord Minto in 1905. But in the interval between 1905 and 1909 he had time to carefully study the question and definitely came to the conclusion that Separate Electorate was not only the negation of Indian Nationalism, but also positively harmful to the Muslims themselves. As early as in 1909 he had raised a voice of protest again t separatism, but at that time his views were condemned both in the press and on the platform by the Mussalmans almost to a man. To-day, after 22 years, he found himself in the presence of a gathering of Muslim representatives not only of all provinces of India, but also of several powerful organizations, and virtually, the entire Muslim intelligentsia. To-day's gathering represented the Muslim Nationalists, in other words the people who were not wedded to the scheme of separatism. The march during the last twenty years had been stupendous. He, as the President-elect of the conference, had been simply flooded with messages from every corner of India from different leaders, who one and all insisted on the basic principle of joint electorates. Such a trend of events was extremely gratifying and showed that the Musalmans of India were not behind any other community in upholding the banner of a common and united Indian nation.

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I venture to prophesy, said Sir Ali Imam, that this movement among the Indian Muslims will gather force, which no power on earth can thwart. There is no need to despair. Time and tide are with us.

He proceeded to observe:

"If I were asked why I have such abiding faith in Indian nationalism, my answer is that without that India's freedom is an impossibility. Separate electorate connotes negation of nationalism. Political problems are but reflex of social forces. If you erect an iron wall between community and community in their politics you do destroy the social fabric. Day to day life will become unsupportable if you insist on building political barriers. Nationalism can never evolve from division and dissensions. Consider the implications of separatist clauses in the constitution. The plea is that the Muslims are numerically inferior, deficient in education and economically backward. The argument is then developed and it is asserted that they would never succeed in polls in the face of a powerful Hindu opposition. It is taken for granted that every Hindu is a potential enemy of Mussalmans. I do not believe in these generalizations, but should they be assumed true, what are the logical inferences? They are first, the Muslim is too weak to look after himself, secondly, the Hindu, as an enemy, is relentless, and finally, the necessity for protective clauses in the constitution. I do not believe that such protective clauses will afford any protection, unless they had some sanction behind them. If the Muslim cannot protect himself and the Hindu will not protect him, then the sanction must rest on the third party. Is not that negation of nationalism? Does is not show that the separatist notion is based upon the support which cannot be found in this country? This is tantamount to the perpetuation of tutelage. Is it surprising then that the nationalist Muslim, who cherishes the idea of freedom, scorns to subscribe to the embodying of separation clause in the constitution?

As regards reservation of seats in Councils, weightage, etc., Sir Ali Imam observed:

There is a school of thought that is desirous of implementing Joint Electorates with conditions. These have been referred to as reservation of seats, weightage, etc. Here again my personal view is that these are snares and, on examination, will lead to the inevitable result of imperative presence of some extraneous authority. I take the liberty to impress upon you the obvious necessity of taking a straight course of insisting upon Joint Electorate, undisfigured by conditions. There is so much said about the share of Indian Muslims in concession loot. I do not believe that share can be fixed by a statute. His share will be in the proportion to the contribution he makes towards the obtaining and maintaining of India's freedom. The Mussalman has nothing to fear. The stalwarts of North-Western Frontier and the teeming millions of Bengal and the Eastern Frontier are his inviolable security in national India. In the future of India there will be no place for a Hindu Raj or a Muslim Raj. The sovereignty of the peoples of India will be broad-based upon patriotism, unalloyed by taints of communalism. That should be your goal and towards that end you should make your sacrifices.

He added:

A new political orientation was clearly manifest among the people of North-Western Frontier. That was a sure sign of nationalistic solidarity, which was fast developing in India. There was another source of hope. Even in such limited Joint Electorates as in universities and chambers of commerce, the communal factor was quickly disappearing. In his own province of Behar there were recent instances of elections of Moulavi Abdul Hafiz and Mr. Ali Manzar, which clearly showed that the character and capacity of the candidates had successfully overcome communal prejudices. They had both been returned, one to the provincial council and the other to the University Senate, by overwhelming Hindu votes against strong Hindu candidates. Once there were joint electorates, the character, the capacity and personal lead of the candidates would surely overtop communal prejudices. The world has progressed too far to have any other code of political conduct.

He then referred to the recent riots in some towns in the United Provinces:

It was true that only recently terrible tragedies had been enacted at Benares, Mirzapur, Agra and Cawnpore. There were many who believed that they were due to *agents provocateurs*. Others believed that they were brought about by the goonda element of either community. This was not a place to determine what was at the root of these disasters. He earnestly hoped that they were ugly matters of the past. It was a matter of regret that there should be serious endeavours to make political capital out of them. All efforts should be devoted to prevent these repetitions and to wipe off bitterness engendered by them. This was a psychological moment for India and the plain duty of all Indians was to restore communal harmony and not to give a handle to the Churchill group to obstruct the introduction of the great constitutional reforms that were in sight.

Principal Resolution in Lucknow Conference

Whilst the presidential address and some other speeches at the Lucknow nationalist Muslim conference were entirely free from the taint of communalism and were broadly national in outlook, the same cannot be said of the principal resolution passed at it, which runs as follows:

That having secured a general agreement to the matters which affect the interests of the nation at large (1) that there shall be provision of the fundamental rights in the constitution guaranteeing to all citizens protection of their culture, language, script, education, profession and practice of religious endowments and economic interests.

(2) That the fundamental rights and personal laws shall be effectively protected by specific provisions to be embodied in the constitution.

(3) That the future constitution of the country shall be federal and residuary powers shall vest with federating units.

(4) That all appointments shall be made by

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blic Service Commission according to the nimum standard of efficiency without at the me time depriving any community of its r share in services and that in lower grade monopoly shall be permitted.

(5) That Sind shall be constituted into a parate province.

(6) That the North-West Frontier Province d Baluchistan shall have exactly the same rm of Government and administration as in her provinces in British India, and

(7) That the Nationalist Muslim Party strongly lds the view that a settlement of outstanding estions relating to the measure and method representation in Federal and Provincial gislatures should be based on the following inciples :

(i) Universal adult franchise,

(ii) Joint electorates,

(iii) Reservation of seats in Federal and ovincial Legislatures on the population basis r minorities less than 30 per cent with right contest additional seats ;

(iv) Having regard, however, to the present nfortunate position in the country, particularly the opaganda carried on by a body of Mussalmans as ell as the attitude of certain sections of other ommunities, and with a desire to secure a speedy ttlement and create a peaceful atmosphere in e country, this Nationalist Muslim Conference prepared to negotiate for a settlement of utstanding questions on the basis of joint lectorate and adult franchise.

We recognize that the leaders of the Conference were obliged to pass a resolution like the above, which is communalistic in the main with some admixture of the nationalist element, in order perhaps to get the support of as large a section of the Muslim community as possible to the idea of joint electorates. We may also hope that those who moved and supported nationalistic amendments to the resolution are the pioneers of the larger nationalist Muslim community to be. The fact that the claim to weightage has been given up is a matter for congratulation.

Speaking generally, the first and second clauses are not open to objection.

As to the third clause, we are opposed to vesting the federating units with residuary power. Federated India must have a strong central government, in order that the centripetal, unifying and strength-giving forces may be conserved and developed and fissiparous and centrifugal tendencies may be discouraged and combated. In no other way can India's existence as an independent and free political entity, able to defend itself by its own strength, be assured.

The United States of India to be are not comparable to the United States of America. The British provinces of India are not autonomous units coming together voluntarily to form a federation. What little autonomy they have at present is a gift of the Central Government. That they may become somewhat more autonomous in future, is another question. Muslim communalists want residuary powers to be vested in the provinces, most probably because they fear that their interests will not be safe in the hands of a Hindu majority in the Central Government. It is true, there will be Hindu majorities in many of the provinces also. That is the reason why Muslims want three more Muslim majority "Governor's provinces," namely, Sindh, Baluchistan and N.-W. Frontier Province, in addition to Bengal and the Panjab, in order that, as some of their leaders have frankly said, the Hindus in these five Muslim majority provinces may remain like hostages for the good behaviour of the Hindus in the Hindu majority provinces.

If our Provinces were separate States, with direct subjection to Great Britain as the only common element in their political status, and if the fact were that they were going to be now separately independent but for the sake of developing greater strength and a more efficient administration they were federating by giving up part of their sovereignty and keeping the rest to themselves, then one could understand residuary powers vesting in them. But the facts are quite different.

In the fourth clause, the underlying idea is medieval and communal, namely, that the unit of the State is the religious group. But the modern idea is that the unit of the State is the individual citizen, whatever his religious belief or disbelief may be. In a modern State, there must be the open door for talent, irrespective of creed or caste. To be strong, efficient, prosperous and progressive, the modern State must secure the maximum efficiency in its employees for any given emoluments. To plead for jobs for any community on the basis of a minimum standard of efficiency is practically to conserve its backwardness as well as that of the entire nation. There is no objection, however, to the making of special provisions for raising the efficiency of those who are backward by education and other means.

So, the fourth clause is a result of thinking communally and cannot make for raising the standard of efficiency of the communities in whose supposed interests it has been framed.

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We have stated our objections to the constitution of Sindh, N.-W. F. and Baluchistan into separate "Governor's Provinces" again and again. We will now stress only one objection. These provinces are not financially self-supporting. Their deficits may increase if they be made "Governor's Provinces." Let them, therefore, give an undertaking that the majority community in those regions will be responsible for the present and future deficits in proportion to their numerical strength, and we shall withdraw our other objections.

We have not only no objection to these three regions having laws, judiciary, administration, educational system and agricultural, health and otherdepartments of as enlightened and progressive character as the rest of India, but we positively want that they should have them.

As regards clause (7), we too support and want joint electorates, and, though on general grounds we think the introduction of universal adult franchise would just now be too abrupt a change, we support it in order to allay Muslim suspicion in the Muslim majority provinces as much as possible.

We are opposed to the reservation of seats either for majority or minority communities. But if Muslims will not co-operate with other communities unless seats are reserved for themselves in provinces where they are in a minority, we are disposed to agree to their having such reservation for a short definitely fixed period. It is to be regretted, however, that they have sought to deprive Hindu minorities in the Panjab and Bengal of the advantage, as they think, of reservation of seats on the population basis.

Both in Bengal and the Panjab the Hindus are in a minority. In both they, however, form more than 30 per cent of the population. It is clear that this proportion of 30 per cent has been fixed in order to prevent the Panjab and Bengal Hindus from claiming reservation of seats, should they be disposed to do so. There is no magic in the number thirty. It could as well have been 33 or 45. If it had been 33, Panjab Hindus could have claimed reserved seats; if 45, both Panjab and Bengal Hindus could have claimed them. No one should grudge to others what one claims for one's self.

It is true, both in Bengal and the Panjab the Hindus are a comparatively large and progressive minority. But people should not be sought to be penalized for their progressiveness and numerical strength.

—

"Adult Franchise"

There is an indication in the previous note that we are not enthusiastic advocates of universal adult franchise *just now*, showing that we are old folk of yesterday or it may be of the 18th century. But we shall advocate it to come into effect five or ten years' hence, after the utmost intensive and extensive efforts have been provided for in the constitution and made to educate young and old, all and sundry, by literacy *and other means.*

In this connection, we would ask our readers to study Dr. Bhagavan Das's pamphlet on "The Ethico-psychological Crux in Political Science and Art: or who should be legislators ?" to be had of the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. The name and the first page of the booklet may be terrifying; but if the brave reader perseveres a little, he will be rewarded with some clear idea of how democracy works in some western countries.

—

Proposed Moslem R. T. C.

In the course of an appeal to Muslims, Sir Muhammad Shafi suggests the convening of a Muslim Round Table Conference to "formulate unanimous demands of the Muslims to Mr. Gandhi." Coming, as the suggestion does, after the successful Muslim nationalist conference at Lucknow, it proves that the separatists have now practically to admit that they are not the spokesmen—at any rate, not the only spokesmen—of the entire Muslim community.

Sir Muhammad says that a comparative analysis of the resolutions passed by the Muslim Nationalist Conference, the Muslim League and the (so-called) "All Parties" Muslim Conference at Delhi makes it absolutely clear that the Muslims belonging to all schools of thought are entirely unanimous in all items except the form of electorates. In his opinion this matter could be settled at the proposed Muslim R. T. C.

—

Prof. Rapson on "The History of Orissa"

Professor Rapson, of Cambridge, the eminent Indologist, has sent the publisher

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following appreciation of the late Mr. D Banerji's *History of Orissa* :

"A sad interest attaches to this last work the great Indian scholar, whose name ll always be associated with the wonderful scoveries at Mohen-jo-Daro which have vealed to the world a lost chapter of its cient history.

"Professor Banerji lived to complete *History of Orissa* on which he had been gaged for some twenty years, and to rite its preface : but he was not permitted witness its publication. His object was give a comprehensive account of the cient geography, the ethnology, and the litical history of the region of north-stern India which extends from the delta the Ganges to the Godavari, the region hich in ancient times comprised the ree Kalingas—Utkala on the north, Tosala the centre, and Kalinga proper on the uth. The first volume, which has now ppeared, carries the survey from the rliest times down to the end of the six-enth century A. D., when the north had een conquered by the Sultans of Bengal nd the Gajapati rulers of the South had ecome the feudatories of the Kutb-Shahis Golconda. It is a mine of historical in-rmation, and there can be no doubt that will long remain the standard authority on its subject.

"This handsome volume of 351 pages s well-printed, and is furnished with four aps and about forty illustrations. The econd volume, which will complete this reat work, will be most welcome; and he value of the work will be enhanced y the provision of a good index."

—

K. T. Paul

The late Mr. Kanakarayan Paul was a Christian Indian of great distinction. He was for long the National Secretary of the Indian Y. M. C. A. He was in favour of Christian Indians co-operating with their fellow-countrymen of other faiths for winning back the freedom of the country, and did much to bring about such co-operation. He considered the ancient culture of India as much the heritage of Christian Indians as of the Hindus, and made unremitting efforts to get his community practically to recognize this fact.

—

Pandit Deva Ratna Sharma

The late Pandit Deva Ratna Sharma was the General Secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha. He was a quiet and indefatigable worker and an able organizer. His services to the Hindu Mahasabha cannot be overestimated. He was noted for the amiability of his disposition, his courtesy and his kind heart. He was not in the least a narrow-minded bigot. During the earlier years of his life he was connected with the Brahmo Samaj and the Deva Samaj, and to the last adhered to his considered opinion that of all Hindu reformers the ideas and outlook of Rammohun Roy were the sanest, soundest and most liberal. This he told us more than once. The Hindu Mahasabha will not find it very easy to find a man of his industry, sober judgment and love of the cause to take his place.

—

Calcutta Activities of Bharat-Stree-Mahamandal

We have received two pamphlets—one descriptive of the aims and objects of the Bharat-Stree-Mahamandal or Indian Women's Association, of which Srimati Sarala Devi Chaudhurani continues to be the Secretary, and the other giving an account of the Calcutta activities of the association. These latter include the musical training of purdah ladies, women's co-operative stores, purdah education, primary girls' school, history examination, *Sikshasadan* or school for married women and grown-up girls, and the like. Regarding history examination we are told :

"To educate the womenfolk of Bengal in the history of different countries of the world, the Mahamandal since 1928 has opened examination centres in several districts and sub-divisional towns of Bengal with the help and co-operation of the men and women of those districts. The women are encouraged to study at home and sit for examination at their respective centres on fixed days. They are examined in the history of Bengal, India, England, America, Greece and Rome by turns throughout the year. Successful candidates are offered prizes and certificates."

The *Sikshasadan* or school for married women and grown-up girls was founded in June 1930, for imparting literary, industrial, artistic, moral and religious instruction at a central place in Calcutta.

"In the Sikshasadan the classes are held between 12 noon and 3 P. M.—the time on which

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men have no claim, which is women's own for wasting away or spending in self-improvement. Hindu, Mahomedan, Marwari, Madrasi and Bengali—ladies of all races and creeds are attending the Sikshasadan and applications for new admissions are pouring in daily. A body of highly educated ladies is giving their voluntary service."

The Bharat-Stree-Mahamandal has been doing valuable work of a beneficent character in more ways than one and deserves all help.

—

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal on Social Adjustment

Some time back Mr. K. P. Jayaswal was invited by H. H. the Gaekwad of Baroda to deliver at his capital the Golden Jubilee Lecture. He did so before a distinguished audience headed by their Highnesses the Maharaja and Maharani Gaekwad, choosing as his subject the problem of adjustment of our social institutions to modern conditions. After paying a substantially well-deserved tribute to His Highness for what he has done for Baroda, Mr. Jayaswal showed how in ancient times the work of social adjustment had been done in India repeatedly. The examples he gave from our ancient mythology and history were ably interpreted in his characteristic manner in terms of modern sociological knowledge.

The kind of adjustment which Mr. Jayaswal advocated will be understood to some extent from the following passages from his lecture, which was thought-provoking:

Our problem is not confined to a Hindu society of Hindus only. Hindu society is now faced, as it was faced on several occasions in the past, with communities of mixed foreign and Aryan origins within its home. The solution which I propose of the problem is the solution which past experience points out. It is a well-known and oft-repeated characterization of Hindu society that it has the power to absorb within itself non-Indian communities. If Hindu society has preserved its vitality, it should function on in that direction. The same phenomenon is seen in the United States of America; the States recast every new-comer into an American. The word Hindu should become as large as his civilization. It should include every man and woman permanently residing in Hindu land or India.

One Law for Everybody

And to this end we must have one law for everybody, as the author of the Mahabharata said, one law for all, one and the same law for the old citizen and the new citizen, for the Hindu and the non-Hindu. The law should be based on the principle of equality of man. If bigamy is bad it should be bad for all; it should cease to a privilege for the Hindu and the Mussalman; or if it is not bad, it should cease to be penal to the Christian.

Why should a Mussalman suffer any disqualification, on account of his caste, in gifting his property? Why should he be limited in his power only to make a gift of 1/3 of his estate? A Muhammadan, if he wants to make a gift of his entire estate, can do so only if he adopts Christianity. Why should one, to get rid of a wife, be put to the necessity of changing his religion? Why should a Muslim for avoiding the bar of fosterage in marriage be put to the necessity of changing his religion? Or, why should a Hindu, to marry a first cousin, be allowed to do it by a change of religion? Cousin-marriage should be declared bad for all or good for all. A Muslim is allowed to make an endowment for the maintenance of his children and descendants with an ultimate gift for charity. But a Hindu cannot do so, although the Hindu father, as a human being, has the same affection for his children and children's children as any other human being.

Equal Facilities

Similarly in the family-laws a wife in any religion and any caste should have the same rights as a husband of any religion and any caste.

The Hindu daughter should have the same rights which her sisters of other religions have. She has remained too long a non-child in Hindu Society in the matter of inheritance.

—

Civic Honours for Sir J. C. Bose

Last month the Calcutta Corporation honoured itself and the citizens of Calcutta by presenting Sir J. C. Bose, the eminent scientist and seer, with a civic address. This function should have been performed in the last century, or at least twenty-five years ago. But it is never too late to mend and perform a duty. *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette* brought out a sumptuous number to commemorate the occasion, summarizing some of the wonderful achievements of Prof. Bose and all that he stands for, with portraits of Sir J. C. and Lady Bose and other illuminating illustrations.

—

Doctorate for Principal Maitra

Like the Calcutta Corporation, the Calcutta University has been very late in performing a duty in its own sphere. Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra has been a distinguished teacher for half a century. He has been also for a long series of years a prominent member of the Senate and the Syndicate of the Calcutta University. But it was only the other day that his *alma mater* conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Literature *honoris causa*.

In our college days we had the privilege

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sit at his feet. He taught us English rature. In those days our conviction was t from the lectures of no other professor that subject, Indian or foreign, at whose we had sat, did we derive greater efit. That conviction has remained unered to this day.

A meeting was recently held in College by his colleagues to congratulate on the receipt of his academic honours.

—

"The United States of India : A Foot-note to Recent History."

This is the heading of an article in *The w Republic* of America of April 1, 1931, hich should be an eye-opener to Indians. ferring to a certain trial of some Indians of merica, during the last world war, the writer, r. Robert Morss Lovett, says :

"It was conducted by the United States district torney under the direction of George Denham, ief of the Criminal Investigation Department of e Government of India···He and four assistants, o British and two Indian, were active in the urt-room throughout the trial. When the district torney sent to his office for some papers, Denham ent along to identify them. *The San Francisco hronicle* estimated that 200 (two hundred) embers of the British Secret Service had been San Francisco for more than two years, working Indian cases, at an expense that easily runs into illions for salaries alone. The evidence of nspiracy was provided by a group of Indians, pecially imported under military guard. The nvicted men whom I interviewed stated that ey had never seen one of these witnesses fore they appeared in the court-room."

Mr. Lovett concludes the article by bserving :

"We do not know whether India is fit to overn itself ; we know that Great Britain, at east, is not fit to govern it,..."

—

An American Tribute to Gandhiji

In the opinion of the Editors of *The World Tomorrow* of America :

"Gandhi is not only the most beloved and adored saint of this age, he is also a supremely practical statesman. His goal is the same passion for freedom which has always inspired patriots but he has utterly rejected violence as a means to that end. Without the instruments of warfare or symbols of pomp and power, by sheer dominance of spiritual influence, India's saint appears to be on the verge of accomplishing a political miracle."

—

"The Ten Greatest Living Men"

Rev. John Haynes Holmes writes in his paper, *Unity*, of Chicago :

Our readers must have long since learned that we have a weakness for "great men" lists.... Hence our attraction to the attempt of Rabbi Louis I. Newman, of New York, to name "the ten greatest living men"! His list includes Thomas A. Edison, Albert Einstein, Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Joseph Stalin, Leon Trotsky, Benito Mussolini, Henri Bergson, Ernest Bloch, and Bernard Shaw. This is a good list. Seven of the ten names—Edison, Einstein, Gandhi, Tagore, Stalin, Trotsky, Shaw—we would endorse without a moment's hesitation. The other three we would at least ponder for a time···Bergson was undoubtedly the greatest of contemporary philosophers until he burnt out during the war. Has not John Dewey since moved into his place ? As for Mussolini, we dissent altogether, and as we must have a place for Romain Rolland in our list of ten, we nominate the great French pacifist as a substitute for the Italian jingo.

—

Scientific Researches for Industrial Development

"Sir C. V. Raman urges the establishment of an institution at a central place like Calcutta or Bombay, where research can be carried on to solve the scientific problems of India's various industries.

"If the Government gives him an annual grant of Rs. 10 lakhs, he says, he can undertake to make India industrially self-sufficient so far as science is capable of doing so. In foreign countries, he points out, there are big laboratories in which research on subjects connected with industries is carried on ; India wants a similar research institute at a central place like Calcutta or Bombay, where the workers can have at their disposal such scientific resources as electric power and machinery, as well as raw materials and the best talent.

"India has at present no institution where research on the scientific problems of her industries can be carried on and this, in Sir C. V. Raman's opinion, has been the main cause of many failures.

"Indian problems and raw materials are of a different nature in comparison with those of other countries and therefore they require different treatment. This work is of such a nature that individuals cannot be expected to undertake it, and Sir C. V. Raman says,

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it is the duty of the State to establish an institution of this nature."

An institution like the one suggested by Sir C. V. Raman should certainly be started with State aid—but not under State management, so long, at any rate, as State management means control by British (or other) bureaucrats in India. Professor Raman says that there is no such institution in India. He is, we believe, prominently connected with what is popularly known as the Tata Institute at Bangalore. He has undoubtedly been convinced that it is not an institution like the one he wants, though the late Mr. J. N. Tata wanted to establish an institution for carrying on research on the scientific problems of India's industries.

Even in Japan where the State has done so much for industrial development on up-to-date scientific lines, there is a complaint that Government does not give enough money for research, as the following extract from *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* will show:

HOUSE OF PEERS

Wednesday, March 18

The President took the chair at 10.20 a.m.

On the motion of Baron Sakatani (Koseikai), the Order of the Day was changed, and a representation urging the Government to encourage scientific research, introduced by Prince Ichijo Sanetaka and twelve other Peers, was taken up.

Baron SAKATANI YOSHIO (Koseikai), explained the representation, referred disapprovingly to the Government's reduction of the scientific research expenditure in the new Budget, and pointed out that in other countries the expenditure of this kind had been increased, in spite of financial difficulties. The speaker then dwelt upon the need of scientific research for the improvement of business conditions.

Viscount HIGASHISONO MOTOMITSU (Kenkyukai) supported the representation.

The representation was then unanimously adopted.

—

"Bhadralok" Rickshaw-pullers

Two educated young Bengalis of the *bhadralok* (genteel) class have taken to rickshaw-pulling as an occupation. Their spirit of self-help and moral courage are praiseworthy. That they have taken to bodily labour instead of hanging about office doors for clerical jobs in vain, shows that they have grit.

—

Karachi Congress Resolutions

It is the way of old procrastinators that they put off till the last moment some of the most important and most difficult pieces of work, to find at last that there is no more time left to do it.

We wanted to deal at adequate length with the Karachi Congress Resolutions in this number. But having already given most of our time and space to other matters, we must be content with a few brief remarks.

In our last March issue, page 368, we printed the reasons why the death sentences on Sardar Bhagat Singh and his comrades should have been commuted. We still hold that they had no fair trial and that their guilt was not proved by ordinary legal procedure.

The resolution on Sardar Bhagat Singh and his comrades expresses, we doubt not, the honest and sincere opinion of those who drafted and voted for it. But we presume, though we may be wrong, that the placing of it before the Congress and its passing were due to the nearness of the date of the executions to those of the Congress sittings and the resulting exigencies of the times. For, so far as mere bravery and sacrifice of a certain kind go, there have been even in recent times more conspicuous examples among political assassins. And the public at large have overdone the belauding of Bhagat Singh and his comrades, with the resulting evil effect. Mahatmaji has dutifully dissuaded young men from following Bhagat Singh's bad example. But it is not clear whether the praise or dispraise of Bhagat Singh has made the greater impression on the public mind.

In his Chelmsford Club speech Lord Irwin expressed surprise that Mahatma Gandhi, the prophet of non-violence, should have pleaded for the commutation of the sentence on Bhagat Singh. His Lordship has not grasped the full meaning and implications of non-violence. The doctrine of *Ahimsa* or non-injury, as taught in the Mahabharata and by Buddha, Christ and Gandhi, calls upon men to overcome hatred and consequent violence, not by retaliation, but by love. Therefore Gandhiji was right in trying to save Bhagat Singh, in order that he might be brought round by this loving treatment to see the error of his ways assuming that he was guilty of the offence he was accused of.

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The resolution on political prisoners, as ssed, has our entire support and approval. e printed draft as circulated in the Subjects mmittee meeting did not mention the enus. The oversight, whether of the ifters or of the printer, was serious.

There was a good deal of discussion about e provisional settlement. On the whole, the ngress did well to vote for it. But it is be hoped due note has been taken of what r. Jamnadas Mehta said on India's public bt. That portion of his speech which lated to this topic was informing.

We shall not mention the resolutions hich do not call for any particular comnt but only support and approval, and ey are the majority.

In the resolution on Khaddar, the last rtion is specially important and strikes a w note. It runs as follows:

"This Congress suggests to the great Foreign uses that they will help international otherhood and revolutionize commercial ethics, they will take the first step by recognizing e soundness and necessity of economic boycott India of foreign cloth and denying themselves reign trade that has admittedly hurt the onomic well-being of India's masses and verting their attention to enterprises more in eeping with the wants of nations other than eir own."

It is not impossible even for commercial apitalists to be humane idealists, and Congress has done well to try to rouse the idealistic instinct which lies dormant in their minds.

As we have said more than once, we are for the N.-W. F. Province having the most enlightened and progressive administration, but we do not support its being made a "Governor's Province," for financial reasons. No Governor's province, certainly not Bengal, can spare any portion of revenue to meet the growing deficits in the Frontier province.

The resolution on Burma is all that it should be. "Scrutator" has written in the *Indian Daily Mail* that the separation of Burma is likely to be treated as an open question, in spite of Sir Charles Innes' threat of resignation, and that "as soon as possible, an inquiry will be held into the financial and commercial aspects of the whole problem, and it is quite likely that as a result of this inquiry the idea of separating Burma may be dropped or considerably modified."

The 15th resolution, that explaining what Congress means by Swaraj, is very important. It seems, however, to have been drafted in a hurry. Not that any of the details are entirely wrong. But while there are certain things in it which ought to be in a Swaraj constitution, there are other items which may very well be left for legislation under a Swaraj government.

—

"Women Workers"

The mention of "protection" in connection only with *women* workers appears to have caused some justifiable dissatisfaction in some quarters. That may or may not be due to misconception. A lady identified with the women movement in India writes to us in a private letter:

".....women.....objecting to Gandhiji's desire to put 'protection of women workers' and 'maternity periods' in the new constitution. It puts an atmosphere of weakness round women that is the reverse of the Indian idea of her as *shakti*; it is not what woman wants—she wants a fair field, not protection: she wants conditions to be fairly paid by *work*, not by sex—and 'working women' are not to be defined only as those in factories. Of course, we want women not to be exploited, but only as we want no *workers* to be exploited. The maternity benefits we will work for as a Law, but not in the constitution in a country predominatingly agricultural."

We commend the above observations to the Swaraj Definition Committee appointed by the new Working Committee, of which Mr. Sriprakasa is the convener.

—

Tax on Agricultural Incomes

As the mention of a graduated tax on agricultural incomes in the Swaraj explanation resolution may be and has been misunderstood, we suggest that it be stated that all incomes, above a fixed minimum, whether agricultural or not, are to be taxed.

It ought to be calmly considered whether the Swaraj Government ought to repudiate any particular assurance given by the British Government which is not undoubtedly unjust or improper. In permanently settled tracts, the zamindars claim that taxing their agricultural incomes would be a violation of pledges given by the British

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Government. This contention ought to be seriously considered. We have felt no hesitation in saying this, as we do not own even a square-foot of land anywhere.

—

Scale of Salaries Under Swaraj

The salaries attached to high, higher and highest posts in India are extravagantly large and the lowest employees are inadequately paid. Thousands receive starvation wages. Therefore, a thorough revision of the scale of all salaries is certainly required.

Congress has fixed Rs. 500 as the maximum monthly salary except in the case of experts and the like. This scale has been supported on the ground that in Soviet Russia no officer gets more than the equivalent of Rs. 250 or Rs. 275. But there is a difference between the proposed Swaraj rule and Soviet rule. In Soviet Russia even private earnings are strictly limited. There are not and cannot be any millionaires or private owners of even far less wealth in Soviet Russia. But under Swaraj in India, it has not been proposed that merchants, industrial magnates, lawyers and other professional men, etc., are not to earn more than a moderate fixed amount per month, say Rs. 500 or Rs. 1,000. Therefore, if under Swaraj men of enterprise and brains can earn as much wealth as possible by work of other kinds than public service and if public service alone brings the poorest return, the latter may not attract men of sufficient ability in sufficient numbers. Idealism and the attractions of honours are, no doubt, forces which ought to be taken into consideration. But at the present stage of evolution of human nature, the motive of private gain ought not to be lost sight of by practical statesmen.

—

Murder of Mr. Peddie

Throughout our journalistic career we have condemned political assassination like that of Mr. Peddie, late Magistrate of Midnapur, and given reasons to show that they cannot bring freedom to the country. Probably, what we write is not read by the class of young men from whom terrorists obtain their recruits, or, if read, it is discounted on account of the existence of many rigorous laws which operate against a free expression of opinion. Whether terrorists read our writings or not, there are Government servants whose duty it is to read what appears in the public press. But these persons also pay most attention to what may enable them to prosecute journalists. Nevertheless, we suggest to the Government through them that it should try its utmost to prevent oppression by any one of its servants. It should earnestly and openly enquire into all complaints of such oppression and either *prove* them to be false, or on proof being obtained of their truth, punish the wrongdoers. That may prevent at least those political murders which may be due to a feeling of revenge roused by stories of real or fancied unremedied wrong and thus save the lives of public servants valued by the Government.

—

Bengal's Disgrace

Unseemly party dissensions and squabbles have long discredited Bengal in the eyes of outsiders, though the vast majority of Bengalis are not directly responsible for them. But the indirect responsibility due to inactivity, indifference and non-interference is certainly theirs. Two recent incidents have added to our shame. One is the rough handling of Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta at Mymensingh by some of his political opponents. It appears from newspaper accounts that he behaved nevertheless in a dignified and courageous manner. The other was the circulation by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose more than a year ago of copies of a letter alleged to have been written by one Mr. M. N. Mukherji which indirectly cast aspersions on Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta, who was then in jail, and on the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation. A defamation case was brought against Mr. Bose. After more than a year Mr. Bose has expressed regret for what he had done, almost on the eve of sentence being pronounced by the Magistrate, saying that he had been misled. It is a pity that he took such a long time to discover that he had been misled, by whom he has not said. We have no desire to dwell on the details of the case.

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By Nandalal Bose

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My Educational Mission

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

I am an artist and not a man of science and therefore my institution necessarily has assumed the aspect of a work of art and not that of a pedagogical laboratory. And this is the reason why I find it difficult to give men a distinct idea of my work which is continually growing for the last thirty years. With it my own mind has grown and my own ideal of education found freedom to reach its fulness through a vital process so elusive that the picture of its unity cannot be analysed.

Children's minds are sensitive to the influences of the great world to which they have been born. This delicate receptivity of their passive mind helps them, without their feeling any strain, to master language, that most complex instrument of expression, full of ideas that are indefinable and symbols that deal with abstractions. Through their natural gift of guessing, children learn the meaning of the words which we cannot explain.

But it is just at this critical period that the child's life is brought into the education factory, lifeless, colourless, dissociated from the context of the universe, with bare white walls staring like eyeballs of the dead. The children have to sit inert whilst lessons are pelted at them like hailstones on flowers.

I believe that children should be surrounded with the things of nature that have their own educational value. Their minds should be allowed to stumble on and be surprised at everything that happens before them in the life of today. The new tomorrow will stimulate their attention with new facts of life.

The minds of the adults are crowded; the stream of lessons perpetually flowing from the heart of nature does not fully touch them; they choose those that are useful, rejecting the rest as inadmissible. The children have no such distractions. With them every new fact comes to a mind that is always open, with an abundant hospitality. And through this exuberant, indiscriminate acceptance they learn innumerable facts within a short time, amazing compared to our own slowness. These are the most important lessons of life that are thus learnt in the first few years of our career.

Because, when I was young I underwent the mechanical pressure of a teaching process, one of man's most cruel and most wasteful mistakes, I felt it my duty to found a school where the children might be free in spite of the school.

At the age of twelve I was first coerced into learning English. Most of Englishmen and Americans are blissfully unconscious of the mercilessness of their language. They will admit, however, that neither its spelling, nor its syntax is perfectly rational. The

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By Nandalal Bose

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penalty for this I had to pay, without having done anything to deserve it, with the exception of being born ignorant.

When in the evening my English teacher came I was dragged to my daily doom at a most unsympathetic desk and an unprepossesing text-book containing lessons that are followed by rows of separated syllables with accent marks like soldiers' bayonets.

As for that teacher, I can never forgive him. He was so inordinately conscientious! He insisted on coming every single evening,—there never seemed to be either illness or death in his family. He was so preposterously punctual too. I remember how the fascination for the frightful attracted me every evening to the terrace facing the road; and just at the right moment, his fateful umbrella,—for bad weather never prevented him from coming,—would appear at the bend of our lane.

Remembering the experience of my young days, of the school masters and the class rooms, also knowing something of the natural school which Nature herself supplies to all her creatures, I established my institution in a beautiful spot, far away from the town, where the children had the greatest freedom possible under the shade of ancient trees and the field around open to the verge of horizon.

From the beginning I tried to create an atmosphere which I considered to be more important than the class teaching. The atmosphere of nature's own beauty was there waiting for us from a time immemorial with her varied gifts of colours and dance, flowers and fruits, with the joy of her mornings and the peace of her starry nights. I wrote songs to suit the different seasons to celebrate the coming of spring and the resonant season of the rains following the pitiless months of summer. When nature herself sends her message we ought to acknowledge its compelling invitation. If we pay all our dutiful attention to mathematics while the kiss of rain thrills the heart of the surrounding trees, we are ostracized by the spirit of the universe. Our holidays are unexpected like Nature's own. Clouds gather above the rows of the palm trees without any previous notice; we gladly submit to its sudden suggestion and run wildly away from our Sanskrit grammar. To alienate our sympathy from the world of birds and trees is a barbarity which is not allowed in my institution.

I invited renowned artists from the city to live at the school, leaving them free to produce their own work which the boys and girls watch if they feel inclined. It is the same with my own work. I compose my songs and poems, the teachers sit round me and listen. The children are naturally attracted and they peep in and gather, even if they do not fully understand, something fresh from the heart of the composer.

From the commencement of our work we have encouraged our children to be of service to our neighbours from which has grown up a village reconstruction work in our neighbourhood, unique in the whole of India. Round our educational work the villages have grouped themselves in which the sympathy for nature and service for man have become one. In such extension of sympathy and service our mind realizes its true freedom.

Along with this has grown an aspiration for even a higher freedom, a freedom from all racial and national prejudice. Children's sympathy is often deliberately made narrow and distorted making them incapable of understanding alien peoples with different languages and cultures. This causes us, when our growing souls demand it, to grope after each other in ignorance, to suffer from the blindness of this age. The worst fetters come when children lose their freedom of heart in love.

We are building up our institution upon the ideal of the spiritual unity of all races. I hope it is going to be a great meeting place for individuals from all countries who believe in the divine humanity, and who wish to make atonement for the cruel disloyalty displayed against her by men. Such idealists I have often met in my travels in the West, unknown persons of no special reputation who suffer and struggle for a cause most often ignored by the clever and the powerful. These nameless individuals, I am sure, will alter the outlook for the future, by them will be ushered a new sunrise of truth and love, like that great personality, who had only a small number of disciples from among the insignificant, and who at the end of his career presented a pitiful picture of utter failure. He was reviled by those in power, unknown by the larger world and suffered an inglorious death and yet through the symbol of this utmost failure he conquers and lives for ever.

For some time past education has lacked

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alism in its mere exercise of an intellect ich has no depth of sentiment. The one sire produced in the heart of the students been an admission to win success in the rld,—not to reach some inner standard of rfection, not to obtain self-emancipation. Let me confess this fact, that I have my th in higher ideals. At the same time, have a great feeling of delicacy in giving erance to them, because of certain dern obstacles. We have now-a-days be merely commonplace. We have wait on the reports in the wspapers; representative of the whole chinery which has been growing up all er the world for the making of life super-ial. It is difficult to fight through such obstructions and to come to the centre of humanity.

However I have this one satisfaction that I am at least able to put before the world the mission to which these last years of my life have been devoted. As a servant of the great cause I must be frank and strong in urging upon all this mission. I represent in my institution an ideal of brotherhood, where men of different countries and different languages can come together. I believe in the spiritual unity of man and therefore I ask the world to accept this task from me. Unless it comes and says, "We also recognize this ideal," I shall know that this mission has failed.

Visiting The Nehrus

By Dr. SUDHINDRA BOSE

IT was late in July. Pandit Motilal Nehru had sent me a wire at Dacca to come and visit him in his home at Allahabad. was thrilled. Ever since I had interviewed r. Sun Yat-Sen in China and Count Okuma Japan for the American press some ars ago, I had been dreaming to see Mahatma andhi and Pandit Nehru. I saw Mahatmaji ithin a week after I landed in India. ow I was to meet Panditji

I expected no one to meet me when I ot off the train at Allahabad. As I was ebating with myself as to how I should et to the house of my host, a youngish an greeted me and introduced himself as ehru. Who was he? I was in a quandary. I knew that my host was a venerable-looking ersonage; he could not possibly be so oung. Who then could this man be? He ad the dignity and courtesy of a true-bred entleman. His was a striking face, but I had never seen its likeness in public prints.

Presently I learned that he was no other than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who had just returned from Europe and was writing for the press a series of most interesting articles on Soviet Russia. I had, from the reading of those articles, pictured him as the Lenin of India. Here stood before me the young intellectual who was already something of a nightmare to the English rulers in India. I looked at him curiously. A man in the thirties, weighing a hundred pounds or so, coolly dignified and yet—extremely alive. He radiated energy; it seemed to gather itself to a point in his almost black eyes. This was he who was destined soon to be chosen the President of the most epoch-making session of the Indian National Congress at Lahore.

The mansion on the chief thoroughfare to which, we were driven in a car bore the name, "Ananda Bhawan." A red brick wall surrounded the house. As we approached I discerned on the wall the words written in white paint, "Welcome To the Prince." Mr. Nehru pointed smilingly to the half-obliterated word "No" which had prefaced the welcome and which was partly rubbed off. He explained: "That was the way we welcomed the prince. Half an hour before he passed this way, a policeman wiped out the first word—nearly."

Back of the house, far beyond the wall, was a meadow; and across the meadow stood in the distance an English fort. The meadow, I was told, was once a wood. The trees were

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cut down by the authorities so that, if ever the guns had to open fire on the city, there should be no obstruction. Ananda Bhawan is a large palace. From the roof one might perhaps catch a glimpse of a different vista—the confluence of the holy Ganges and the Jamuna.

Inside the house, East and West mingled harmoniously. Pandit Motilal Nehru, a *pucka* Indian, was dressed in *khaddar* and welcomed me with hearty cordiality. He spoke perfect English; but his generous hospitality, and his kindly and gracious ways indicated a true Indian heart. The womenfolk came and went freely. They wore no veils. They talked with me in English fluently; some of them had been educated in Europe. A married daughter of Mr. Nehru was also there. She was about to proceed to England with her husband who was to study medicine. Another of the young women of the Nehru family had topped the list in the law examination at the University of Allahabad. I recalled that not many years ago, our Indian women were in seclusion. Gone is the *purdah* for ever! Woman's freedom has come back once more. Woman is now taking her place, in the open, by the side of man. Here, if anywhere, is an authentic proof of the dawning of a new day for India.

The next morning I had a long talk with Pandit Motilal Nehru in his living room. It had the decorations and the conveniences of a type I am accustomed to in America. This put me in mind of Mahatma Gandhi's room at Sabarmati where I had been received only a few weeks before. Mahatmaji was sitting on the floor spread over with a home-spun cloth. The room had absolutely no ornamentation. There were no tables or chairs, nor pictures on the walls. A spinning wheel, a few half-filled book-shelves and a low desk, having the appearance of a foot-stool, constituted the furniture of Mr. Gandhi's room. One does not, however, think of the bareness of a room at Sabarmati in the presence of the Mahatma.

Pandit Motilal Nehru was busy working on the report of the committee appointed by the All-Parties Conference to determine the principles of the constitution for India. Later this report became the Swaraj Constitution. He showed me some of the drafts of the report he had made, and we talked on principles of government and administration. His was a far-sighted mind. He felt that there could be no freedom for India until the Mohammedans and Hindus worked together, shoulder to shoulder, hand in hand. Panditji was all ether-clear vision, forthrightness, of immense practical sense, courageous to the last degree and filled with loathing for the Pharisee, Indian and foreign. He had mental eyes which bore through to the last atom. He distrusted and detested all Anglophils and their Satanic duplicity. He was mild-mannered, sensitively human and affectionate; but, like all fighters, he had a temper, which could burn and blaze. He had in his forensics, like Nietzsche, "an old artillery-man".

He was immensely devoted to India in his efforts to make her great and enlightened. Indeed, he was one of the greatest liberators of the world. What a redoubtable tower of strength he was in the emancipation of India!

The work of Mr. Motilal Nehru, I have no doubt, will be admirably carried on by his worthy son. I entertain great admiration for the patriotism and statesmanship of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. In the absence of anything else to find fault with, some people have accused him of the crime of being young, forgetting that age is no guarantee of wisdom. Pitt the Younger entered Parliament at twenty-one, and was Chancellor of the Exchequer at twenty-three. Charles James Fox was elected to Parliament at twenty. He was a powerful figure and a member of the government at twenty-one. Gladstone left Oxford at twenty-two, entered Parliament at twenty-three, and was an important member of Sir Robert Peel's government at twenty-six. Nehru may be young in years; but he is a man of striking ability and of dominant will power.

I sat with Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru one day on the verandah on the second floor overlooking the city. He sat down, as Mahatma Gandhi had done when I visited him, at a spinning wheel and worked skilfully while he talked to me. He loved to deal with facts. Fact-finding seemed to be his creed. I learned about the All-India Spinners' Association with branches in every province. The members were required to spin a thousand yards a month. They sold the manufactured articles and turned over the profits to the Association for the extension of its work. The organization, with a capital of over fifteen lakhs of rupees, distributed loans, published reports, trained workers, and was constantly endeavouring to improve the *Charka*. "Altogether

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we do pretty good business," commented Mr. Nehru. "This is not at all bad for amateurs. It requires only twenty to thirty minutes a day." He glanced at me. "We are not fighting machinery, as some people in the United States imagine. Hand-spinning, you know, does not compete with or displace any existing type of industry. It is supplementary to agriculture and is a ready means of fighting famine and starvation. The hand-loom suits admirably the needs of the peasants who make up the overwhelming majority of the Indian population."

The spectacle of misery and starvation in the land had deeply stirred his heart. He had been striving for the goal of economic justice, political freedom, and human brotherhood. He is both nationally and internationally minded. Liberty is his God, reason is his holy ghost, and democracy is his religion.

Mr. Nehru once referred to Katherine Mayo and her scurrilous and unprincipled attack on India. I reminded him that many leading men and women in America have denounced Katherine Mayo's book as obscene, lewd, filthy and indecent. I also asked him to waste no more time on her.

A servant ushered a young collegian from Bombay. The conversation naturally turned on the youth movement. Nehru urged the youth of the nation to do their bit at this crisis, and not to be isolated from the main currents of national life. A very important suggestion this was.

I think the political activity of university students in the New World and in other countries is in strange contrast with some of Indian students' indifference to public affairs. This is not, however, the general attitude of the student world anywhere outside of India. Students have participated in large numbers in the recent revolts in Peru, Argentine, and Bolivia. In Mexico and Spain, some of the most active Nationalists are university students, while in China students have taken a dominating part in the political and social renaissance of that nation. They have gone into the struggle because they felt the struggle needed them. It was the call of their country.

Not all of these foreign students are radical or revolutionary, though their tendency may be in that direction. In England it is common for Cambridge and Oxford students to run for election to the House of Commons, and when elected they do credit to that body. In North and South America, as well as in Europe, university curricula are not divorced from practical affairs. There the students learn to participate in the practical world in which they soon will have to live the year round. Notwithstanding all and sundry wiseacres, Indian students should see to it that their college life does not become too monastic.

Jawaharlal Nehru despised personal narrative, personal drama. With him, "Job is the thing," and that job consisted in the full realization of the destiny of India. I managed, however, to worm out of him his first venture in Indian journalism. "I founded and edited a paper, *The Independent*," he told me with a whimsical smile. "It aspired to be the voice of the younger generation longing for freedom. The government overwhelmed me with lavish attentions and asked me to suspend publication. Instead of complying, I went on printing the sheet. I notified the police that if they wanted me, they could easily find me in my office. I put no padlock on my doors. Of course, I was found very quickly, and I had months and months of enforced vacation at one of his Majesty's rest-cures."

After a while Mr. Nehru stopped his spinning. He led me from the verandah into the large room adjoining, to look at his library. The books in the cases had overflowed on to the tables and the floor. I noted most recent books on history, economics and government, the biographies of Lenin, Lincoln and Mazzini, of whom he is a great admirer.

"When do you find time to read?" I inquired.

"Well, it is true I am working every minute. The press has to be fed. The public has to be informed. The organizing work takes much time. But—one, for the salvation of his soul, has to keep up to date."

Whatever may be the ultimate result of the present political conflict, the name of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should be writ large in Indian history. He is one of the most vital forces of modern India. His sincerity and patriotism none can impugn.

In the afternoon he and his secretary came to see me off at the station. I had to be on my way to Simla, where I wished to see the Viceroy, Lord Irwin. As the train pulled out, I caught a last glimpse of Nehru's serene face. It still bore the same look of hope and confidence. Soon he would be behind prison-

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bars for the fourth and fifth time. He must have known what was in store for him. Not for one moment, while I had talked with him, had any shadow crossed his face. As the train bore me onward, Nehru's likeness to Lenin fixed itself in my mind. Nehru had the same concentrated quality as the Russian, the same tenacity of purpose.

The Good Life and Hinduism

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

THE well-known scholar, Dr. Gore, D. D., in his Gifford Lectures of 1929-30 on "The Philosophy of The Good Life" has made a survey not only of Christianity, but also of Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Taoism, Hinduism, Confucianism, Judaism, Islam, the religion of Egypt and some important ethical and philosophical systems like Platonism of Greece, with a view to establishing the superiority of Christianity. In this short review we are concerned only with the author's statements in respect of Hinduism. He summarizes his view as follows: "We cannot expect to find from Hinduism any firmly conceived ideal of the good life" (p. 94). "What we call ethics remain (in case of Hinduism) a matter of caste requirement or of religious observance according to the sect which each man belongs to. How unlikely either caste or religion in India is to provide any worthy ethical standard for man we can easily ascertain. We have to accept the fact that almost all the world over, the 'natural religions' are ceremonial and non-ethical They are divorced from morality, and often positively immoral. So. it was and is in India" (p. 95). ". . . . . neither in the religion nor in the philosophy of India is any stable foundation to be found for ethics" (pp. 95-96). In his historical survey the author has purposely omitted India because he finds "neither in the philosophies nor in the religions of India, any consistent theory of moral obligation or any consistent doctrine of the good life" (p. 209). "We must then leave out India in our survey of the good life, as being disqualified by a fundamental pessimism or moral indifference" (p. 210). Out of his solicitude for the salvation of the Hindus he could not resist the temptation of adding in a foot-note (p. 210) that "If India is to find the principle of moral renewal, it must look for help to something outside its tradition, whether of religion or philosophy."

The author contends that Christianity alone contains the highest philosophy of the good life. We do not deny that Christianity, like other religions, has produced moral men of distinction and eminence. But we totally deny that Christianity gives any *rational philosophy* of the good life. It is the fear of God that is the basis of morality in Christianity as of all religions depending solely upon the conception of a personal God. "It is the assurance that if men will fear God and keep His commandments they 'have nothing else to fear'. It is an assurance which is indissolubly linked with another—that the man who ignores the moral law has everything to fear, even ultimate ruin so that 'the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom'" (p. 204). Man is asked to "overcome the paralysing fear of evil powers by entertaining a nobler sort of fear." "Nothing avails to emancipate us from the fear of the world and of the evil spirits except the fear of God—the sense of His almightiness and goodness combined, which can quiet our hearts in an immovable courage even under the worst assaults and in the most unsupported solitude" (p. 205). This philosophy (or dogma ?) of morality is based upon two assumptions, *viz.*, that in reality a personal God exists and that He is powerful enough to punish the transgressors of His law. The existence of God as a '*Person*' has not yet been rationally proved. Neither the cosmo-

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logical, nor the teleological nor even the ontological arguments point to us the real existence of a *'personal'* God. Even Kant's "Categorical Imperative" does not rationally establish a 'Personal God' as the source of morality. The conception of 'personal' God is only a theological necessity. All men, really speaking, do not believe in the existence of a 'personal' God. Only a fraction of humanity believes in Christ as the embodiment of God. Those who differ from Dr. Gore regarding his idea of God and Christ cannot have a philosophy of the good life. Even if a personal God exists the history of the world belies His almightiness as well as his goodness. Everywhere the moral law is transgressed with impunity. War, bloodshed, and destruction are still the general rule in the world, whereas love, amity, fellow feeling the exception. Nature 'red in tooth and claw' still reigns supreme. Almighty God who is all good is impotent before it. If He himself has created Satan then God must be the creator of the worst passions and the most wicked instincts. If God is perpetually confronted and frustrated in His benign plan by an evil spirit called Satan, then He is not almighty. And if He Himself has planted evil instincts in the hearts of men and then chastises them, he cannot be said to be good. The prospect of reward in heaven or punishment in hell is no solace to the virtuous who suffer from iniquity in this world. God is the Lord of this world as He is on heaven and hell. 'Let Thy will be done in this world as it is in Heaven,' is the daily prayer of the Christian. Still we find God helpless in subduing the force of evil on this earth to which a man looks wistfully to see God's will fulfilled. Man has a right to doubt the assurance of divine reward in heaven if he finds God impotent to overcome evil in this world which is His 'foot-stool'. Where is the answer to the question why so many innocent children are made to undergo untold suffering in this world ? The fear of hell or the assurance of heaven and the conception of a God armed with sceptre and rod may satisfy the commonalty of mankind who require the whip and the cudgel for making them pursue the right path. But such ideas seem childish to the rational mind, in the absence of a proof that God, heaven and hell are actualities.

Again the history of the Christian nations does not prove that Christianity, in spite of its belief in an Almighty God, is the repository of the highest ethical virtue. By an irony of fate the followers of Christ are, today, flying at each other's throat. The name of the Noble One is on their lips but in their hearts there is love of violence. Two thousand years of training in Christianity has not been able to prevent the European nations from indulging in carnage, greed and lust for power. Few could have forgotten the hideous savagery that Europe exhibited to the world during the recent war. If two thousand years are not enough to produce "good" men, what shall we say of the hope entertaind by Dr. Gore regarding the capacity of Christianity to make men "good" in future. Lecky has shown beyond refutation that the pagans of the Roman Empire gave evidence of infinite moral superiority in their life, in many respects, over the Christian converts.

It is not our desire to be hard upon Christianity in particular. We look in vain for a stable moral philosophy in any religion depending solely upon a personal God or His so-called revealed Words. Among men who do not belong to any religion or school of philosophy there have been and are examplars of the highest morality. But when we inquire into the *rationale* of such conduct we must say that Vedanta alone gives us a true philosophy of 'the good life.' Vedanta, the foundation of Hinduism, says that the real explanation of immoral propensities of man lies in his perception of duality which engenders in him selfishness, lust, greed, fear, jealousy, hatred, etc. According to Vedanta this duality is the mother of all evil. All that exists is only Brahman which is non-dual. And duality is the outcome of ignorance of the real nature of Brahman. When one sees another, one being impelled by the motive of self-preservation, becomes a rival to the other. But one who realizes his own self in All cannot hate or injure another. No one but a lunatic ever thinks of injuring or becoming a rival to one's own self, Brahman. The bond of brotherhood of men under the fatherhood of God is an extremely fragile bond which gives way under the slightest stress, as the history of Europe has abundantly shown, especially in her dealings with the Asiatics, the Africans and the Americans. The aim of knowledge, according to Vedanta, is to make every individual feel as one with the entire universe.

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Vedanta has formulated certain ethical laws which are indispensable for the realization of the ideal of non-duality. "In (Vedantic) ethics only such conduct is held good or right," to quote from an article by Mr. V. Subrahmanya Iyer, in the *New Era*, "as seeks to negate the idea of ego and of the objective world as something other than 'being' (Brahman). The effort at self-sacrifice, self-lessness or self-restraint or at renouncing worldly gains would not be thought of and would not be made, nor justified if the ego and the world were real. The desire for self-purification is a desire to divest 'being' of all accretions which 'thinking' has covered it with by negating the dualistic ideal. If a person utters a lie his conduct is disapproved because he has one thing at heart and another on his lips. He is affirming duality in thought which is abhorred by the 'urge' towards non-dualism. To take another illustration, if one seeks to identify one's self with all by making another's sorrows and joys his own by widening the circle step by step, by expanding his 'being' till the idea of the duality of the ego and the non-ego disappears, one is said to do what is right. Do unto the world as though all the world was your own self is the highest Advaitic doctrine of ethics taught by Sankara. In fact, it is the course recommended by him for *practice* by everyone who wishes to realize the highest Truth or Reality."

The non-dual infinite alone is Bliss, and all limitations spell misery, says Vedanta. The Indian ideal of morality means detachment from the senses and attachment to the self. We should not do our duty with the motive of purchasing shares in the other world and opening a bank account with God, as Prof. Radhakrishnan says. In Europe philosophy has practically nothing to do with morality. No philosopher except those belonging to the Elatic and the Stoic schools of ancient Greece enjoin moral discipline as necessary for men in their pursuit of philosophical enquiry. Therefore it is a gross misrepresentation of fact to say that Hinduism has no philosophy of the good life. On the other hand, no one in the world could be more moral than the philosophic Hindus. Their benevolence, charity, love and sympathy go beyond their own race and cover not only the entire humanity but also the animal and the vegetable world because Brahman is one with the entire universe.

Dr. Gore assigns three reasons for the absence of a philosophy of good life in Hinduism. They are the doctrines of 'Karma or transmigration,' 'The passion for the One, the Absolute,' and the pressure of 'priesthood.' According to him, "the doctrine of Karma which has possessed the soul of India is hostile to the formation of any firm idea of the good life which involves an acute sense of both personal and social responsibility. The doctrine of Karma undermines or weakens disastrously the sense of personal responsibility in the present individual, for it makes him think of his life as the bearing of penance laid upon him by irresistible fate; for, he can feel no responsibility. Thus it destroys, or if it cannot destroy, it diminishes the sense of moral freedom and obligation. But, much more, it must beget a fatal individualism, and the sense of social responsibility cannot grow under its shadow" (p. 61).

We are afraid Dr. Gore has totally misunderstood the doctrine of Karma. It has none of the implications attributed to it by him. It is one of the explanations, and a very rational explanation, of certain indubitable facts of life. If you do not believe in the law of Karma, you have to believe in a whimsical God who is responsible for endowing the human mind with evil, besides good, propensities. Nay, congenital blindness, deformity of limbs and brain, death of children and their suffering and similar other too apparent facts of life must be attributed to the caprice of the Creator. This theory is neither edifying nor rational. The law of Karma helps us to form a just conception of the moral law governing the universe. Absence of the memory of the past is no argument against it. We forget many things even in this life. But we cannot escape from their effects. The law of Karma is the counterpart, in the moral world, of the physical law of causation. The impressions of the past life are held to be responsible for one's present tendency or conditions. But it must be clearly understood that man is not a mere automaton subjected exclusively to mechanical laws. Vedanta says man is potentially free and this freedom tries to manifest itself every moment of his life. This freedom, though covered by the integument of his past Karma, never fails to produce the urge at every moment. This urge manifests itself in the form of man's free will which the

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of Karma does not ignore. The law of Karma teaches a man not to curse God for his present misery nor to make his ancestors or environment entirely responsible for it. It teaches him to look upon his present condition as the result of his own past actions and also urges him to mould his future into a better state. This law makes him all the more responsible to society and his fellow-beings. For, by doing good to others in a disinterested spirit he can store up good impressions for his future. The expansion of the ego and its gradual identification with the universe are the criteria of moral life. Therefore a man under the influence of this law learns to do self-less service for others by which alone he can aspire to bring the utmost benefit to himself.

The author deplores that Hinduism is dominated "by intellectualism of a highly abstract kind" and regrets that the ablest thinkers of India display "a passion for the One, the Absolute, which has not applied itself to the interpretation of the present day experience or the scientific study of nature, but has tended to regard it all as an illusion—as a baneful veil that hides the face of Reality and on which the wise man, in his search for Truth, had to turn his back" (p. 62). This is also a misrepresentation due to a lack of understanding. The Brahman of Vedanta is not a mental abstraction or a *logical necessity* like the Absolute of Hegel. It is a Reality that one *actually realizes* as the substratum of the entire universe. It explains in the most rational way our empirical experiences which have no reality apart from Brahman. The Vedantists studied the sensuous experiences in their minutest detail and found the world of percepts extended in time and space and bound by laws of causation to be nothing but thoughts or ideas. The conclusion that the conception of time and space is after all a relative one and that material world is nothing but mere form of thought is now admitted by such great scientists as Eddington and Sir James Jeans. Therefore the Vedantic seers had rightly turned their face against the illusion of name and form in order to find out the reality underlying the universe. The realization that phenomena are, after all, illusion of mind enabled them to get a firm grip over life and instead of turning their back upon the world they accepted it knowing it to be the manifestion of Brahman. Vedanta never asks a man to escape from life but only exhorts him to know its true worth. The Vedantists can make themselves quite happy in this world by devoting themselves to its amelioration because they feel their oneness with all.

We do not deny the fact that unprogressive and conservative priesthood contributed a great deal to the degradation of Hinduism as is the case with all organized religions dependent upon the church. A witty Christian writer once remarked, "Don't touch the Church of England. It is the only thing that *stands* between us and Christ."

Dr. Gore condemns the asceticism of Hinduism and carps at its monastic ideal which he characterizes as "the extinction of individuality by the extinction of desire." Hinduism never enjoins ascetic practices for their own sake. It, no doubt, prescribes certain rigorous disciplines for curbing the inordinate desire of the flesh: for complete detachment from senses is a *sine qua non* for the realization of Truth. The ideal of Vedanta is to realize the true meaning of individuality which is nothing but identity with the Universal Self. This ideal can never be reached without changing one's outlook on the individuality of the ego which is nothing but a combination of the sense organs, mind and body whose ephemeral nature is too well known to require any refutation. Was Christ less exacting in his demands of perfect renunciation? He said, "If any man cometh unto me and hateth not his own father and mother, and wife and children, and brethren and sisters, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple . . . Whosoever he be of you that renounceth not all, he cannot be my disciple."

Dr. Gore quotes from a correspondence that passed between a "sympathetic Englishman" and "his Indian friend" in the course of which the latter says that Hinduism is a jumble of all religions and creeds. From the purest to the vilest forms of worship, from the sublimest heights of philosophic thought to the meanest and crudest phases of intellectual and religious development, all these stages are provided for in Hinduism (pp. 88-89). Dr. Gore has not found any principle of good in Hinduism. There are some fundamental thoughts which are common to all forms of Hindu religion. These are, among others, 'Belief in God,' 'transmi-

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gration,' 'Karma,' and the 'Vedas.' And at the basis of all these different forms of Hinduism are the teachings of the Upanishads. The toleration of Hinduism is based upon the philosophical conviction that Reality is one, but sages call it by various names. If toleration of all creeds and faiths, inside and outside its fold, leading to the realization of one Reality be an evil, then Hinduism is ready to admit it. It is this tolerant and catholic outlook of Hinduism which has earned for it the well-merited encomium of all thoughtful persons of the world. As a matter of fact, the Hindu idea goes beyond the *patronizing spirit of toleration* manifested by some religious leaders of the present time, but embraces in its place the *ideal of acceptance*. The Hindu accepts all religions as true because they find everywhere the manifestation of the same one Truth. Man does not proceed from error to truth but from truth to truth, it may be, from truth that is lower to truth that is higher. The world is too big and human temperament too diverse to admit of a single religious faith as satisfying the need of all. If one thought is to dominate the world then, ere long, men will be like Egyptian mummies staring at each other's face with blank gazes having no thought to think. If Hinduism has got any contribution to make towards establishing peace on earth and good-will among men it is this message of toleration. The Unseen Hand has already written large the *fatal words* on the walls of all religious institutions which claim that they alone know the Truth.

Dr. Gore's characterization of the Gita that "it leads us to see that we cannot expect from Hinduism any firmly conceived ideal of good life" is unworthy of a thoughtful scholar, especially a Gifford lecturer. The Gita gives a wonderful synthesis of different aspects of human thought. It shows that different phases of human nature, for instance, active, emotional, psychic or intellectual, if properly guided by reason and understanding, ultimately lead to the realization of the Highest Truth. The Gita gives the philosophy of work which is of inestimable value to everyone in the world. All of us do work but very few know its secret which lie in the disinterested attitude of the worker. The Gita exhorts everyone to look upon himself as the Eternal and Immutable Atman and this can be realized if we perform our duty for the sake of duty, love others for the sake of love, and acquire knowledge for the sake of knowledge.

Dr. Gore stigmatizes Krishna of Bhagavata as "the product of an imagination both lewd and foolish." We may take Sri Krishna of Bhagavata either as a historical or as an allegorical person. But in neither case will a lover of truth be warranted to come to the above conclusion. Dr. Gore appears to be blissfully innocent of that literature. These and other superficial remarks about the "immoral incarnations" of Hinduism are like the cheap missionary tracts published solely for the purpose of vilifying Hinduism. They are undeserving of criticism.

Dr. Gore, in connection with Hinduism, often mentions Dr. Cave as his authority. Dr. Gore has read the "Hindu View of Life" by Professor Radhakrishnan whom he characterizes "as the panegyrist of Hinduism." The book, according to Dr. Gore, is an "exaggerated and uncritical estimate of the merits of Hinduism." In our opinion, Professor Radhakrishnan had to dilute a great deal the lofty doctrines of Hinduism to bring them within the grasp of men like Dr. Gore and Dr. Cave whose bigotry incapacitates them to make impartial valuation.

Dr. Gore claims *superior rationality* for his arguments. But we have tried in vain to find in the book any trace of pure reasoning based upon universal experiences or supported by universal tests. He claims that Christianity contains the highest Truth though nowhere does he give the tests of truth. From cover to cover the book shows only what is known as the 'rationalization' of a preconceived desire, namely, the author's conception of the superiority of Christianity over other religions. He depends upon faith and intuition to prove his contention or rather the conclusion he had already formed in his mind. "I am taking my stand upon this principle that the idea of absolute values on which the good life is based is an ultimate act of faith, to refuse which is to repudiate both religion and humanism. It is this faith alone which can make life worth living" (pp. 322-323). If Christianity resolutely adheres to 'faith'—which is the main argument of Dr. Gore—it is absolutely irrefutable. The proposition that Christianity is the highest monotheistic form of religion because it is based upon

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e revelation of a person whom Dr. Gore lieves to be the highest embodiment of d is absolutely irrefutable; not because is *proved* to be *true* but because it is solutely believed to be true by Dr. re and his followers.

Dr. Gore laughs at reason which could ove anything bearing on Religion. Yet remarks in the preface, "I endeavour show the superior rationality of the notheistic propositions in their Christian rm." If reason is helpless in proving the uth of anything, then, one wonders why r. Gore should have taken the trouble of riting a voluminous book of 346 pages in der to prove the superior *rationality* of hristian monotheism over other systems of ought. This shows that he is also painlly conscious that no intelligent man or oman of modern times would listen to him less he states his case in a rational way. he modern philosophy of Europe owes its evelopment to the discarding of the exploded holastic methods of the medieval age. But is by this method, *i.e.*, by mixing up faith nd intuition with a so-called process of easoning that the author has arrived at the onclusion, "That the idea of God presented o us in Christian monotheism, the idea of His personality, His unity, His absolute riority and self-completeness, and His creatity of all that is, is strictly more rational, r more acceptable to the enlightened reason han the various substitutes for it suggested, y diverse schools of modern idealism" (p.267).

"Intuition," "Faith" and "Inspiration," ntested by reason, had been a most potent actor in perpetuating human ignorance and ncreasing human misery. They stifled in he past the spirit of free enquiry after Truth. Most of the scientific and philosophical disoveries of Europe have been arrived at in he teeth of church opposition because the ustodians of the church came to know *uitively* that such discoveries would imeril human (or rather rationally speaking, their own') interest. But still reason, the divine impulse in man, has triumphed. Triumph of blind faith means the reversion to the dark age. If 'arrogant' faith, scorning the very idea of independent reason, needs any chastisement, there is no more effective chastisement than the human refusal to submit to its illegitimate guidance.

The Gifford Lectures of Dr. Gore might have been delivered with a view to counteracting the good impression created by Professor Radhakrishnan and Rabindranath Tagore regarding Hinduism in their Hibbert Lectures. Dr. Gore himself betrays an apprehension about the invasion of Europe by Indian philosophy. "Once more," he writes, "there is apparent among us a rather widespread revolt from the intellectual traditions of Europe—a revolt which is set to maintain the superiority of Indian subjectivism over European belief in objective reality" (p.28).*

The book may be hailed with joy by the bigotted Christians. But the rational minds will, no doubt, be keenly disappointed. There is nothing new or original in the lectures delivered by Dr. Gore. But so far as the Hindus are concerned, they have reason to think that Hinduism, in spite of its bitter denunciation by Dr. Gore, will survive and contribute its quota to the future development of world's spiritual culture so that man may move forward, onward, and Truthward, with the help of reason as his inestimable guide.

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*The non-dualism of Advaita has survived the tremendous opposition levelled against it during the last twenty centuries. Whenever opportunities arose in the past it profoundly influenced and enriched other philosophical systems of the world. Among the early Greek thinkers, Parmenides, Pythagoras, Plato and Plotinus, according to some reliable authorities, were greatly impressed by the Hindu ideal. Later on Vedanta exerted its influence upon modern thinkers like Carlyle, Schopenhauer, Deussen, Max Muller, Thoreau, and Emerson. It is because the philosophy of Vedanta is based upon reason and seeks the Truth. The fact that the modern European trend of thought has again turned its attention towards Idealism and that it looks forward to Vedanta for guidance shows that the philosophy of Europe has become eager to rise above forms, creeds and beliefs and pursue the Truth for its own sake. Naturally, the vested interests of the Church have become nervous at the prospect of the Vedantic invasion of Europe

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The Electorate in Bengal—Its Problems

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, B.A., M. SC., B.L., M.R.A.S.

WHETHER we get responsible government at the centre or not, the question of the future electorate is an essential and all-important part of the impending constitutional reforms in India; and in them it is bound to play an over-increasingly important part.

Whether the electorate should form a substantial part of the total population, whether there should be some property qualifications, whether there should be uniformity of franchise qualifications for Hindus and Muhammadans,—these and similar questions require careful consideration and examination of relevant facts. Without dogmatizing, but at the same time briefly indicating our personal opinion, let us examine some of the facts so far as Bengal is concerned.

The electorate, in its ordinary parliamentary sense, may be said to be the creation of the Montagu-Chelmsford constitutional reforms of 1919. Previously, there was no direct election. Generally, the only direct election was in the case of the Muhammadans. The Muhammadan electorate in Bengal numbered 6,346; after the Reforms it increased to 4,65,127 in 1920.

This expansion is due to a desire on the part of the authors of the Joint Report to make the franchise as broad as possible, "rather with reference to practical difficulties than to any *a priori* considerations as to the degree of education or amount of income which may be held to constitute a qualification."

The reformed Bengal Legislative Council consists of 140 members. Its composition is as follows:

Constituencies.		Number of Constituencies.	Number of members.
Non-Muhammadan (Hindu) (46)	Urban ...	11	11
	Rural ...	35	35
Muhammadan (39)	Urban ...	6	6
	Rural ...	33	33
Landholders ...		5	5
Universities (2)	Calcutta ...	1	1
	Dacca ...	1	1
European (general)		3	5
Commerce (11)	(i) Bengal Chamber of Commerce ...	1	6
	(ii) Indian Jute Mills Association ...	1	2
	(iii) Indian Tea Association ...	1	1
	(iv) Indian Mining Association ...	1	1
	(v) Calcutta Trades Association ...	1	1
Anglo-Indian ...		1	2
Indian Commerce (4)—	(i) Bengal National Chamber of Commerce ...	1	2
	(ii) Bengal Marwari Association ...	1	1
	(iii) Bengal Mahajan Sabha ...	1	1
	Total ...	104	114

NOMINATED MEMBERS.

Indian Christian	1
Depressed Classes	1
Labour	2
Others ... ... not less than	2
Officials, including 4 ex-officio members not more than	20
	26
Grand Total	140

The Reforms of 1919 transformed the old unicameral Indian Legislature into a bicameral house, consisting of the Council of State, corresponding to the English House of Lords or the American Senate, and the Indian Legislative Assembly, corresponding to the English House of Commons or the American House of Representatives.

The representation of Bengal in the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly are as follows:

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COUNCIL OF STATE.

CONSTITUENCIES.		Number of constituencies.	Number of Members.
Non-Muhammadan	East Bengal	1	1
	West Bengal	1	2
Muhammadan	East Bengal	1	1
	West Bengal	1	1
Bengal Chamber of Commerce (European)		1	1
Total		5	6

INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Non-Muhammadan	Urban	2	2
	Rural	4	4
Muhammadan	Urban	1	1
	Rural	4	5
European		1	3
Landholders		1	1
Bengal Mahajan Sabha (Indian Commerce)		1	1
Total		14	17

The majority of the Bengal Legislative Council consists of members sent up from general constituencies, the qualifications of a voter being based partly on the community to which he belongs, and partly on residence, and the payments of rates or taxes of a certain amount. The qualifications, which depend on residence and payment of rates and taxes, have been based on the qualifications already prescribed for various local bodies. The following statement compares the qualifications of the Council and the Assembly voters, which are the same both for the non-Muhammadans and the Muhammadans in the general constituencies with those prescribed for voters in Union Boards, Local Boards and municipalities, including Calcutta Corporation. It should be noted that the qualifications, although similar, are by no means the same. *In particular the educational qualifications found in Local Boards and municipalities have no counterparts in the Council and the Assembly electoral rules.*

The qualifications of the *Assembly* voters from Bengal are almost similar to those of the *Council* voters, but somewhat higher.

QUALIFICATIONS OF ELECTORS.

Rural areas of the Legislative Assembly	Rural areas of the Legislative Council	Local Boards.	Union Boards.
Payment of Cess of not less than Rs. 5.	Payment of Cess of not less than Re. 1.	Payment of Cess of not less than Re. 1.	Payment of Cess of not less than Re. 1.
Payment of Union Rate or Chaukidari Tax of not less than Rs. 5.	Payment of Union Rate or Chaukidari Tax of not less than Rs. 2.	...	Payment of Union Rate or Chaukidari Tax of not less than Re. 1.
Payment of Income-Tax on Rs. 5,000 and above.	Payment of Income-Tax on Rs. 2,000 and above	Possession of annual income of Rs. 240.	...
...	Military qualifications	Membership of Union Committees. Payment of license tax	...
...	...	Educational qualifications.	...

QUALIFICATIONS OF ELECTORS

Urban areas of Legislative Assembly (excluding Calcutta)	Urban areas of Legislative Council (excluding Calcutta)	Municipalities other than CALCUTTA
Payment of taxes of not less than Rs. 5. or in the case of Howrah of less than Rs. 10.	Payment of taxes of not less than Rs. 1-8 as, or in the case of Howrah of not less than Rs. 3.	Payment of taxes of not less than Rs. 1-8 as. or in the case of Howrah of not less than Rs. 3.
Payment of Income-Tax on Rs. 5,000 and above.	Payment of Income-Tax on Rs. 2,000 and above.	Payment of or assessment to Income-Tax.
...	Military qualifications	Educational qulifications
...	...	Payment of rent of not less than Rs. 20.

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Qualifications of Electors

Calcutta Constituency of the Legislative Assembly	Calcutta Constituencies of the Legislative Council.	Calcutta constituencies of the Corporation.
Payers of Rs. 60. as rates or taxes.	Owners and occupiers of land or buildings valued at not less than Rs. 150 per annum.	Owners *or* occupiers of any premises who have paid directly Rs. 12 in taxes.
	Owners or occupiers of land or buildings valued at not less than Rs. 300 per annum.	Payers of Rs. 12 as license tax
	Payers of Rs. 24. as rates or taxes.	Occupiers paying Rent at Rs. 25 per mensem or above for 6 months.
	Income-Tax *payers* on Rs. 2,000 and above.	Owners of a *hut* in a *bustee* for 6 consecutive months in respect of which Rs. 12 has been paid in rates
	Military qualifications	

Council Electorate

The number of voters in the general constituencies in the three general elections of 1920, 1923 and 1926 are as follows:

	1920	1923	1926 Male	1926 Female
Non-Muhammadan Voters	541,189	557,914	593,414	29,803=623,217
Muhammadan "	465,127	463,386	522,892	7,103=529,995

The general election in June 1929 was fought on the electoral roll of 1926. Towards the end of 1929, a fresh electoral roll has been prepared, but the figures are not available to the general public.

The growth of the electorate between 1920 and 1926 is remarkable. The 1923 figures show a slight decrease in the number of Muhammadan voters and a considerable increase in the number of Non-Muhammadan voters. The increased interest taken in the Council elections in 1923 by the Hindus as a result of the emergence of the *Swarajyists* may be responsible for this. The increase in the electorate in 1926 may be (1) due to increase in assessment; (2) increased interest taken by all classes in the elections, and (3) the enfranchisement of women.

The Bengal Government observe "that increased accuracy in the preparation of the roll has had very little to do with the increase."

Assembly Electorate

The effect of the higher qualifications in the Non-Muhammadan and Muhammadan constituencies is seen in the fact that the Legislative Assembly electorate is only about one-fifth that of the Council.

The general increase in the number of both non-Muhammadan and Muhammadan electorate of the Assembly since 1920 corresponds with the figures given for the Council electorate and is due to the same causes.

The effect of the higher property qualification for the Assembly voter has been to reduce the non-Muhammadan electorate in the proportion of 100 : 24 for males, and 100 : 40 for females. For the Muhammadans it reduces in the proportion of 100 : 12 for males; and 100 : 35 for females.

Proportion of those Enfranchised to Total Population

The following figures show the numbers and percentages of the population enfranchised in 1926. Throughout the Census figures for 1921 have been used.

		Estimated population over 21, after correction for mis-statement of Age, etc.	No. of Electors	Percentage of Electors to Adults
Total	Males	11,707,000	1,116,306	9·50
	Females	10,836,000	36,906	0·34
Non-Muhammadans	Males	6,079,000	593,414	9·75
	Females	5,407,000	29,803	0·55
Muhammadans	Males	5,748,000	522,892	9·09
	Females	5,506,000	7,103	0·13

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The Bengal Government Memorandum gives the percentage figures at 8.9 for males and 0.30 for females.

The Simon Commission in their survey while dealing with the working of the reformed constitution gives the following figures for Bengal :

Population of the electoral areas in 1921	Electors, male and female (women electors in square brackets)	Proportion of electors to population	Proportion of Male electors to adult male population	Proportion of Female electors to adult female population
46, 241, 000	1, 173, 000 [38, 000]	2·5	9·7	0·3

"(i) The figures for the electorate are for the year 1926 ....."

"(ii) The Census gives figures for males and females of the age of 20 and over, but as the vote cannot be obtained till the age of 21, the figures used for adult males and females in 1921 are estimates."

There is some difference between the figures given by the Simon Commission, and those given by the Bengal Government. The writer has not been able to find out the cause.

The Assembly electorate is necessarily smaller, and the percentage enfranchised is consequently smaller.

The statements below show the percentage enfranchised in the general constituencies of the Council and the Assembly, as the result of revisions in 1920, 1923 and 1926. In calculating the percentage, the 1921 Census has been made use of throughout :

Percentage enfranchised of—

	Total population in 1920	Total population in 1923	Males 1926	Females 1926	Total population in 1926
Non Muhammadan—					
Urban	4·4	4·6	7·0	2·0	6·0
	1·7A	1·9A	3·3A	1·3A	2·6A
Rural	2·3	2·4	5·0	0·2	2·6
	0·5A	0·5A	1·1A	0·05A	0·6A
Total	2·5	2·6	5·0	0·3A	2·9
	0·6A	0·6A	1·3A	0·1A	0·7A
Muhammadan—					
Urban	3·0	3·1	4·0	1·2	3·1
	0·1A	1·1A	1·4A	0·6A	1·4A
Rural	1·8	1·8	4·0	0·03	2·0
	0·2A	0·1A	0·4A	0·008A	0·2A
Total	1·8	1·8	4·0	0·06	2·0
	0·2A	0·2A	0·5A	0·01A	0·2A

The Assembly percentages are distinguished by the letter A after them.

From the above figures it will appear that a greater percentage of non-Muhammadans are enfranchised in both urban and rural constituencies of the Council as well as of the Assembly. But so far as the Council electorates are concerned, the percentage of males enfranchised to adut males amongst both the non-Muhammadan and the Muhammadans are almost the same, the respective figures being 9·75 and 9.09 ; one cause being the proportion of minors among the Muhammadans, which is 53 per cent. that amongst the Hindus being 46 per cent.

Illiteracy

About the relative percentages of illiteracy among the electorate over here, let us quote from the Bengal Government's memorandum.

"During 1925 and 1926 three separate enquiries were made into the illiteracy of the rural electorate in the general constituencies. The first, which was made in June, 1925 by a local enquiry in two selected polling areas in each district, resulted in an estimate of 41 per cent of illiteracy among non-Muhammadans and 55 per cent among Muhammadan electors. The second enquiry was made on a larger scale at the time of revision of the electoral rolls in 1926 and gave the same percentage of illiteracy among the non-Muhammadans, but a higher percentage of 61.7 among the Muhammadans. The third estimate was made by the polling officers at the time of the elections and indicated that of those who actually voted, 33.4 per cent were illiterate amongst the non-Muhammadans and 52.7 per cent among the Muhammadans."

The above figures are for the Council electorate. The Assembly electorate, which has got a higher property qualification and as such may be expected to represent a higher strata of society, tells a similar tale. The percentage of illiteracy among the non-Muhammadans is 8·5 ; that among the Muhammadans is as high as 25.5.

Interest Taken in the Franchise

There has been a slow but steady growth in the interest taken by the electorate in the elections and in the working of both the Council and the Legislative Assembly, as will be apparent from the following tables, showing the percentage of voters that excercised the franchise in the three general elections.

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COUNCIL

	1920.	1925.	1926. Male.	1926. Female.	1926. Total
Non-Muhammadan					
Urban	... 41·8	50·1	53·6	23·1	48·3
" Rural	... 33·8	42·8	42·4	15·5	39·4
Muhammadan, Urban	... 16·0	49·6	45·7	11·3	41·02
" Rural	... 22·4	32·4	37·3	7·7	37·02
Landholders	... 84·1	82·9	82·1	26·4	78·9
University	... 66·4	76·8	77·8	51·8	77·7
Total	... 29·3	39·0	40·1	16·5	39·4

ASSEMBLY

	1920.	1925.	1926. Male.	1926. Female.	1926. Total.
Non-Muhammadan Constituencies	... 26·8	39·4	42·3	10·3	39·0
Muhammadan Constituencies	... 20·0	39·4	48·1	6·8	46·4
Total	... 25·3	41·0	44·8	9·6	42·1

The percentages given in the Bengal Government's memorandum are somewhat smaller than those given in the Return showing the Results of Elections in India in 1925 and 1926 (cmd 2923)

It may be said with some degree of confidence that interest in Council elections was at first keener, and that the value of the Legislative Assembly franchise is slowly being realized. The lower percentage of votes recorded, in spite of the higher qualifications of the electorate, seems to indicate that in the non-Muhammadan constituencies less interest is taken in the Assembly than in the Council elections. During the last two elections the reverse has been true of the Muhammadan constituencies.

The figure for the general election of 1929, when published, would be of particular interest.

Considering the comparatively long distances that voters have to travel in the country to arrive at the polling booths, these figures show that the interest taken in elections in rural areas is not less keen than in the town.

The three general elections, figures for which are available to the public were held in November about the beginning of the reaping season. It would be of interest to compare the figures for the general election of 1929, which was held in June, to see what effect this factor of agricultural pre-occupation of the majority of voters in the rural areas had to do with the actual attendance at the polls.

Another important factor, which is perhaps of equal importance with the long distances and the difficulty of roads that voters have to travel, is the scattered nature of the population.

Even in England and other Western countries, where democracy has been in the fullest operation for over a century, where there is no such difficulty of communications and long distances, where the population is mostly industrialized and as such concentrated in towns, the attendance at the polls is not hundred per cent. In England the parliamentary vote is normally about 70 p.c. of its full strength ; in France it is not much over 60 p. c.; in Germany it is often 75 p.c. and in the United States, where the word "non-voting" was invented, presidential elections have had so great a proportion as 80 per cent voting, but in other elections, State and local, there is a great falling off.

Considering the above figures, it may be asserted with some degree of confidence that our electorate is not much behind that of the Western countries in the interest taken in the elections.

INTEREST TAKEN BY WOMEN VOTERS IN THE ELECTIONS.

Following the recommendations of the Parliamentary Joint-Committee, provision was made in the electoral rules for Bengal that if the local Legislative Council so desired it may remove the sex disqualification by passing a constitutional resolution to that effect in a particular manner.

In September 1922, Mr. S. M. Bose moved a woman suffrage resolution, which was debated for three days, but finally defeated by a block of 40 Muhammadan members voting solidly against it.

On the motion of Mr. Moreno, the Bengal Legislative Council by a resolution carried by 54 votes to 38 removed the sex disqualification in August, 1925.

Although there are 12,381,000 Muhammadan females to 9,950,000 Hindu females, it was the Muhammadans who strenuously opposed the resolution. A. K. Abu Ahmed Khan Ghuznavi, now Sir Abdul Kerim Ghuznavi, in opposing the Resolution, observed that "the existing qualifications with regard to male suffrage (are) so low, as to confer vote on thousands of illiterates and easily misled male villagers" and the proposed enfranchisement would benefit an infinitesimally small proportion of our mothers and

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ers. Sir Abdar Rahim opposed it; so did late Nawab Nawab Ali Chaudhury, Khaje imuddin, M. A. (Oxon), the present Educa- n Minister, and Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy. her notable Muhammadans also opposed e measure.

The position of the Muhammadans seems be this: that as extention of franchise women does not help them in increasing ir seats in the Council or their political wer at the cost of the Hindus, it must opposed; but when demanding their sya or share, they base their claims on e percentage of population and then men must be included to swell their nks.

The effect of the resolution was to franchise some 38,000 female voters for e Council elections and some 15,000 male voters for the Assembly.

In the Council elections of 1926 some 16.5 c. of female voters voted, in the Assembly e percentage was 9.6 Considering the fact at our women observe *purdah* and that ly polling officers could not be arranged r in the rural areas; that this is the first ction in which women were permitted to te and that they are not permitted to te in elections to municipalities, local ards and union boards; that vast dis- nces have to be travelled and that ere are difficulties of roads, the attendance the polls is quite encouraging.

Lowering Of The Franchise.

On this question opinion is generally vided. On the one side it is thought that as e present electorate is largely ignorant and iterate and not yet competent to understand decide political questions, it would be a istake to lower the franchise and thereby d to the electorate a large number of oters, of whom the ignorant and the illite- te would form a still larger percentage. n the other hand, it is held that if more ower is to be transferred to a legislature sponsible to an electorate, the representative haracter of the legislature must be strengthen- d by increasing the number of the electorate. he present percentage of the enfranchised opulation is considered to be too small to represent the people.

The Bengal Government made an enquiry into the possible result of the lowering of the franchise. Two of the qualifications of electors in the rural constituencies of the Council are payment of cess of not less than Re. 1 and payment of union rate or *chaukidari* tax of not less than Rs. 2. The qualifications of electors for Union Boards are of the same kind, but whilst the payment of cess of the same amount is required, the minimum amount of union rate or *chaukidari* tax is Re. 1, instead of Rs. 2. Enquiries based on the electoral rolls of the Union Boards (there were 2,260 Union Boards in 1926-27, when apparently the enquiry was made) have been made. Assuming that there would be a similar result in the districts and *thanas* in which Union Boards have not yet been established, it is calculated that the lowering of the Council franchise to the level of the Union Board electors would increase the Muhammadan vote from 513,000 to more than 1,121,000; and the non-Muhammadan from about 540,000 to about 900,000. The total number of voters would rise from about 1,050,000 to a figure over 2,000,000; the enfranchised percentage of the adult male and female population would rise from 4.8 to more than 8.

The most interesting fact that strikes one is that the lowering of the franchise increases the proportion of Muhammadan voters and brings them more into accordance with population percentages, but not in the way as stated or expected by the Bengal Government.

In the rural constituencies of the Council alone the percentage of Muhammadans was 55.33 and of non-Muhammadans 44.67. Of the voters in the Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan rural constituencies in 1926 election the percentage of Muhammadans was 48.84 and of the non-Muhammadans 51.16. With the lowering of the franchise to the Union Board level, the Muhammadan percentage of voters in the rural constituencies would be about 57.75 and the non-Muhammadan about 42.25.

But there seems to be some error somewhere. In 1926-27 the population of the Union Boards was 17,363,000 and the number of Union Board voters 1,131,000. If the proportion of voters to population remains the same out of a population of 46 millions, the estimated number of voters will be something like 3 millions and not two millions as estimated by the Bengal Government. As a matter of fact, in 1928-29, out of a Union Board population of 31 millions, there were 2,293,000 voters.

Then again the statement showing the results

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of adopting Union Board franchises given at pp. 276-277 of the Bengal Government's memorandum appear to be based upon estimates on estimates, the method of arriving at which has not been explained. Moreover some of the results arrived at are quite arbitrary. For example, as a result of lowering the franchise, 31,000 non-Muhammadan Council voters in the 24 Pergannas dwindled down to 17,000; 33,000 non-Muhammadan voters in Mymensingh to 15,000! It has been estimated that the Union Board electorate for Murshidabad will be 41,000 out of a population of 13 *lakhs*, while not a single Union Board existed in 1926-27. Khulna with a population 14½ *lakhs* has been estimated to have 51,000 voters, Dinajpur with its 17 *lakhs* has been estimated to have 125,000 voters. Now that there are 4,300 Union Boards in Bengal, a fresh enquiry should be started by a mixed commission of officials and non-officials.

The conclusions of the Bengal Government's enquiry has influenced,—rather misled—the Simon Commission into thinking that the effect of lowering the franchise would be to bring the economically backward and the Muhammadans in greater numbers within the electoral range.

The Muhammadan Executive Councillors and Ministers of the Bengal Government in their note dated the 15th July, 1930, on Moslem representation in the Bengal Legislative Council, use these porportions and figures as one of the grounds for giving them representation in proportion to population.

In the Union Board electorate the Hindus are at a disadvantage not because they pay less in rates but because of the peculiar wording of Sec. 7 of the Bengal Village Self-Government Act (V of 1919), which prescribes qualifications of voters; and of the election rules framed by the Local Government. Both under the said section and under the election rules, members of a joint family (which cannot have more than one vote, however much it may pay in rates, and which is the normal condition of the Hindus) are under special disadvantages.

The late Mr. S. G. Hart, I.C.S., who owing to his long association with *panchayet* Union Committees and Union Boards had special opportunities of studying village self-government in its practical aspects, makes the following pertinent observations in his *Self-Government in Rural Bengal*.

"If the provisions of this section* were interpreted as requiring formal and express nominations for the purposes of the election they would be contrary to the usages of this country. There is, however, no reason why the section should be interpreted so strictly. It is not provided that the nomination must be formal or in writing. An implied nomination can and should be regarded as sufficient. The *Karta* . . . . should *prima facie* be presumed to represent the family in Union Board election, as in all other affairs."

On the effect of the election rules Hart says:

"It is probable that at least 75 p. c. of the people who pay union rate or *chaukadari* tax are members of joint undivided families, but hardly any families take the trouble to nominate one of their members to represent them in Union Board elections, If this rule were applied strictly almost all joint-families would be excluded from the register. In practice this rule is always relaxed but it is desirable that the rule should be modified."

If the rules be modified on the lines of the Bengal Municipal Election Rules, the Hindu voters will have their due share in the Union Board electorate. So far as rating strength is concerned, the Hindus are not behind the Muhammadans. They can muster 900,000 voters in spite of the artificial drawbacks of the enfrachising section and rules.

The whole question deserves careful study by abler hands. From what has been said above it will be apparent that the electorate is full of potentialities and capable expansion and development.

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* Section 7 runs thus:

"Every male person of the full age of 21 years and having a place of residence within the Union. . . . (iii) who is a member of a joint undivided family, which, during the year immediately preceding the election has paid a sum of not less than one rupee as such cess, rate or tax,

Shall be entitled to vote at an election of members of the Union Board:

Provided that only one member of a joint undivided family qualified under clause (iii) and nominated by the other qualified members of that family shall be entitled to vote on its behalf at any such election".

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The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore

By SUDHIR KUMAR CHOWDHURI, B.A.

I

A great short-story writer, a great novelist, a powerful dramatist and a brilliant essayist, Rabindranath Tagore uld have won a place amongst the world's mortals even if he had not written a gle volume of poetry. A master-craftsman the various forms of literary technique his own mother tongue,—and many of se forms he has himself created—his glish renderings of his original works are id to constitute a definite landmark in the story of the prose style of that language. nd it has been maintained by many that, he had not written a single line of anying in any language, he would still have nked as one of the world's greatest creators beautiful melodies. If, in addition to all ese, we take into account the laurels which is pictures have recently won for him in ree continents and the fact that he has iven the world several highly artistic dance orms and a beautiful histrionic style, it ecomes quite safe to affirm that Rabindrath Tagore is by far the most versatile of e greatest creative geniuses that the human ce has so far produced.

But even if he did not possess the great nd versatile creative power which he does ossess, he would, without doubt, have been anged with the great saints and seers of the orld instead of with its bards. Though it s likely, as he himself so often affirms, that e is content with being called "only a poet," him truly the artist is merged in the hilosopher wrapt in an emotional contemplaion of the cosmic whole.

An endeavour to get together the elements his philosophy would be of value if by so oing we can have a clear and harmonious resentation of a rather diffused and complex ubject. For, even to a superficial student of his works it must have been apparent that Tagore has a wonderful and inexhaustible ource of optimism to draw from in all kinds of circumstances including the dreariest, and India has need of a comforting and inspiring philosophy more than of anything else at the present moment.

Tagore, however, has very little of a reasoned, systematic philosophy. His mind is too mobile and universal to allow his realizations to crystallize into a well-defined, well-set-out philosophical doctrine, unless his is the philosophy of the open mind, just an attitude of the mind and heart, a living, growing thing which attains perfection through and in the midst of experiences. Truth to him is himself over and over again. Everything that comes his way leaves the essence of its existence in him, and when a lesser truth is superseded by and merged into a higher one, it does so after fulfilling its "assigned destiny in the scheme of eternal verities" in relation to the life of the poet. But it is still possible to discover in the midst of this process the gradual emergence of what may well be called a philosophy composed of a few outstanding ideas which, without themselves crystallizing into a definite shape, appear to persist, by virtue of their very vitality, in dominating and giving shape to numerous other ideas that are born from time to time in the poet's mind.

By having a philosophy Tagore, however, does not become less of a poet. In his mind there is no antagonism between poetry and philosophy, between the intellect and the heart, between *Tattva* and *Rasa*. There is at least one aspect of *Tattva* or truth which is neither of emotional realization nor of intellectual perception, but is essentially a *Rasavastu*, a thing of beauty, attainable only through pure poetic contemplation. To Tagore his philosophy constitutes such a *Rasavastu* and what is more, it seems to be at the very basis of most of his *Rasanubhuti* or poetic feeling. It must not be assumed also that by trying to discover a bond of significant philosophical unity in Tagore's poetry I am asking my readers to be blind, or am myself blind to the great and colourful variety of his innumerable poetic ideas. But a deep and reverent study of his poetry will lead one to the irresistible conclusion that that unity does exist, a unity which gives to all of Tagore's writings their most poignant and unfailingly common characteristic, their underlying note of optimism.

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It is curious that in the entire range of his works, there is not perhaps a single instance where he indulges in a mood of tearful pessimism, or sings seriously of despair, of fatigue, of weakness, of fright. Every man, great or small, has his moods, and every poet has his. But Tagore, in his literary works at any rate, displays only one mood, a mood of unfailing courage, unshakeable faith in the future and unlimited good cheer. One cannot fail to note this, and one has to be forgiven for being led to conclude from this that there must be a philosophy of life behind an optimism of this kind, that there must be a basic idea or ideas firmly rooted in the poet's mind which give to it this peculiar character and colour all his other ideas and most of his feelings.

It is impossible to trace the origin and growth of these ideas in detail, showing their bearings on lesser ideas, their influence on the life and living thought of the poet at every step, in the course of one short article. I shall be content, therefore, with giving only the bare outline of the growth and meaning of a few of the most important of these ideas, leaving it to the student who is better provided with time and talents to elaborate on the lines suggested in this article. I feel sure, he will find himself on the right track and his efforts will be well directed.

The first and probably the most important of these basic ideas may, perhaps aptly, be called

Tagore's Cult of the Wayfarer.

All serious students of Tagore must have noticed that, unlike most other poets, mystics and poet philosophers, his call is very seldom to the people who are weary of life to come and grope into the cool shades of beautiful unrealities and thus to soothe the fever of existence. His call is ever towards the Reality which is unrealizable, towards the Far away, the Unseen, the Impossible. It is not an escape from life and action that he preaches, but the release of life and action from the prison of a smaller self. He holds forth no promise of a Kingdom of Heaven, no lure of an Eternal Beatitude, no *Nirvana*, no *Brahmavihara*.—It is *Charaiveti* (चरैवेति), just going on ahead, following the urge of a truer and larger life in oneself that leads nowhere in particular and yet leads. It knows no way, this life-urge; but it is capable of creating a way where there is none.

The keen call of this Way which waits to be created came to his ears when he was still a youth, in the shape of a blind, helpless yearning for the Far away, the Unknown. He had not yet fully recognized it to be the call of the Road and the pilgrimage had not yet begun.

I am restless. I am athirst for far away things .....O Great Beyond, O the keen call of the flute! I forget, I ever forget that I have no wings to fly, that I am bound in this spot evermore.

When the pilgrimage begins, it begins as meaningless wanderings of spirit.

I was walking by the road, I do not know why .....Slowly I return upon my steps, I do not know why."

I run as a musk-deer runs in the shadow of the forest, mad with his own perfume.....I lose my way and I wander, I seek what I cannot get, I get what I do not seek.

Slowly this *wanderlust* grows into a passion in him, and finds passionate expression in a series of his early poems which, but for all that follows later, would appear to have been written more in jest than in any serious mood.

For years I have gathered and heaped up scraps and fragments of things: Crush them and dance upon them, and scatter them all to the winds. For I know, 'tis the height of wisdom to be drunken and go to the dogs."

But even in those youthful days of exuberance the Road ceased to have any real illusions for him. If his faith in the Road itself was not so great from the very beginning, Tagore at this period might almost be considered a pessimist, his philosophy a philosophy of tears, notwithstanding the not quite serious tone of a good number of the poems.

Though the evening comes with slow steps and has signalled for all songs to cease:
Though your companions have gone to their rest and you are tired:
Though fear broods in the dark and the face of the sky is veiled:
Yet, bird, O my bird, listen to me, do not close your wings."

Though, occasionally, he speaks of this pilgrimage in terms of delightful imagery:

"I hunt for the golden stag....."

yet, when the great Pilgrimage begins at last, even Death is no longer a fulfilment of Life, she is merely a companion at a game to be played on the roadside in

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which one has to leave one's bed of dreams, flung open the door and come out.

We are to play the game of death to-night, my bride and I.

The night is black, the clouds in the sky are capricious, and the waves are raving at sea.

We have left our bed of dreams, flung open the door and come out, my bride and I."

With the passage of years the journey at times seems to acquire a little meaning. There is now and then, a vague suggestion of Someone in front who is for ever calling. But this Someone is always in the dim distance and is always a total stranger. It is true that this strangeness itself is like unto a lure:

"The veiled face of dark doom lures you....."

but beyond this the poet knows nothing. So, it is the Road over again which only he knows and which he must love for its own sake.

"The Road is my wedded companion.....My meeting with her had no beginning, it begins endlessly at each daybreak, renewing its summer in fresh flowers and songs, and her every new kiss is the first kiss to me."

There are occasional questionings and doubts:

"Why does this foolish heart recklessly launch its hope on the sea whose end it does not know?"

What makes the pilgrimage worth while? What is the prize for which the race is to be run? The answer comes quite readily:

Just the joy that is in the running. All he hopes for is wayfaring, all his love is for the way, his life fills with the intoxication that is in the ever-renewed pleasure of wayfaring.

He is speaking of the Way he loves when he says:

I shall know you by the thrill in the darkness, by the whisper of the unseen world, by the breath of the unknown shore:

of the way that leads nowhere, which is its own fulfilment, when he says of his beloved:

"I know not if I have found him, or I am seeking him everywhere: if it is a pang of bliss or of pain."

Even when his beloved is at his very door, he does not think of inviting him in, he leaves the house and goes out with his beloved in silence; which is very significant, as it proves that his love is incapable of finding fulfilment unless it is found on the Way.

Stand mute before him for a while gazing into his face:

Then leave thy house and go out with him in silence."

"Is it the Destroyer who comes? For the boisterous sea of tears heaves in the flood-tide of pain ...The call comes from the land of dimness beyond your ken... Accept your Destiny, O Bride! Put on your red robe to follow through the darkness the torchlight of the Bridegroom.

It is enough for him to know that this road is his King's road, the King whom he has not seen and the expected letter from whom never arrives.

It leads me I know not to what abandonment, to what sudden gain or surprise of distress. I know not where its windings end.—But my King's Road that lies still before my house, makes my heart wistful.

Again and again he makes it clear that he does not care where the road leads to nor for what there may be at the end of it.

I felt I saw your face and I launched my boat in the dark.....If the sails droop, if the message of the shore be lost, I will sail onward.

The rest is all hope for the sake of hoping.

'Traveller, how far is the sea?'
'How far is it we all ask!' . . .
'Traveller, what if the night overtakes you?'

'We shall lie down to sleep till the new morning dawns with its songs and the call of the sea floats in the air.'

Hope never appears to him as a promise of deliverance from the miseries of existence. Who speaks of deliverance? He asks.

Deliverance? Do you not know, our Master Himself has taken upon Him the bonds of creation? That He is bound with us all for ever?

Who speaks of perfection and finality? It was a fool among the gods who cried out on the day following creation, "Somewhere there has been a break in the chain of light and one of the stars has been lost." In the deepest silence of the nights the stars whisper among themselves and smile, because they know. Nothing has been lost. Eternal perfection is over all. But then he says to the universe in time, the Eternal Fugitive,

The moment you are perfect in your wealth, you have spent everything and are bankrupt. That is why you are always pure. Should you in sudden weariness stop for a moment, the world would rumble into a heap, and even the least speck of dust would pierce the sky throughout its infinity with an unbearable pressure.

It is difficult for the finite understanding to conceive movement without a direction. But

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the infinite covers all the points in every direction by its own magnitude ; so, whatever movement it can have, must be within itself and on its own axis. We, the students of Darwin, are accustomed to think of the world as moving in an upward evolutionary slant. There were many among our grandparents who believed the contrary. Mr. H. G. Wells, the passionate futurist, will insist on including God in this evolutionary process. But Tagore does not believe in the perfectibility of the world in that sense. For him, the world moves from perfection to perfection, so it is perfect and imperfect at the same time. Life, the great demiurge, is neither for good nor for evil, it is conceived of as both good and evil. It is the urge of self-expression in eternal playfulness.

This little flute of a reed Thou hast carried over hills and dales and hast breathed through it melodies eternally new.

His attitude towards evolution comes nearest to that of Bergson. He is never a finalist, he never accepts purpose as the key of evolution, he never conceives evolution as the working of a cosmic plan. He believes in Life which is free and creative: "Look at the road that we have made with the tread of our footsteps." Evolution with him, as with Bergson, is an intuition of evolving, an initiative of spontaneous movement. It is a creative process, a force that makes for novelty.

In its individual aspect, Life is poetry, a love lyric of unsurpassable beauty, a singing in ever-renewed harmony, a harmony composed of such notes and counterpoints, such dissonances resolved or left suspended, as birth and death, love and hatred, progress and dissipation, memory and forgetfulness. It may have many proximate ends, but it has no ultimate end in the infinite.

It was whispered that we shall sail in a boat, only thou and I, and never a soul would know of this our pilgrimage to no country and to no end.

This idea of the Eternal Pilgrimage, of evolution without a design, occurs in Tagore's poetry with a surprising frequency. Those critics who speak glibly of the quality of dreamy sweetness in Tagore, have perhaps failed to be impressed by the strength and force of this idea which in many places is almost static on account of its very intensity. But in almost all the poems of *Balaka*, and in many of his earlier poems, his lyrical enthusiasm, as it carries that idea, rushes on with a force which is atomic, they resound with a music which is of the spheres.

This idea finds its most sustained and elaborate, though not its most forceful, expression in that wonderful drama of movement, *The Cycle of Spring*. Its very first song sounds the keynote of the philosophy around which the delightful web of a musical drama is woven.

I hear the Wayfarer, he calls me by my name as he goes. O he makes it hard, for me to stay indoors.

In the world of this drama, the South-wind, the Bamboo Grove, the Bird's Nest, the Flowering Champak, all are wayfarers, all are pilgrims. But it is a pilgrimage to Nowhere, a wayfaring in playfulness. Its young men are such dare-devils that they are not afraid of work ! As they must play, they just convert their work into play. They refuse to grow old or wise, they refuse to let their flowers wither so that there may follow a harvest of fruits. They rejoice in the idea that their road will lead them nowhere and that their voyage will bring them to no shore. Frosty Winter is none other than Spring in disguise. Youth and Old Age play an eternal hide and seek and every time Youth wins. Above it all, the Joy of Eternal Life rolls on, and all sorrows, losses and wastage are as nothing on the shores of its infinity.

The same philosophy underlies the design of the *Achalayatana*, which is an earlier work. We do not meet the wayfarers here, but a few of those restless souls who are still captives within the four walls of the familiar, but to whose ears the keen call of the Far away, the Unknown, has come.

The way whose track lies through all lands and then loses itself in a maze of dreaminess.

Nobody knows whither it pursues its course, to what hillside, to what seashore, and towards what impossible hope. Their minds become sweet with the thought of that honey that remains ever hidden away. They open all the doors of their house and discover that they would not be satisfied until they have been able to go everywhere.

Post Office, which is a much earlier work, sets forth in a simple allegorical form the same yearning of the poet's heart for the Unknown, here symbolized in the great out-of-doors.

Gitali is principally a song of the Way. Again and again the same exuberance of the spirit of wayfaring, the same longing for and

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trust in the Unknown ring out in its pages till it becomes almost a monotony. Even God, though he is not like the Invisible King of Mr. Wells, a struggling and self-perfecting creature of evolution, is, nevertheless, a wayfarer,

"O Wayfarer, thou art the comrade of all wayfarers.
To take to the way is to come to thee."

And again,

"Comrade of the road,
Here are my traveller's greetings to thee.
O Lord of my broken heart, of leave,
taking and loss, of the grey silence
of the dayfall,
My greetings of the ruined house to thee!
O Light of the new-born morning, Sun of
the everlasting day,
My greetings of the undying hope to thee!
My Guide, I am a wayfarer of an endless road,
My greetings of a wanderer to thee."

But in *Balaka*, a Flight of Wild Cranes, a volume of about fifty of his maturer poems, this cult of the way finds its most perfect lyrical expression. *Balaka* is the supreme victory of Tagore's poetical genius. It is one of the marvels of the world. The language of *Balaka* is of a divine, incalculable felicity, the diction untramelled and vigorous, the imageries copious and beautiful, the music sublime, the imagination folding within its sweep the entire universe of thought and matter. In the depth, subtlety, strength, wealth and originality of its ideas, it is unique. We find in it, at their perfection, all the qualities that are characteristic of Tagore: the meditative calmness of Wordsworth and the lyrical enthusiasm of Shelley, the haunting and elusive beauty of his designs and the subtle sympathy that is his spell. In a supreme moment of ecstasy the creation comes seeking an entrance into the poet's dreams, to whisper its secrets to him. In the light of that dream he looks afresh at the universe and sees with a shudder a flight of wild cranes, the mad intoxication of stormy winds in their wings. That intoxication is in every line of *Balaka*.

Suddenly, the mountains begin dreaming of floating away to nowhere in particular like a mass of wandering clouds. The trees flutter their branches and wriggle to free themselves from the bondage of the earth. The leaves of grass become restless on the fields. The entire creation becomes homesick for the Far Away and the Unattainable while it sings,

"It is not here, it is not here.
It is somewhere else!"

This eternal longing for the Unknown and the Unattainable, this Life-Urge, is not a blind impulse for movement. It is not instinct. It is not even intuition merely. Its roots are embeded in

Ananda or Synthetic Joy

"From Joy all things have their birth, they live by this joy, and at the end they enter into this joy," thus said our *Rishis*. And it is here that Rabindranath Tagore parts company with Bergson and follows the track left by his ancestors. Without being content with discovering what causes the life movement, he goes deeper down to seek the reason why that cause should operate. He finds that reason is *Ananda*. This at once raises the conception of the world from the vital and the intellectual to a moral and religious level. Life draws perpetually on this secret of joy and tires not. It is this joy that keeps the *elan* or the life impulse of Bergson living.

(*To be concluded*)

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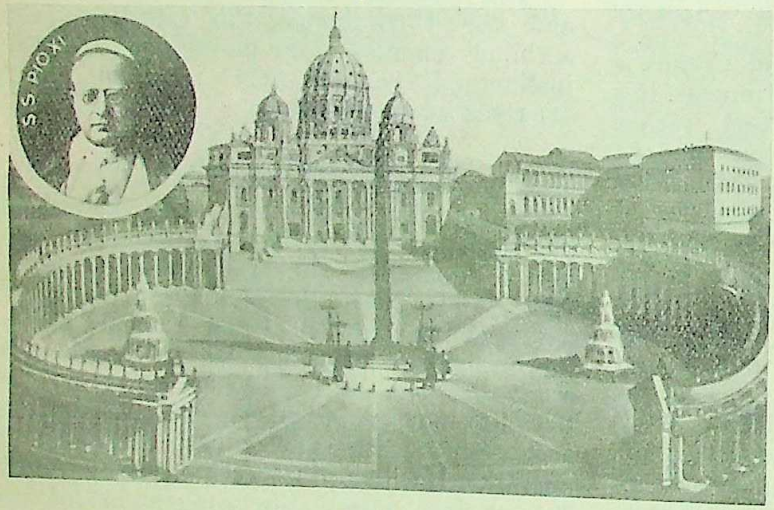
New Italy and Greater India

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

ONE interested in the study of western civilization and culture must necessarily have to take into consideration contributions of Greece and Italy. In many respects, Italy has played a greater part in the evolution of western civilization. Italy fascinates me; and whenever I can manage, I go to Rome to feel the atmosphere of the evolution of western civilization. In Rome, from the ruins and monuments one can visualize the panorama of Italian history from the days of the Roman Republic, through the Macedonian wars (200-168 B. C.), the destruction of Carthage (146 B. C.), the era of the Roman Emperors, the beginning of Christianity as the State religion, under the Emperor Constantine the Great, the Dark Ages of Europe, the Renaissance, Italy under the foreign domination, Italy's struggle for national unity and independence and the evolution of new Italy under the Fascist regime. In Rome a student of history gets the most vivid impression of the evolution of a nation, its past, present and possible future. Here again, one can secure comprehensive ideas of the contribution of Christianity to western culture as well as the intolerance and ruthlessness of the Catholic Church, its tremendous power, acquired through a world-wide organization which is vaster and more stable than any temporal power in the world.



St. Peter's, Rome with inset of the present Pope

New Italy, under the leadership of Signor Mussolini, is roused to its very depths of national consciousness. It feels that it has a mission of introducing a higher type of civilization. It has the urge of becoming a great power again with the splendours of Imperial Rome of the past.

The Victor Emmanuel Monument The Italian National Monument dedicated to King Victor Emmanuel, one of the liberators of Italy

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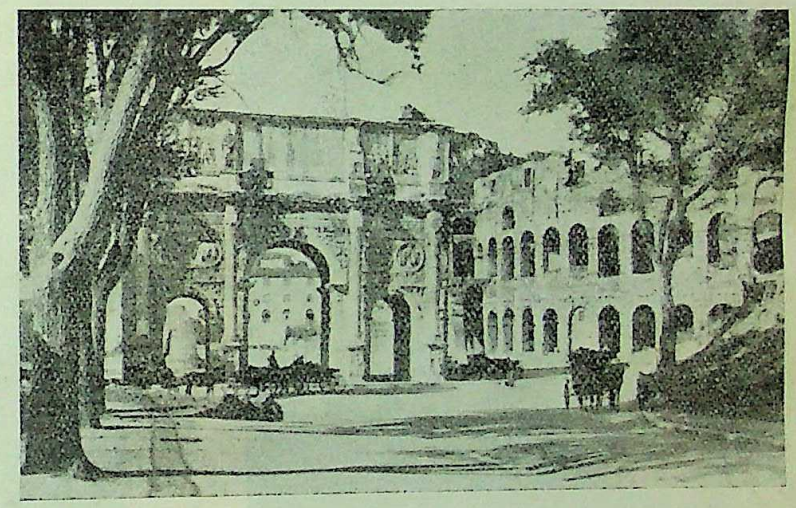
Italy's ambition is not limited to the spheres of its mere national existence, but it is primarily international character. It is, however, fully understood by the leaders of new Italy that national greatness is an essential requisite for effective self-assertion in world affairs. Italy must be great through her national power, achieved through the authority of an "ethical State", supported by national co-operation and solidarity. Italy must increase her national efficiency in every sphere of human activity. Every Italian citizen must think first of his duty towards his self-development, welfare of the State and society and make his or her supreme effort to attain the ideal. Class harmony must take the place of the ideal of class-war. So-called democracy must give way to the rule of the aristocracy of intellect and disinterested leaders who have dedicated their lives to the ideal of service. Every individual must live the life of discipline and service. These are some of the out-standing features of Fascist philosophy of life and government. Some superficial and prejudiced observers of new Italy have spoken of "Fascist tyranny" and condemned the Fascist regime. To me it is clear that the Fascist government or a particular official might have made some mistakes on particular occasions; but Fascism stands for liberty with responsibility and it is opposed to all forms of license. It gives precedence to Duty and Strength, as one finds in the teachings of the *Bhagavad Gita*.

Italian activities in the field of international politics is obvious to students of world events. No important problem of world politics can be solved without the co-operation of Italy. The most recent example of this is that Mr. Henderson, the Foreign Minister of the British Empire, had to go to Rome to consult Signor Mussolini, to bring about a settlement of the naval armament question among various powers. Several years ago Great Britain ceded some of her African territories to Italy to establish cordial relations with her. Italy has extended her influence in Persia, Turkey, Greece, Roumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and even Soviet Russia. Before the world war, the Italian merchant marine was of no special consequence; but to-day it is one of the most important in the world. Italy's army and Italian air forces are formidable; and only a few months ago, Italian airmen, under the leadership of His Excellency Signor Italo Balbo, the War Minister, made the most wonderful formation flight of a dozen of aeroplanes from Italy to South America. Italy has taken the position of a leader in aviation. During recent years, Italian scholars have made very valuable contributions in all branches of arts and sciences.



The Ruins of Rome. The Arch of Constantine and the Coliseum.

Italy is asserting her cultural consciousness through her new Royal Academy, under the presidency of His Excellency Senator Marconi, the pioneer inventor of wireless telegraphy and radio. It should be of great interest to students of Indian civilization and culture to know that Italian scholars like His Excellency Professor Formici, His Excellency Professor Tucci of Rome, His Excellency Professor Pavolini of Florence and others are carrying on researches in the field of Indology which have enriched the history of world culture. The whole world looks to the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome for data on agricultural matters. It should be known to Indian students that Italian scholars in archæology, geography and social sciences are most forward-looking. There

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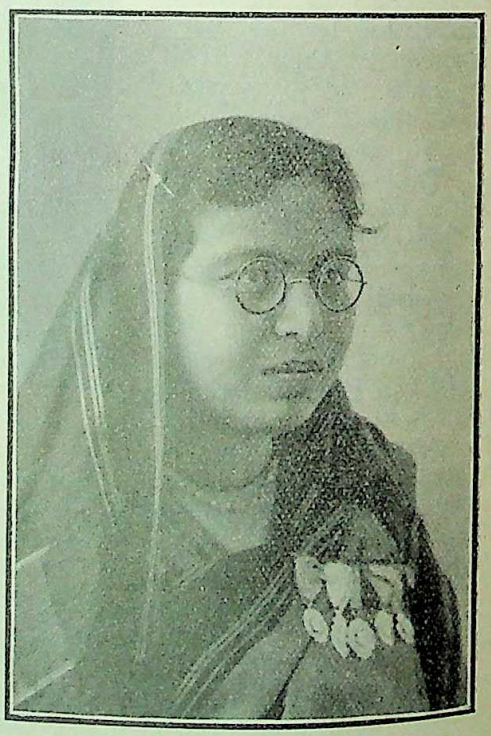
is every evidence that Rome is again assuming her position, being one of the most important culture centres of the world.

One point I wish to emphasize is that to the Fascist leaders of the type of Signor Mussolini, political and economic power is a means to an end—national greatness. To

Dr. Maria Montessori

be sure, Fascist Italy is imperialistic in its attitude in respect of national expansion, because over-populated Italy needs new territory for her growing population. In this matter, Indian statesmen should learn a lesson from Italian statesmen, who are persistently acquiring territory in Africa and lands adjoining Italy. Where will the surplus population of India go? Why should there not be Indian emigration to all parts of the world? Why should not India lead the way in matters of removing unjust immigration restrictions in various parts of the world, especially in Africa and Australia?

While the leaders of new Italy are anxious to secure their due recognition for Italy as a world power, they are more anxious to increase national efficiency through education. For India, it will be of great value to learn some lessons from the educational policy of the Fascist regime in Italy. It gives special opportunity to promising Italian youth to acquire the very best type of scientific education. At the same time, it promises to give the best possible opportunities to the training of children with the ideal of freedom, permeated with the sense of duty. For this very purpose Signor Mussolini has personally taken the leadership in introducing the Montessori method in children's education in Italy. Importance of child education cannot be over-estimated. This fact was realized by Pestalozzi, Froebel, Herbart and others. Over them all, stands the name of Mme Maria Montessori, M. D., of the Royal University of Rome, who has made a very important contribution in the field of the education of



Mrs. Ghousia Jamaluddin

children. Her works, especially her *Pedagogical Anthropology*, are indispensable for teachers and she undoubtedly is the greatest educator of children of our time. The Italian State—the Fascist Government—is doing all that is possible to aid the great Italian educator and to make her work an Italian contribution to the cause of human progress and freedom.

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Being interested in the educational programme of the Fascist Government, which is not only interested in diffusing education among the masses, but in training thousands of experts as well, my wife and I had the special opportunity of meeting Mme. Montessori. We attended some of her lectures delivered for teachers from twenty-one countries, attending the courses in the Montessori Method, in Rome. We visited the great experimental institution at Opera Montessori at Via Monte Sebio, Rome, where children from the age of three to six are trained through freedom. It was most inspiring. One day when visiting the school, I had the opportunity of meeting Hon. Emilio Bodiero, the Vice-President of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, who is the President of the Montessori Society. He is interested in promoting cultural co-operation between India and Italy.

Our interview with Dr. Montessori was soul-inspiring. Her modesty and sympathetic interest in cultural activities in India served as a tonic. When we discussed the supreme importance of the contribution of Indian women in Indian national life and suggested that Mme Montessori's visit to India will aid the cause of education of women and children in India, she with her characteristic modesty expressed her desire to be of some service in the matter and hoped to visit India at no distant time. While discussing the possiblity of cultural co-operation between India and Italy, it was Mme Montessori who with great satisfaction informed us that there were four Indian women in her class on the Montessori method. This news was a matter of great delight to us. We met these Indian sisters in the class. Rarely during the twenty-six years of my life outside of India, have I felt such a supreme satisfaction as I did when I met these Indian women, the torch-bearers of Indian culture and international co-operation. They represented the best of Indian womanhood with refinement, idealism, constructive patriotism of the highest type, modesty and determination. They are married ladies who left their husbands and children in far away India and crossed the ocean to acquire knowledge which will be of great value to India. My wife and I met them on various occasions during our stay in Rome. I am going to place some idea of their life and ambition before the Indian public with the hope that this will inspire other Indian sisters and encourage Indian men to follow the examples of the husbands, parents and relatives of these Indian women students.

First of all, I shall give my impression of my Moslem sister from Hyderabad—Mrs. Ghousia Jamaluddin of Hyderabad (Deccan). Let me give her own story in a few words, as she expressed it to me. "As my mother was teaching Arabic in the Government school of Hyderabad, Deccan, my study began at the early age of three. I passed my matriculation at the age of fourteen, but I had to suppress my keen desire to continue it as there was no zenanna college in Hyderabad. In 1925 the Government decided to establish

Mrs. Kamala Bakaya

a woman's college, if there were seven students. I joined six other students to complete the number, although it seemed very difficult to continue the study after a long gap of sixteen years (during that period I was married and had six children); but success in the junior F. A. examination encouraged me very much and I got through the Intermediate. I had been successful in junior B. A. examination also; but unfortunately three days before the final B. A., I fell ill and could not appear for it. I wished to complete it next year, but the Government of the Nizam granted me a European scholarship for further study I took the course of Froebel Kindergarten in London for a year. This year I came to Rome to study the Montessori method. During my college career, I received several gold medals for general proficiency as well as for proficiency in English,

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Arabic and Theology. I owe to my mother my desire to acquire knowledge. I am grateful to the Government of the Nizam, and especially to Sir Akbar Hydari, who has done so much to introduce progressive measures in educational matters in the State. I have left my children at home and long to go back. But I must do my share in the awakening of my Indian sisters and, especially, that of my Moslem sisters."

Among the three Hindu women, there were two sisters — Mrs. Kamala Bakaya and Mrs. Rupkumari Shivpuri. They are Kashmiri by birth, but live in the United Provinces. Their father is a Government

Mrs. Rupkumari Shivpuri

official; and they received their education at home. I must say that they are much better educated than many who have attended schools and colleges. Mrs. Shivpuri's husband is an advocate in Allahabad and she has no children. She was connected with the movement for spreading education among the women and was teaching in one of the schools opened by the Theosophical Society at Allahabad. She, after her return to India, will continue to teach and spread the Montessori method in India. Mrs. Shivpuri seemed to be very practical as well as determined to carry out her mission. Mrs. Bakaya left upon me that undefined impression of a very high-strung personality filled with idealism and emotion. She seemed to feel a little disturbed. As a mother of five children whom she has left behind in India, she seemed to be anxious. When my wife said, "You made a great sacrifice to get this opportunity of education," in reply Mrs. Bakaya said, "But the sacrifice of my husband is greater. Think of the fact that he is taking care of the children and he wished that I should have this opportunity, while he is working hard in his experimental farm." She continued, "After my return, I wish to teach in some city where I can take my children from the village where my husband is trying to develop a model scientific farm. I have no means to start a school; and I have no assurance that I shall have a chance of teaching. I shall prefer to teach in Cawnpore, Benares, Agra, Lucknow or some other city. At times I feel a little nervous because of the absolute uncertainty of my future activities in the field of spreading education." I assured her that she would certainly have the opportunity to contribute her share in spreading knowledge in India.

The fourth Indian sister in Rome was Mrs. Jamna Parmanand of Bombay. She is married and has a daughter in India. She was bubbling with enthusiasm and laughed like a child. When I asked what was foremost in her mind, she answered: "I am thinking of my child. If I do not do well in my studies and fail to get my

Mrs. Jamna Parmanand

diploma, I would not be able to face her. I am afraid of my dear little daughter." "Was the little girl so powerful?" I inquired. She said, "When I was planning to go to England

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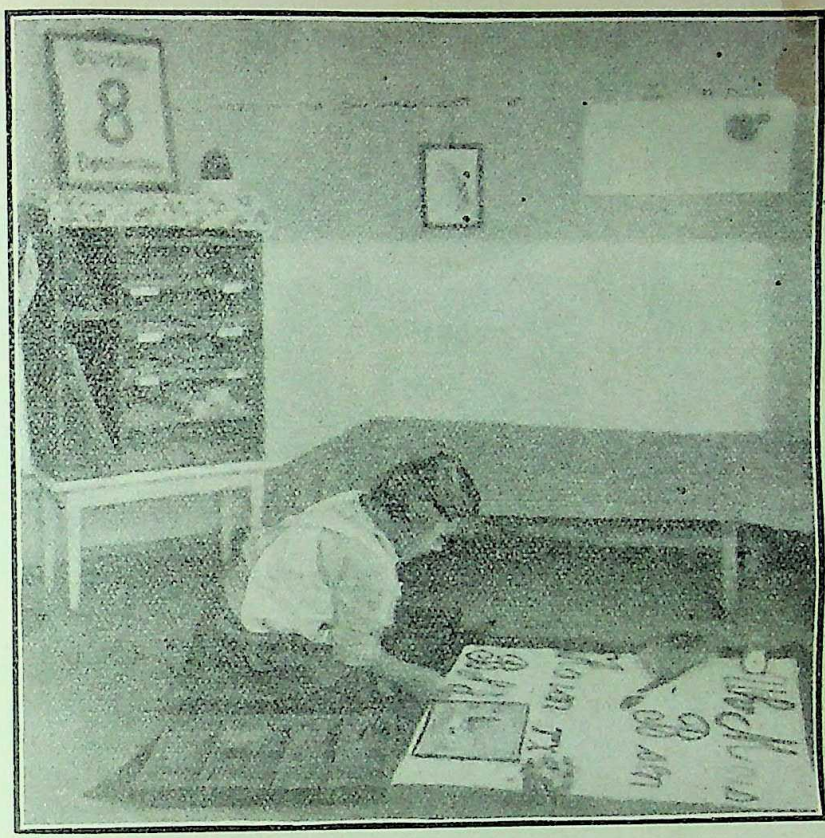

A Girl practising writing for a Montessori School in Vienna

to study the Montessori method, my little daughter, who is about seven years old, one day solemnly declared that *she would boycott me*, if I went to England to study. It seemed funny and at the same time most significant. This remark of my child made me change my programme and I came to Rome to study under Mme. Montessori. It is a little difficult for us here, because we do not understand Italian; but everybody is so kind to us. We find the Italian people to be something like Indian people in temperament. They have no prejudice against us. In India, our educational system is rather defective; because they do not teach foreign languages, and in every Indian University there should be facilities for studying foreign languages." "Mrs. Parmanand had university education in India, and after her return she will be connected with the Fellowship School in Bombay. Space will not permit me to give a few more bits from inspiring conversations with these representative Indian women in Rome; but they assured us that they will go to Switzerland, Germany and other European countries before returning home. They are making friends for India among Italians and students of other nationalities.

During our stay in Rome we learned that five young men from India were studying engineering in various Italian culture centres. We did not have the opportunity of meeting them. It was also most gratifying to learn that Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar of Calcutta University was invited by the University of Rome and on the 16th of March delivered a lecture on "International Significance of Indian Industry and Commerce." This lecture was not only well attended by responsible Italians but the Italian press in Rome published lengthy reports of the same. The Italian press, Italian cultured society, business men and statesmen are taking keen interest in the awakening of India. In Italy, as well as other countries of the West, far-sighted statesmen have begun to realize that India is the centre of world politics. Greater India has established contacts with the new

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A Class-room in a Montessori school in Rome

Italy; but this meeting should be so directed that it will develop into cultural co-operation and international friendship. Young India can learn many things from new Italy in matters of social regeneration—the system of "After Work School" inaugurated by the Fascist Government, the system of maternity help etc., co-operation between workers and capitalists are only a few items. In matters of national defence and military education, India can learn the most valuable and practical methods of the development of Fascist military system.

Before closing this article I must say that one of the most interesting institutions that we visited in Italy was the Ernesta Besso Foundation in Rome, established by an Italian nobleman, Merco Besso, in honor of his wife. He left his palatial home and a certain sum of money to establish and maintain a club for women teachers of primary schools. Baroness Lia Lumbroso Besso, the daughter of the benefactor, is the president of this institution and many progressive women of Rome are actively engaged in promoting the activities of this institution. This foundation maintains free classes for various branches of the applied arts and pedagogy, music, etc. The four Indian women teachers in Rome have been made members of the institution and thus they will have the opportunity of meeting many Italian women teachers. This foundation maintains a circulating library for its members. After having the most wonderful experience in practical philanthrophy in this institution, we wished that some rich and far-sighted Indian should establish a foundation to aid Indian women teachers.

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Russia On The March

By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., Ph.D.

THE Great European War brought about many political, social and economic changes in the Western world, but among them all the most unique is the evolution of Soviet Russia. Since the time the Bolsheviki seized control of the Russian State, they have never tired of putting through the most revolutionary changes in order to socialize the country and make it a fit place for the helpless masses to live in. Being strongly convinced that capitalistic countries would sooner or later meet with economic disaster because of the revolt of labour and the conflicting economic interests of nations, the Bolsheviki declared that Russia must be socialized in order to survive the approaching fall of capitalism. With such ideas back of their mind, the Soviets are busy reconstructing Russia on a communist basis. In 1921 the fifteen-year plan, fathered by Lenin, for electrification of the whole country was initiated, and also annual plans for increasing the production of the country were undertaken from 1924 to 1927. Moreover, a five-year plan was begun in 1927 but as its programme was found to be somewhat conservative to meet the rapid development of the Soviet Union, a more revolutionary five-year plan was put into effect on the first of October, 1928.

The Five-Year Plan

The Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union is considered to be the most extraordinary enterprise ever undertaken in the economic history of the world. The Soviet Union covers an area of about 8,300,000 square miles, one-sixth of the land surface of the globe and supports some 160,000,000 inhabitants. The Five-Year Plan is designed to transform this area which is predominantly agricultural, into one of the world's leading industrial powers. Under this plan it is proposed to stimulate and regulate the output of important industries as well as the progress of agriculture, of trade and commerce, of cultural and social welfare. It is proposed that the total capital investment for the period 1928-29 to 1932-33 shall be 64,600,000,000 rubles (a ruble is worth about Rs. 1-8-0), more than twice that of the preceding five-year period. Basic capital as ordered by the Gosplan is increased from 70,500,000,000 rubles in 1928 to 127,280,000,000 rubles in 1933. Vast changes in production, in industrial efficiency and the agricultural system are to be effected during this period.

The Russia of 1913 was largely an agricultural country. Agriculture still is, and must be for some years yet to come, Russia's life stream. Therefore, the new economic policy—Lenin's temporary compromise with capitalism—has been replaced by a revised policy fundamentally identical with the so-called militant communism of the years 1918 to 1921. The new move is putting agriculture on a communist basis as rapidly as possible. This movement toward collective farms has already assumed mass proportions, its success being measured only by the quantity of machinery placed upon such farms. The Kremlin policy is to convert the 26,000,000 small peasant holdings into large collective farms in order to introduce a large number of tractors and other agricultural machinery to increase the productivity of those farms. This policy is violently shaking the 26,000,000 small farmers from old methods, unprogressive systems and habits, and compelling them to adopt a programme of modern big-scale farming in accord with the latest and scientific methods of American farming. That and no less is what the Kremlin aims at and seems to be accomplishing. The important point in this new economic policy is that it is expected to give results which individualism could not give. More for that reason rather than to any theoretic Communist reason, collectivism has become absolute and forms the inevitable keystone of the Kremlin policy.

The ever-increasing speed at which the

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Soviet State machinery is now moving toward full communism is shown by the decrees published from time to time. Early this year a decree was passed that a total of 1,00,000 soldiers should be trained immediately to take up their duties as "militant organizers of the Socialist village" under a Red army staff. Of these 75,000 are to be trained to undertake to run new collective firms, thus supplementing the large number,—25,000 from Moscow alone,—of civilian Communist workmen recently sent to the villages to take up similar duties. In addition about 50,000 young enthusiasts, belonging to the new "Hammerers' Brigade," were also sent out to stimulate Spring sowing by the peasantry. Another decree was recently past ordering the immediate dissolution of all village Soviets lagging behind the Bolshevist collectivization schemes and also the regional executives if found guilty of similar negligence. Thus the socialization of farms is being forced at a faster speed than was expected.

Recent news dispatches indicate that rapid progress is being made in agriculture, 70,000,000 acres are to be collectivized by the end of this year, instead of by the end of 1933. These collective farms take in about 20,000,000 persons. The practical idea behind the organized form of collective farming is the establishment of central machinery and tractor stations, each serving a group of villages. Eventually they are to be transformed into centres of power supply and agricultural aid in a broad sense. It is reported that there are already about 23,000 tractors in the country; in 1933 as many as 170,000 tractors will be available in the socialized sector. In the Russian Federation (European Russia and Siberia), there were in 1929 some 1,976,000 acres of state farm. Last year it went up to 13,585,000 acres. This year they expect to increase it to about 20,000,000 acres. While the Five-Year Plan required 36,000 collective farms for this year, there are already some 57,000. While in 1929 the socialized proportion was only 2 or 3 per cent, last year about 40 per cent was brought under the collective system.

In socializing agriculture and in inducing the many thousands of peasants to adopt modern methods of large-scale farming, the Soviet Government has encountered many difficulties. At the beginning this change was a veritable earthquake to the majority of Russian farmers. Now however they are becoming used to the system. Local peasants come to see the advantages of collectivization, and in such places the process takes place smoothly. But in many places it has been necessary to use considerable, and often brutal, pressure against the farmers who would prefer to cling to the individual system. Since small holdings do not produce enough surplus, collective farming has come to be regarded as a necessity. The agricultural development of the country has been much behind its industrialization, and hence drastic measures are taken for the upbuilding of the farms on a collective basis. The Five-Year Plan proposes to invest 23,000,000,000 rubles in supplying farms with technical equipment, improving the status of lower and middle peasant groups, developing state farming on a large-scale and in establishing collective farming organizations and co-operative schemes. Market technique, application of fertilizers and scientific methods are factors upon which the project depends.

Dairy Farming In The Soviet Union

Thus Russia is moving in line with America in the direction of mass production. In this connection it is interesting to observe the development of the dairy industry. According to the *Economic Review* of the Soviet Union, the number of cows has increased by more than 2,000,000 since 1925. The progress made in the industry is due, not so much to increased production of butter, milk and other dairy products by individual peasant farmers, as to the organization of large dairy enterprises working for the market. Purchases of butter by Central State and co-operative organizations from peasants and co-operatives increased from 59,400 metric tons in 1925-26 to 75,600 tons in 1928-29. The total number of butter and cheese factories in the Soviet Union is now estimated at 8,000, of which more than half were established in the past four years. Of the 4,597 dairies built from 1925 to 1929, 267 are mechanized. The organization of the new dairies involved an expenditure of about 60,000,000 rubles, of which 30 per cent came from individual dairies and the rest from co-operative organizations. The Maslocenter (Co-operative Dairy Centres) which handles

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bulk of the dairy business in the S. S. R., also spent 22,000,000 rubles for rious measures designed to increase the lk production.

Further development of the dairy indus- y is planned largely along the lines of the ganization of large collective dairy farms, hich are expected to have no less than 000,000 head of cattle this year. In addition the commercial dairy farms, there ill be formed this year a number of -operative farms in small industrial entres, which are expected to have some 000,000 cows. The measures taken r the development of the dairy ndustry will result in increasing greatly the pplies of milk, butter, cheese, and other airy products for urban communities. At e present time these supplies are somewhat mited. Much of the machinery and equip- ent needed for this industry are imported om foreign countries.

According to a decision of the Commissariat r Trade, it is reported that the newly rmed company, Soyuzmoloko (United Dairy ndustry), will invest in new construction nd re-equipment of existing dairy enterprises total of 17,300,000 rubles this year. More han half of this sum is to be used for the rganization of large dairy farms of which even, with a total of 17,000 cows, are xpected to be in operation before the end of his year. The capital investments of the oyuzmoloko this year for the building of plants anufacturing dairy products will amount to 500,000 rubles. Three factories for the pro- uction of condensed milk are to be built in the Novosibirsk district in the northern egion, and in the Northern Caucasus, each of hich will produce 3,000 tons of condensed ilk annually. Nearly 250 butter factories re to be built in the Russian Republic roper alone. In the Ukraine fifteen factories, artly mechanized, will be constructed in onjunction with State Dairy farms. In addition to enterprises producing dairy roducts from cows' milk, eleven plants which ill produce sheep cheese are planned for onstruction in conjunction with the animal- reeding and dairy farms of the Ovtzevod (State Sheep-breeding Company).

Another scheme, it is reported, contem- lates the expenditure of nearly 2,000,000 rubles or the construction of refrigerators and arehouses and for the purchase of automo- ile trucks. Six refrigerating plants are cheduled for construction this year in Siberia, the Urals, Kazakstan, the Middle Volga Region. It is also reported that the construction of silos is proceeding at a rapid rate. Over 5,000 are to be built, many with capacities of from 150 to 300 tons of ensilage. Likewise some 250 calf barns are to be erected. A number of pastures will be limed and harrowed, and some 900,000 acres of ensilage corn were planted last spring. Careful attention is being given to the problem of meeting the ever-increasing demand for fresh milk. The average consumption of milk in Moscow per person in 1913 was 43 kilograms, while in 1925-26 it had reached 57 kilograms and in 1928-29, it was 67 kilograms. During 1929-30 the *per capita* consumption was about 73 kilograms. To overcome seasonal difficulties in the supply of milk, the cities are beginning to enter into agreements with the milk suppliers to insure a more even supply of milk to the consumers. Measures are also being taken to improve the feeding and breeding of milk herds as well as the methods of distribution and delivery.

Gigantic Industrial Programme

During the first year of the Five-Year Plan, Russia invested in industry some 1,650,000,000 rubles and last year she invested 3,300,000 000 rubles. Of this sum 2,500,000,000 rubles were invested in so-called heavy industries such as coal, iron, oil and metallurgical plants and 500,000,000 rubles in light industries. In fact, the government's present five-year industrialization plan, of which the first two years have already been completed, calls for a capital investment of 13,500,000,000. The funds for this purpose are being derived partly from the industries and partly from huge internal loans of 1,000,000,000 rubles yearly. M. Kviring, the Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Soviet Union, declares that the government's Five-Year Plan is but a mere step in a general scheme for the entire reconstruction of Soviet Russia on socialistic lines, and that the Government is already considering the adoption of a much greater project which, in fifteen or twenty years, would completely transform the entire country, and make it a dangerous rival of the United States.

Such a programme is really necessary to develop Russia's vast natural resources. She has great rivers to be harnessed for water power; she has wide plains which

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make her one of the greatest of world's granaries. Her frozen tundras yield valuable furs and timber. The coal reserves of Russia are estimated at more than 400,000,000,000 metric tons. Rich deposits of iron ore abound, enough for several hundreds of years. About 35 per cent of the world's oil reserves are believed to be within her borders. Russia ranks first in the production of platinum and high reserves of other minerals, manganese ore, asbestos, gold, copper, silver, lead and precious stones. All these natural resources are awaiting development. The Soviet Government spent last year something like 3,520,000,000 rubles on the construction of sixty-three gigantic industrial plants, hydro-electric stations, factories and mills, twenty-three of which cost more than 100,000,000 rubles. The total cost of these plants represented more than the entire some invested by the Soviet Government in industry during the previous five years.

It was not uncommon, even as recently as two years back, to find European economists scoffing at the industrial policy of Soviet Russia, but today the newspapers of the world are filled with discussions of the Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union and the menace it involves to the capitalist world. In forecasting Russia's future M. Kviring declares that Soviet Russia would not only soon surpass the United States in industrial production, but would lead the entire world in that respect in comparison with pre-war production. In fact, the progress made in industrialization is already so amazing that many prominent industrialists the world over reckon Russia as the rising rival of the United States for supremacy in world trade. However, Soviet Russia is not directly interested in becoming a rival of any country; she is interested mainly in establishing the superiority of Communist principles over the capitalist theory of operation. If she has selected the United States as her rival, it is only because she believes that that country epitomizes all that is best in capitalist methods. In view of the astounding progress already made within the short period of two years, Russia is now made to appear so gigantic, so ruthless and so powerful that business men of Europe and America are becoming quite nervous at the thought of Russia's unlimited production of goods and 'dumping' in the markets of the world in the years to come.

Commercial Aviation in Soviet Russia

Commercial aviation in Soviet Russia dates from the establishment of regular airlines in 1922. Since that time Soviet aviation has expanded tenfold. The first commercial air company, the Deruluft (Joint Russian-German enterprise) was organized in 1922 for the purpose of establishing an air service between Konigsberg and Moscow. Three Soviet companies, the Dobrolet (Volunteer Air Fleet), Ukrvozdukhput (Ukrainian Airways) and the Zakavia (Trans-Caucasian Airways),—the latter being liquidated in 1915, were organized in 1923. Of the companies operating on the territory of the U. S. S. R. the Dobrolet is by far the largest. It operates over a distance of 5,862 kilometres to outlying districts in Central Asia and Siberia, where owing to the lack of rail-road facilities, commercial aviation is of special importance. Ukrainian Airways operates lines 2,920 kilometres long, the main line connecting Moscow and Pekhlevi (Persia) with stops at Kharkov, Restove-on-Don, Mineralny Vody and Baku. Deruluft's air-lines operate over a territory of 2,645 kilometres, the two main routes being Moscow-Riga-Konigsberg-Berlin and Leningrad-Reval-Riga. This net-work of airways is, of course, far from adequate for the needs of a country of the tremendous area of the Soviet Union. However, progress is rapid and continuous.

Another interesting point is that in 1927 and 1928 there were no fatal accidents; from 1924 to 1926 there were only two mishaps resulting in three fatalities. The average during the five years of operation has been one fatality for every 2,500,000 kilometres flown. It must be mentioned here that Dobrolet has not had a single fatal accident in all the years of its activities; this is an especially noteworthy achievement in view of the fact that the company operates in regions that offer many perils to aviation. This record of safety is due in large measure to the experience and training of Soviet airmen. Other branches of Russian commercial aviation in which considerable progress has been recorded include aerial photography and dusting of crop with insecticides. Aerial photography is utilized in mapping, forest cultivation, industrial construction, and for the needs of the

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Central Statistical Administration in estimating crops.

The Five-Year Plan formulated by the Government for the development of commercial aviation is, indeed, ambitious. It provides for the establishment of a number of new routes during the five-year period, bringing the length of airways to a total of 1928 kilometres by 1933, an almost four-fold increase. The plan calls for the establishment of extensive trans-continental air routes to the remotest sections of the far-flung territories of the Soviet Union. By the end of the five-year period it is expected to have the trans-Siberian air route across the entire continent to Vladivostok and possibly to extend it to Tokio. If the plans of the Soviet authorities are fulfilled by 1933 it will be possible to travel from Moscow to Teheran (Persia) within fifteen or twenty hours. The interior of Siberia will have a number of airways which should play an important part in developing those regions. Besides, the establishment of the main routes the Five-Year programme calls for the organization of a number of local routes on the order of the Moscow-Nizni Novgorod line which is now in operation. The total of the local lines is expected to amount to 5,500 kilometres by the end of the five-year period. Night flying is also to be established on all the long routes with daily schedules in force all the year round.

This extensive programme for the development of Russian commercial aviation calls for a large number of additional planes. Most of the planes used by the Soviet civil aviation organizations have been of foreign origin. Now a number of factories and work-shops are being built within the country, involving an outlay of about 50,000,000 rubles. This sum and the funds required from the Federal budget for carrying out the programme is to be provided through the flotation of a special loan for commercial aviation and from financing local organs, especially for organizing local air routes. The expansion of the activities of civil aviation in the U. S. S. R. has been reflected in the increased purchase of American aircraft products. By such a programme of expansion Soviet Russia will spread out a network of airways over Afghanistan, Persia, Siberia and the Far East.

Education and the Five-Year Plan

While much is said about the agricultural and industrial programme of the Five-Year Plan, little is reported on the cultural aspects of the plan. And yet it is on the children the Soviet Government is depending for the success of the revolution. Recently a decree was passed making it obligatory for all children to continue their education up to the age of fifteen. Under this decree, 15,000,000 young Russians will receive instruction in the Union every year. Last year 11,000,000 attended schools, approximately twice the number of scholars enrolled in educational institutions before the revolution. According to figures given by official organs intensive education has already reduced the number of illiterates in the Soviet Union to 34 per cent of the population as against 67 per cent in the years before the war. The Soviet Russia has set apart 1,911,000,000 rubles for its ambitious educational programme for this year and it expects to raise that amount to 2,259,000,000 rubles during the next academic year. The Soviet Government gives special attention to education and the environment in which children live. This aspect has become even more prominent since the inauguration of the Five-Year Plan.

Russia is now carrying on a war on illiteracy. Within the next two or three years the Soviet Government expects to have every child between the ages of 8 and 11 years in the school with the exception of some of the most remote and backward districts. In 1914 there were 7,000,000 Russian children in the elementary schools; In 1928 there were 9,500,000 and in 1933 they expect to have 17,000,000. The war on illiteracy among the adult population is to be intensified by increasing the number of what is known as "reading huts" from 22,000 to 34,000 and also by organizing about 40,000 "travelling" libraries. Russia's special interest now is in technical education as the Five-Year Plan is mainly for the purpose of building up the nation's industry which demands every trained worker and technician that can be found in the country. It is stated that more than half a million engineers, doctors, economists, skilled agriculturists and trained managers will be required before the plan is completed. To meet this situation Russia has at present a dozen new colleges of technology; 175 technical high schools are also being constructed. Of the 64,000 technical students, 90 per cent are provided with scholarship. During the last ten years about 1,500,000 manual workers have received training in

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trade union schools, factory institutions and the lower technical schools.

Pedagogy in the U. S. S. R. has discarded most of the traditional formulæ and instituted a number of novel practices based on experiments carried on in the years following the revolution. "Education must be so appointed," said Lenin, "that in every town and village the young people are set to work performing some practical duty connected with the common work." This linking up of what children learn with the life around them, coupled with the universal application of polytechnicism,—the teaching of inter-relationship of vocations,—represent the two main principles on which Soviet education is based. A combination of theoretical and practical knowledge in all the main branches of production has been the aim of educational experts in Russia. That does not mean, however, that the cultivation of general subjects and a thorough physical and æsthetic training are precluded. Correlation is emphasized in order to acquaint the students with the inter-dependence existing between different things. The so-called "complex" system is used in group study hours in order to link up some object of every-day life with the processes that have gone into the making of it and the uses which it serves. The child's clothes, for instance, are treated not only as an illustration of several phases of industry, but as an aid to health and a sign of a certain level of culture. Trips to factories, model farms, laboratories and constructional projects are made frequently to keep alive the students' interest and enlist their co-operation in the solution of their national problems.

To raise the general standard of culture of some 150,000,000 Soviet citizens, it is planned to increase the number of radio receiving sets from the 350,000 registered in 1928 to 7,000,000 in 1933, to bring the number of cinemas from 8,250 up to 50,000, of which 14,000 will be school movies, and to increase the circulation of newspapers from 1,700,000 to 5,000,000. Films, of course, play an important part in widening children's horizons, and few people understand and utilize the educational possibilities better than the Soviet authorities. The awakening of the interest of children in as many phases of the life surrounding them as possible has led to schools becoming active factors in the cultural development of the land. Out of hours schools wage a tireless campaign against adult illiteracy, drunkenness, prejudice, superstition religious beliefs and other survivals of a former era. The pupils themselves co-operate extensively in this work, serving frequently as teachers to older folk learning to read. Thus the Soviet schools concern themselves actively with everything that in any way affects the social, political and economic life of the community, and the children leave their schools with a firm grasp of the task facing the country, and a clear understanding of their own individual parts in the efficient working of the whole. They also leave with the conviction that the programme they are to help to carry out is the right one.

Thus Russia is marching on, marching forward to a war on capitalism. Her amazing experiment in industrialization is certainly a war objective in that the Five-Year Plan is intended to demonstrate the victory of Communist theory. Her revolutionary attempt is therefore undertaken in the spirit of war. Russia is now engaged in creating vast industrial plans, water-power developments and new mining areas. Stalin calls it doing in five years what other nations have taken fifty years to accomplish. But when the Five-Year Plan is completed, it is a question how long the pace can be maintained. Can Russia remain indefinitely on a war basis, moving indefinitely at a speed ten times as fast as Western industry? At the rate she is now marching, Soviet Russia is certainly bound to become the greatest menace to capitalism.

The task Soviet Russia has set for herself is not by any means an easy one. Her vast distances, the many races welded into the Union, the general poverty, superstition and ignorance, the disintegration of her economic life following the Great War, the blockade, civil wars and the famine of 1921,—all these have combined to make the achievement of her undertaking extremely difficult. But the economic distance already run is an indication of how much she might accomplish in the future. Morally Russia wants the masses to gain freedom from the confusion of sex with ethics, freedom from money and love of money. Materially the Soviets hope to reach a point where no one, however powerful or intelligent, will be

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ble to possess and use much more than ny one else. They wish to free mankind rom its moral bonds as well as from its material fetters. In spite of conflicting eports, it must be admitted that Soviet Russia has accomplished much within a short period of time. To say the least, it is one of the most interesting enterprises ever undertaken in the economic history of mankind

The Ratio and the Finance Member

By H. SINHA, Ph. D.

IN the course of the speech delivered at the annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, the Hon'ble the Finance Member gave a clear account of the present position of Indian currency and tried to defend his currency administration. Said he: "The troubles in India today are troubles which (apart from the aggravation of special political causes operating in India) are common to the whole world." In other words, the economic ills from which India is suffering are partly due to world factors, which are beyond his control, and partly due to political factors, which are equally outside his scope. To examine this convenient argument properly it is necessary to estimate correctly the economic consequences of the civil disobedience movement and allow for them. Briefly, these are three-fold : (a) boycott of British goods and foreign cloth ; (b) diminished excise and stamp revenue and certain other incomes; (c) increased cost of jail and police administration. So far as (a) is concerned, there should be diminished import and to that extent improvement in the exchange rate. Lower prices of sugar which is imported in considerable quantities should also operate in the same direction. As regards (b), other countries were affected, although possibly not to the same extent. For instance, Great Britain realized £20.7 million through stamps during 1930-31, against £25.7 million during 1929-30,—a fall of nearly 20 p.c. With regard to (c), it may be pointed out that India was spared heavy expenditure on social services usual in other countries. In England, a single item, unemployment insurance, has increased from £19.7 million during 1929-30 to £37.2 million during 1930-31, that is by nearly 90 p.c. In view of all this, it is difficult to hold the civil disobedience campaign largely responsible for the present disparity between economic conditions here and elsewhere.

Nor should the obvious fact be forgotten that this disparity is very wide and extends over many fields. It is true that the world has been passing through a cycle of falling prices but it is equally true that the fall of prices in India has been precipitous as compared with that in other countries. According to the Hon'ble the Finance Member, such comparison to be fair should be not with manufacturing and creditor countries like Great Britain but with agricultural and debtor countries, whose exports have declined in value but which must find sufficient exports to meet their foreign obligations. This is done below in a table compiled from the Monthly Supplement to the *Economist* of March 28, 1931 :

Countries	Monthly average index number during 1929	1930	Percentage fall
Canada	149.4	135.8	9
Australia.	165.7	146.7	11
India	141	116	18

Thus the fall in the index number of India is 63 per cent heavier than that of Australia and double that of Canada. The argument that these countries have regarded stability of prices as more important than stability of exchange can make no appeal to those who hold the same view. Be that as it may, the fact remains that falling prices with all their social and economic consequences have hit India much harder than any other country.

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As regards stringency in the money market, the Finance Member observed that leaving out the last eighteen months in which the circumstances had been exceptional, "if anything the bank rate had been at a lower level since 1925." It should be remembered however that after the exchange rate was fixed, our currency and credit conditions should be judged not by their own previous standards but by world standards. The table of bank rates in different countries quoted below show clearly that the decline in the Indian bank rate during the past few years in spite of the succession of good monsoons was not so great as in other countries, which had no such special advantage On the contrary, some of them, *e. g.* England, had special difficulties.

Financial Centre	1925 End of June	1925 End of Dec.	1926 End of June	1926 End of Dec.	1927 End of June	1927 End of Dec.	1928 End of June	1928 End of Dec.
London	5	5	5	5	4½	4½	4½	4½
New York	3½	3½	3½	4	4	3½	4½	5
Paris	7	6	6	6½	5	5	3½	3½

To come to the question of the credit of the Government of India, comparison is is made below year by year beginning from the time of *de facto* stablization until the Lahore resolution repudiating public debts, between the maximum and minimum values respectively of 3½ per cent rupee paper and "Banker's Magazine" group of fixed interest British Securities, the base of both being December, 1921 = 100*

		Indian	British
1925-26	Maximum	123	111·5
	Minimum	113	108·6
1926-27	Maximum	132	111·3
	Minimum	124	109·3
1927-28	Maximum	132	112·4
	Minimum	124	110·1
1928-29	Maximum	126	113·7
	Minimum	120	111·1

Thus the maximum and the minimum values were both lower for the 3½ per cent rupee paper during 1928-29 than during 1927-28 whereas the reverse was the case with British securities. It is therefore clear that deterioration in Indian securities had set in long before any political agitation was started and the real reason must be looked for elsewhere.

In his anxiety to support the 1s. 6d. rate, Sir George Schuster has made other misleading statements. Thus he has pointed out that "the average value of exports in the four years 1925-26, to 1928-29 *after* 1s. 6d. exceeded the average value of exports *before* 1s. 6d. (1921 to 1925) by Rs. 15 crores" The real reason for the stimulation of exports was not the high exchange rate but the fact that the prices of Indian commodities were higher than world prices during the earlier period, this disparity being narrowed down during the later period. As U. S. A. was the only country on the gold standard throughout the period, the price level in U. S. A. is compared below with that in India:

	United States Bureau of Labour year 1926 = 100.	India, Calcutta wholesale prices end of July, 1914 = 100	Percentage Difference
1921	98	178	82
1922	97	176	81
1923	101	172	70
1924	98	173	77
1925	104	159	53
1926	100	148	48
1927	95	148	54
1928	98	145	49
1929	97	141	45

It is thus clear that exports would have risen higher still if the exchange had not been 1s. 6d.

As regards remedies for the present situation, he puts in the forefront restoration of confidence. He observes that "with restored confidence capital would flow back to India, money would become easier, Government securities would rise, and there would be general improvement of conditions. All this may be conceded but one can hardly feel reassured on looking at the following statement of reserves for currency notes at the close of the last three financial years:

(In Rs. crores)

	March 31 1929	March 31 1930	March 31 1931
1. Notes in circulation	188·03	177·23	160·84
2. Reserve in Silver coin	94.95	108.10	117.86
3. Reserve in silver bullion	4.95	2.85	6.94
4 Reserve in Indian securities	43.23	33.85	10.20
5. Reserve in gold	32.22	32.27	25.85
6. Reserve in sterling securities	10·70	.15	Nil

* See *The Modern Review* for June 1930, p. 750.

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It is true that during the past two years there has been a heavy fall in the amount of notes in circulation and a diminution of the liability of the Government to that extent. But this is more than counterbalanced by a decline in Indian Securities Reserves in silver coin and bullion have been augmented by Rs. 25 crores nearly, but this increase is more apparent than real in view of the heavy decline in the present market price of silver. Gold and sterling reserves which are really material have declined by more than Rs. 17 crores.

The Hon'ble Sir George Schuster seems to under-estimate the value of public opinion unless expressed "through representatives who have got to carry the responsibility." But whether responsible or irresponsible, a strong popular opinion, — call it popular prejudice if you like—will affect the psychology of operators, may lead to flight capital and create embarrassment in other ways. The Chamberlain Commission rightly observed: "It is almost as important that the general public should have confidence in the determination of the Government effectively to use their resource to maintain the rupee [exchange], as it is that the Government should have the resource for so doing." Instead of vain declarations against popular beliefs with misleading arguments, which must defeat their purpose, Sir George Schuster should have discussed in detail his own programme for the economic advancement of India. He should have removed popular suspicion and mistrust by frankly confessing that if India had been on 1s. 4d. exchange, she could have faced the present crisis better and could expect a quicker recovery,—a fact which is patent to every impartial observer. His talk about the avoidance of any discussion about "what might have been" is meaningless, seeing that the whole of his speech is a repudiation of the popular picture of "what might have been."

His fatal mistake seems to be that any frank admission of the injurious consequences of 1s. 6d. exchange amounts to an assent to the proposal for lowering the exchange rate to 1s. 4d. Nothing can be farther from truth. The present writer expressed his apprehensions about a world fall of prices and opposed the higher rate at the time of the Hilton Young Commission. But that does not prevent him from recognizing the fact that the lowering of the ratio *now* will be fraught with graver consequences than even what the Finance Member so elaborately describes. The immediate effect of any lowering of exchange, or even of a "hands off" policy will be a rise in the prices of purely domestic commodities, whereas the prices of staple products, fixed by world competition, cannot simultaneously rise. Thus agriculturists whose interests are proposed to be safeguarded, will have to buy everything at a dearer rate but they will be compelled to sell their goods at almost the old price. Thus their miseries will be aggravated.

If Sir George Schuster is really as jealous about the financial credit and economic interest of India as the Indian nationalists, as he pleads so often, then his policy and programme cannot be fundamentally different from those proposed to be followed under the new constitution. The difficulty and uncertainty during the transition period about which he speaks will then be minimized. He should give an earnest of his good faith and not merely proclaim it. He should remember the legacy of his predecessors, who tried to maintain British prestige by putting a 2s. gold rate on the statute book *after* their retreat from the exchange market.

Note :—Since the above article was received, we find that the Government of India have issued 6% loan for £ 10,000,000, which confirms the writers opinion that the present resources are for supporting the exchange rate.—*Editor M. R.*

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The Muhammadan Conquest of Bengal

By U. N. GHOSHAL Ph. D.

THE picturesque story of the capture of "Nudiah" by Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar with his party of eighteen horsemen and the flight of "King Lakhmaniya" has left its trail in the commonly accepted view that the Muhammadan conquest of Bengal was achieved with astounding facility. In recent times this popular view has received afresh the seal of authoritative sanction from the writings of Vincent A. Smith, the well-known English historian of India.* And yet when we take into consideration the available evidence, we cannot but entertain grave doubts as regards the accuracy of the current account.

The rai of Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar, supposing the account of the Muslim historian Minhaj-us-Siraj (on whose sole testimony it rests) to be based wholly upon fact, resulted only in the foundation of a petty Muslim dominion in North and West Bengal. The limits of this territory are given by the same historian as extending along both banks of the Ganges from Lakhnauti, the capital, to Deokot (near Dinajpur) on the one side and to Lakhnor (probably the modern Nagar in Northern Birbhum) on the other. Under the early Muslim rulers of Lakhnauti the southern frontier was gradually pushed southwards to Navadvipa (c. 1255) and to Saptagram (c. 1298). In the north the boundary was extended to Bardhankot in the north of Dinajpur (c. 1255). Meanwhile, the rest of modern Bengal was ruled by independent Hindu princes or subject to powerful Hindu kingdoms beyond the frontiers. In Vanga (Eastern Bengal), as three surviving copper-plate inscriptions testify, two sons of Lakshmana Sena, Kesava and Visvarupa, ruled as independent sovereigns with the old imperial titles. A new title applied to these kings in the inscriptions, namely, *Garga-Yavana-pralaya-kala-Rudra* (the God Rudra on the day of destruction, to the race of Garga-Yavanas) hints at their unrecorded success in stemming the tide of Muslim aggression. The testimony of Minhaj-us-Siraj proves that the descendants of the Senas still ruled in Vanga as independent kings in 1260 A. C. when his book was written. A Hindu prince called Danauja Ray by the Muhammadan historian reigned at Sunargaon in 1283 A. C., when Sultan Balban of Delhi entered the country in pursuit of the rebel Governor, Tughril Khan. Reference to a Sena ruler called Madhu Sena has been found in a Buddhist manuscript of the year 1211 Saka (1299 A. C.). Meanwhile the south-western frontier was dominated by the powerful dynasty of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga. The first of a series of wars between Orissa and Muslim Bengal, which were destined to last for nearly 350 years, broke out shortly before the death of Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar in 1205 A. C. In the course of these wars Narasimha I, the renowned builder of the Sun Temple at Konarak, who reigned from 1238 to 1264, twice advanced upon the Muslim capital whose ruler was forced to seek for assistance from Delhi. Indeed, down almost to the end of the Hindu kingdom of Orissa the modern districts of Hughli and Midnapore were included within its limits, while the south-western frontier of the Muslim rulers of Bengal extended only up to Mandalghat at the confluence of the Rupnarain and Hughly rivers.

Thus even after the lapse of a century from the irruption of the Muslims into Bengal their dominion was circumscribed within a relatively small tract of country stretching roughly from modern Dinajpur in the north to Hughli in the south. The progress of Muslim conquest even in the following century was remarkably slow. The only advance was in the direction of East Bengal. Sunargaon fell under Muslim rule probably in the thirties of the fourteenth century. In a short time Muslim Bengal was divided into three provinces, those of the north, the south and the west, with their capitals at Lakhnauti, Sunargaon and Saptagram respectively. In the middle of the same century these provinces were united into a single independent Sultanate by the famous Haji Ilyas Shah.

* Cf *Early History of India*, 4th ed. pp. 420-422; *Oxford History of India*, 2nd ed. pp. 221, 223.

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The early years of the 15th century witnessed a remarkable, though short-lived, restoration of Hindu sovereignty in Bengal. During the reign of the last kings of the House of Ilyas Shah Raja Ganesh made himself the *de facto* ruler of Bengal (1409-1414), while wisely refraining from issuing coins in token of his sovereignty. His son and successor Jadu embraced the Muslim faith and ascended the throne under the title of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah, but for two years he was dispossessed of his capital by two Hindu kings Danujamardana and Mahendradeva who struck coins at Pandua with dates corresponding to 1417-18 A. C. Gradually however the Muslim king re-established his authority over his whole kingdom, and even succeeded in extending his dominions as far as Chittagong in the east.

The dynasty of Rajah Ganesh came to an unhonoured end in 1442 when the last degenerate heir to the throne was assassinated by slaves. But a revival of Muslim power took place with the restoration of the House of Ilyas Shah in the same year. In the reign of Ruknuddin Barbak Shah (1459-1474), the second Sultan of this dynasty, the limits of the Sultanate were extended to the modern districts of 24 Perganas, Khulna and Bakharganj, while Chittagong still formed a part of its territory. The reign of his successor Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah (1474-82) was marked by the annexation of distant Sylhet. There is good evidence to prove that this amazing expansion of the Sultanate in the east was successfully maintained during the reigns of the later kings of the dynasty. On other sides, however, the advance of the Muslim power was blocked by the powerful Hindu states beyond the frontier. In the north lay the kingdom of Kamata comprising the modern Cooch Behar State with the districts of Rungpore, Goalpara, and Kamarup. In the West the effete dynasty of the Eastern Ganges had been replaced (c. 1435 A. C.) by the great House of the Gajapatis of Orissa. King Kapilendra (1435-74 A. C.) the founder of this dynasty enjoyed a long and victorious reign in the course of which he carved out an empire extending from Hughly in the North to Trichinopoly in the south.

The foundation of a new and vigorous dynasty by the famous Alauddin Husain Shah (1493-1519 A. C.) was a signal for a fresh outburst of military activity on the part of the Sultans of Bengal. He waged wars with the Ahoms of Assam and the Gajapatis of Orissa, while he annexed a part of Tipperah. Above all, he destroyed the independence of the Hindu kingdom of Kamata (c. 1498) lying across the northern frontier. In his time as well as that of his descendants Chittagong, as is shown by the combined evidence of Bengali poets and Portuguese travellers, was incorporated within the limits of Muslim Bengal. And yet it must be admitted that the Sultans failed to acquire any fresh expansion of territory on their nothern and southern frontiers. In the north Visva Simha (reigned 1515-40 A. C.) founded the present dynasty of Cooch Behar on the ruins of the Kamata kingdom. The new kingdom of Cooch Behar rose to the pinnacle of its greatness in the following reign when Sukladhvaja, aptly surnamed the Kite-prince, the brother and Commander-in-Chief of the reigning king, won a succession of triumphs resulting in the submission of Assam, Jaintia, Cachar Manipur, and Tippera. Meanwhile Purusottama (1474-1497 A. C.) the son and successor of Kapilendra had gradually succeeded in the course of his strenuous reign in recovering most of his paternal possessions. His successor, Pratapa Rudra (1497-1541 A. C), though sadly despoiled of his southern territories by the Vijaynagar Kings, successfully maintained his possession up to the line of the Hughly river in the North.

It was reserved for the independent Afghan Houses of Sur and Karrani that arose after the middle of the sixteenth century to achieve a substantial success in extending the frontiers of Muslim Bengal. Sultan Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah of the Sur dynasty temporarily brought distant Arakan under his rule (c. 1555). In the reign of Sulaiman Karrani the dissensions that broke out in the Cooch Behar kingdom after the death of Sukladhavaja enabled the Muslims to annex their dominion as far east as Tezpur. Above all, Orissa, distracted by civil strife, fells an easy prey to the attack of the famous Kalapahar, the general of Sulaiman (c. 1568). It was now at length that south-west Bengal, though at first formally included within the Muslim province of Orissa was won by the arms of Islam.

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The defeat and death of Daud Karrani, the son of Sulaiman, at the hands of Akbar's generals (c. 1576) brought the territory of Bengal for the first time under Mughal rule. But from this time down almost to the reign of Shah Jahan the sway of the new rulers was far from being securely established. The Afghan chiefs, smarting under their recent defeats, continued to be the most potent source of disorder, and the menace was not removed even by the conquest of Orissa by Rajah Man Singh, the Mughal Governor of Bengal in 1592. In the East the Arakanese took advantage of the prevailing confusion to consolidate their possession of Chittagong. From the beginning of the seventeenth century they began in alliance with the Portuguese a systematic campaign of piracy in the rivers and channels of East Bengal, and they continued to be the terror of the local people for nearly half a century afterwards. Meanwhile, the great zemindars of Bengal, who are often included within the illusive category of the 12 Bhuiyans, had acquired sufficient strength to become a formidable danger to the exercise of the imperial authority.

Among the Bengal zemindars who ventured to resist the might of the Mughal empire in the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, the brave and chivalrous Kedar Rai of Sripur (in Vikrampore) and his gallant but flagitious contemporary Pratapaditya of Jessore (Dhumghat in the Satkhira Subdivision of the Khulna district) deserve conspicuous mention. A thick mist of legend, as is quite natural, has enveloped the figures of these heroes of mediæval Bengal, but fortunately it is possible to glean a few authentic facts of their career from the sober testmony of European travellers and Muslim chroniclers. We learn from these accounts how Kedar Rai erected a fort at his capital Sripur (since destroyed by the flow of the Karmanasa river.) We also learn how he formed a powerful fleet of warships of which the number is put down by Abdul Fazl in his *Akbarnamah* as 500. At his own capital Kedar Rai settled artisans for the manufacture of cannon, one of which bearing the name of a certain Rupia Khan of Sripur is still preserved at Chandradvipa. His first trial of strength with the Imperial forces took place in 1602, when, aided by a valiant Portuguese captain Carvailho, he wrested the island of Sandip from the Mughals. When the king of Arakan despatched a naval expedition to oust the victors from the island, Kedar Rai sent a fleet of one hundred warships with whose help Carvailho gained a glorious victory over the invaders. In a short time Raja Man Singh, the Subadar of Bengal sent a fleet under a Mughal captain called Mandarai by the historian to attack Kedar Rai, but the latter won a complete victory and Mandarai was killed. A fresh expedition was sent by Man Singh against the recalcitrant zemindar, but once more the Mughals were completely defeated and the commander Kilmac was taken prisoner. At this climax of Kedar Rai's fortunes Man Singh marched against him in person (1603-04), when to quote the words of the *Akbarnama* the Mughal troops after a furious canonade captured Kedar Rai who died of his wounds shortly after he was brought before the Raja.

The fame of Pratapaditya and of his great strength in arms of all kinds has been sung by the great poet Bharatchandra in verses which are familiar to every student of Bengali literature. Succeeding to his ancestral Jaigir in Jessore about 1584, he quietly increased his strength till he felt himself to be a match for the Mughals. He erected forts at various strategical points of his territory. He built dockyards near his capital and eventually became the master of a powerful fleet which is estimated by a contemporary Mulsim writer (Abdul Latif) to have numbered 700 ships of all sizes. His land forces were divided into cavalry, infantry, archers, and artillery men. Among his military officers we find the names not only of Hindus but also of Pathans like the brave and faithful Kamal Khoja and Christians like Rodda and Augustus Pedro. At his own capital he set up arsenals for the manufacture of fire-arms as well as weapons of other kinds. The forlorn vestiges of the military and naval stations of the great Bengali chieftain have been discovered in recent years by the industrious author of the history of Jessore and Khulna (in Bengali). When in 1599 Pratapaditya threw off the yoke of the Imperial rule, he crushed with ease a Mughal commander called Sher Khan whom he is said to have pursued in the direction of Rajmahal, the capital of Muslim Bengal. But in the next year Raja Man Singh returned to Bengal as Governor for the last time. He proceeded shortly afterwards (1603-04) to launch an attack against the great rebel, and succeeded

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reaching Dhumghat, the capital. Pratap reed to a treaty acknowledging the upremacy of the Mughal Emperor. The rrival of a masterful Governor Islam Khan 1608), who is chiefly remembered for his ransfer of the capital from Rajmahal to Dacca, was the signal for a fresh outbreak of ostilities. After a vigorous campaign which as been vividly described by one of the Mughal Generals in command* the resistance f Pratapaditya was overcome. He was taken o Dacca and was ordered to be sent to Agra in an iron cage but fortunately he died on his way at Benares (1611).

The reign of Aurangzeb was marked by the utmost expansion of the Mughal power in India. In Bengal it opened with a brilliant invasion of the upper Brahmaputra valley by the famous Governor Mirjumla which not only carried the Muslim arms to their furthest limit to the north-east, but led to the annexation of Assam eastwards as far as the Bharali rivers (above Tezpur) in 1662. With characteristic stubbornness the Ahoms renewed the war and finally recovered all their dominions westwards as far as Kamarup (1681). Meanwhile, Shayista Khan, the new Governor of Bengal, was able to bring completely under subjection (1664) the Raja of Cooch Behar who had expelled the Mughals from his dominion. Above all, he completed the conquest of Chittagong which had been for half a century the great stronghold of the Arakanese pirates (1666). This victory not only stopped the depredations of the pirates and raised the Imperial pretige to its height, but it also pushed the Mughal boundary on the south-east to its furthest limit. Now at length it would seem that Muslim Bengal had attained its limit of expansion and its frontiers firmly secured on all sides And yet it was during the latter part of the reign of Aurangzeb that a Hindu Kayastha zemindar quietly laid the foundation of a formidable power in south-east Bengal. The son and grandson of officials in the Mughal service, Raja Sitaram Rai acquired a Jaigir in the modern Magura district of Jessore where he founded his capital at Muhammadpore. He increased the extent of his dominions till they spread in the north beyond the Ganges to the modern Pabna district and in the south to modern Bakharganj and Khulna. Following the footsteps of Kedar Rai and Pratap he made arrangements for the manufacture of cannon at his own capital. His refusal to pay tribute to the Mughals at length brought him into collision with the neighbouring Faujdar at Bhusna whom he defeated and killed. This led Murshid Kuli Khan, the then Governor of Bengal, to send a punitive expedition against Sitaram. The Imperialists led by Baksh Ali Khan and Dayaram (the founder of the Dighapatia Raj) reached Muhammadpore. Sitaram was captured and brought down to Dacca where he died in confinement (1714). Thus ended within fifty years of the battle of Plassey the last attempt of a Hindu chief to assert his independence of the paramount power.

From the foregoing review it will appear that a period of not less than two to three centuries and a half elapsed after the first irruption of the Muslims into Bengal before they were able to extend their dominions to the frontier districts of Chittagong and Sylhet in the east, Rungpore, Goalpara and Kamarup in the north, and Hughli and Midnapore in the west. Meanwhile, in the early part of the fourteenth century a persistent attempt was made by Hindu chiefs to dispossess the Muslim rulers in their own capital. The advent of Mughal rule in the third quarter of the sixteenth century introduced a strong and centralized administration into the country. But it required even the powerful Mughal government a century of struggle to gain complete control over the frontiers by the final conquest of Chittagong from the Buddhist Arakanese, the subjugation of the Hindu kingdom of Cooch Behar and the annexation of the frontier districts of Assam from the Hindu kingdom of Kamarup. Above all, it was during this period that repeated attempts were made by the Kayastha zamindars of Bengal to shake off the yoke of Muslim rule. These efforts, though eventually doomed to failure, gave sufficient indication of the vigour and vitality of the Bengali. Hindus might and under happier auspices have changed the destinies of India by achieving for Bengal what was so brilliantly done in Maharashtra by the great Sivaji, *viz.*, the creation of a common Hindu political consciousness.

* The reference is to the Baharistan-i-Ghaibi of Alauddin Ispahani, of which a single MS. is supposed to be deposited in the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris. The credit for making this unique work accessible to scholars belongs to Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

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Kangri

The Revolt in Indo-China

[During the last year, there were widespread disturbances and rebellious in the French possessions in Indo-China. But owing to strict censorship very little news about them reached the outside world. This article by an American journalist who visited Indo-China to collect information on the spot, gives a vivid account of the state of things in the French possessions in South-eastern Asia. The writer, however, had to leave the country in January last. His narrative therefore stops at date. - *Ed. M. R.*]

FOR the past thirty years there had been comparative peace in what the French ingenuously call the "Union" of Indo-China. True, now and then when the crops failed, when rice was scarce, when the exactions of the usurers and Mandarins became too painful to bear with silent submission, the peasants occasionally rioted, killed a few native officials, and enjoyed their little hour or two of vindication before the French troops arrived. But these were isolated instances; the work, so it was stated, anarchists and Bolshevists. They were nothing so grave as to disturb the equanimity of French officials, who continued to grow long beards and send home satisfactory reports about the progress of France in Asia.

Then came the year 1930. Vaguely disquieting rumours were abroad from the beginning, but nobody grew alarmed. In colonial administrations, there are always these vaguely disquieting rumours. "*Ma, oui,! C'est ne rien.* These things are not important; they come and they go." So the French were hardly prepared for the year which proved to be the most difficult since their rule was established over the heterogeneous peoples who dwell in this south-eastern corner of Asia.

During 1930 there occured more than two scores of outbreaks, mutinies, anti-imperialist demonstrations, and various incidents of a subversive nature. Many of them were astutely led. Some of them were so well co-ordinated, and the doctrines behind them so broadly disseminated among the people, that the French had great difficulty in restoring order. They realized, with some astonishment, that they had to deal with a widespread group of revolutionaries directing a determined independence movement.

The Indo-Chinese nationalists are yet far from attaining the cohesion and significance of the Nationalists in India. Their programme lacks clarity of purpose and systematic methods of execution. They are in an experimental stage, and most of all they appear to lack outstanding leadership. Yet, poorly equipped as they are to oppose French domination effectively, their activities over the past twelve months have made a deep impression. A feeling of latent nationalism has been stirred to a young flame.

Official nervousness over the present situation is revealed in many ways. Arrests of "vagrants," "radicals," deserters and "Reds" are reported almost daily in the French journals. Executions of so-called Communists have been taking place with a frequency rivalling the procedure in parts of China. During the writer's few days here, eighteen natives were shot for alleged participation in revolutionary schemes.

Censors are now ensconced in native newspaper offices and careful examination is made of text-books in use in all schools, criticism of French colonialism being allowed to appear in neither. Permits for public gatherings, except the traditional festivals, must be secured through the French police. The gendarmerie has been reinforced nearly everywhere. In some cities, where serious outbreaks have occurred, the force has been doubled. Recently an additional detachment of the Foreign Legion arrived at Haiphong, bringing the total of that body to twice its normal strength here. Regular French troops in Indo-China now number almost 15,000, as against a little more than half that number a year ago. The indigenous army, officered by Frenchmen, has grown from 20,000 to 30,000 during the same period.

Only Annamites and a few Tonkinese are enlisted in the indigenous army. Subjects of Cambodia, Cochin-China, and Laos are not considered fit material for soldiers. In subjugating the country the French exploited the small hatreds and jealousies that exist between the various races, a policy similar to

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at employed by the East India Company securing the English foot-hold in Bengal. ns the French have come to regard the nnamites as the bulwark of their military rength, and have counted on their prejudices make them fight the more truculent tribes. nce, it is all the more disconcerting the Government to find that the chief volutionary worries are furnished by nnamites.

Early last year, for the first time in more an a decade, a unit of Annamite troops utinied and attacked their French officers. e initial incident of this kind occurred at e Yen Bay garrison, on the Chinese ontier. It resulted in the death of four rench officers, and the wounding of veral subalterns. It was a carefully lculated betrayal; the murdered men ere coolly chosen from their fellow ficers. It was not an undisciplined utbreak, for no offence was made against y of the wives of the Frenchmen, who emained for several hours without protection. Additional troops, rushed from the apital, soon suppressed the mutiny. A ourt martial was held and something like ixty Annamites were executed.

That affair, regarded by the French to e merely local, appears to have been the ignal for other incidents which subsequently ook place over widely scattered areas f Indo-China. Riots and demonstrations ccurred in Cochin-China, in Cambodia and onkin, some of them in protest against he "massacre of the Annamite mutineers." o lives were lost, but the leaders of hese disturbances were arrested and ailed. Some of them were convicted as Reds" and "enemies of the people"; a few ere put to death.

In June, 2,000 natives held a demonstration in Dalat, an important city in Cochin-China. Most of them were led by Annamites. None of them were armed. They held a mass meeting and started a parade through the principal streets of the town. They were unable to show a permit, and were ordered to disperse. They refused and a clash with the gendarmes followed. Military reinforcements were called to the scene. There were numerous casualties, about forty being reported to be dead.

Ostensibly the Dalat parade was held to emphasize the long-ignored native plea for a genuinely representative voice in the Government. Other demands listed in the literature distributed on this occasion were said to include: (i) abolition of the Mandarinate, and "Mandarin justice"; (ii) reduction of land taxes; (iii) limitation of the rights of landlords; (iv) national enfranchisement; (v) constitution of a native congress with real law-making powers; vi) the "acceptance in principle" by the Republic of France of the right of the peoples of Indo-China to declare their independence.

Now began a series of grave uprisings in Annam, which at the time of writing still continue, despite the awakened watchfulness of the French, and stern persecution of offenders. Near Vinh, a provincial capital in North Annam, a peasant army numbering some 5,000 men, was organized almost under the nose of the French Resident-Superieur. Informed that this army, followed by a large number of women and children, was within a few hours march of Vinh, the Resident telegraphed to Hanoi for help. It arrived in the shape of a squadron of aeroplanes, while the peasants were crossing a great valley of paddies, not far from the city, two warning notes, dropped from the planes, ordered immediate disbandment. That was impossible. On either side of the narrow paddy paths, the fields were flooded. Those in the middle of the crowd could not escape. A third note was dropped. It was quickly followed by an attack with bombs and machine guns. The report, which trickled out through official censorship some time afterward, was that more than one hundred and fifty were killed and something over six hundred wounded.

Somehow a remnant of the blood-stained little "army" managed to reach Vinh, where it was met by a land force of the Foreign Legion. Machine guns and artillery were placed and made ready for the the attack. The peasants marched on, up to the range of the guns. They held up their open hands; it was discovered that none of them were armed! They explained that it was their intention to march to the office of the Resident-Superieur and peacefully present a petition requesting the introduction of certain reforms in Government. An additional significant demand, called for the abdication of the Boy Emperor of Annam, as well as the Kings of Laos and Cambodia, all of whose costly but essentially impotent courts are protected by the French, much as those of

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the rajahs and maharajahs are supported by the British in India.

Nationalist Annamites at once labelled this occurence the Vinh Massacre and spread propaganda concerning it over all parts of the country, and to their sympathizers throughout Asia. Further troubles have since taken place in Annam and Tonkin, featured by assassinations of French gendarmes and native Mandarins. Thoroughly alarmed, the French secret service has busily laid nets for the capture of all radicals. At Hue, Touraine, Dong Hui, Hanoi and Haiphong the authorities have raided the headquarters of revolutionaries, and the big city jails are now crowded with political prisoners. Many nationalists have fled to China. The largest colony of them now resides in Canton, where French efforts to secure extradition has proved fruitless.

Sabotage, and to a limited degree, boycott, have been employed against the Government. Service over the Trans-Indo-China Railway has been interrupted a number of times by such activities. There have been sporadic cases of property destruction in factories and foundries

Perhaps the most daring piece of sabotage was perpetrated on a French Mail Liner at Haiphong. Certainly it was the most embarrassing to the Government, for M. Pasquier, Governor-General, was scheduled to leave on the vessel, in answer to a hasty summons from Paris. Reaching Haiphong, the Governor-General was met by a delegation of Frenchmen, and escorted to the pier by a troop of soldiers. Hats waved, bands played, handkerchiefs fluttered, and there were shouts of '*Bon Voyage!* The anchor was lifted, the lines hauled in, and the ship drifted from shore. But not far. Down in the engine room the propeller shaft was turning jerkily, crazily, and in the stern there was no response from the propeller at all. Investigation proved that a very thorough job of propeller smashing had been done.

To the vast amusement of the Annamites, M. Pasquier, his aplomb considerably pricked, had to cancel his trip and return to Hanoi. He kept his date in Paris, however. A few days later he flew with the aviators Goulette and Lalouette, who got him to France in less than six days.

A refreshing thing about the writer's stay in Indo-China was his meeting with a liberal French official connected with the administration of internal affairs. For one occupying so delicate a position, his views were broad. "What are the real causes behind the troubles in Indo-China?" the writer asked him. "Have the people genuine causes for discontent with French rule? Have they been influenced by Chinese Nationalism? Has the success of Indian civil disobedience inspired them? Or is the unrest merely the result of 'Bolshevik propaganda' as one is assured by the French businessmen here?"

He answered candidly.

"It is a little of all those things, a *pot-pourri* of cause and effect on a changing nation. Admittedly our political system here leaves much to be desired. Its worst weakness is that it makes so little provision for the absorption of the rapidly increasing educated classes into the service of the Government.

"We call it semi-self-government. In reality in is at best a paternal dictatorship. The people know this well enough and are not deceived by our euphemisms. The educated youths of the country grow more aggressive. They seek suitable outlets for their new knowledge and long for the power to restore their national self-respect. It is natural for them to feel that only through self-government can this be accomplished.

"The influence in this country of revolution in India, China and Russia has been very marked The effect of the advance of the Kuomintang, China being our nearest neighbour, has been especially injurious to French rule. Over million copies of the 'San Min Chu I' are said to have been circulated here. It is easy to recognize certain of Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary principles in the propaganda of the Annamite Nationalities.

"The Red creed has also interested a small group of dissatisfied Leftists. Thousands of translated Russian books have been sold here. and large quantities of Communist literature have been distributed. The Soviet philosophy has made a deep impression on that part of the population living at economic disadvantages and subject to the tyrannical usurers and landlords.

"Colleagues of mine seem anxious to minimize the importance of the present disturbances. I think it foolish to do so. It is obvious from the examples of India and China that the day of Western Imperialism implanted in the East is nearing its finish. At most it may last here for another ten, twenty

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tainly no more than thirty years. From at I know of Indo-China, from my own tacts with Annamites of many classes, I se the unmistakable approach of a popular demand for freedom. We shall have to yield to it sooner than most Frenchmen suppose."

HANOI
January, 1931

Constitution of the Bengal Text-book Committee, and how it functions

BY BENOY KRISHNA MITRA

§ 1. FUNCTIONS OF A TEXT-BOOK COMMITTEE

A Text-Book Committee in concerned with the selection of suitable text-books on many different bjects taught in the Primary and Secondary hools. The number of families in Bengal who n afford to send a boy or a girl to school is very nsiderable. It is the interest of these families to e that books of real worth are selected by the xt-Book Committee. As it intimately concerns e education and thus the future of the country, effect it intimately concerns every Indian. Who e competent to select text-books on different bjects,—books that should be free from errors, ritten in appealing and graceful language, and itable in every way to the capacities of the udents for whom they are intended? Naturally, e task should be entrusted to those who have ade a special study of those subjects and they on'd collaborate with those who actually teach the bjects to the students. Having thus enunciated e broad principles which should govern the lection of members for the Text-Book Committee, t us see how they are actually selected in engal.

§ 2. THE BENGAL TEXT-BOOK COMMITTEE.

The present Bengal Text-Book Committee consists of thirty-six members. The following is the st of functions and offices they represent.

I. SIX EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS.

(1) The Director of Public Instruction (Ex-officio President).
(2) The Principal, David Hare Training College.
(3) The Principal, Teachers' Training College, Dacca.
(4) The Inspectress of Schools, Presidency and Burdwan Divisions.
(5) The Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Muhammadan Education.
(6) The Librarian, Bengal Library.

The remaining thirty members, of whom 12 shall be officials and 18 non-officials shall all be *nominated* by the Director of Public Instruction, except two to represent the two Universities of Calcutta and Dacca. In all, therefore, there are 18 official members and 16 non-official but *nominated* number and two elected members. Officialisation with a vengeance indeed! And we shall soon see that the term 'non-official' for the 16 nominated members is nothing but a camouflage! And the Education Department is under an Indian Minister and we have *swaraj* in that Department. But let us complete the list.

OFFICIAL MEMBERS.

(7) One representative of Sanskritic studies.
(8) One representative of Islamic studies.
(9) One woman graduate teacher.
(10) One representative of Normal Schools.
(11-14) Four members to represent Inspection, one of whom at least should be a Muhammadan.
(15-16) Two members to represent Teaching.
(17-18) Two members to represent Primary Education.

III. NON-OFFICIAL MEMBERS.

(19-22) Four members to represent Teaching
(23-24) Two members to represent Primary Education.
(25-26) Two members to represent Missionary Societies.
(27-30) Four members to represent special interests (two for depressed classes; the other two, agriculture, rural interests)
(31-34) Four un-official Educationists.
(35-36) One representative each from Dacca and Calcutta Universities.

I wonder, if this extraordinary constitution of the *Text-Book* Committee is generally known. I am afraid, not. Selection of Text-books is certainly not a political battle-field requiring representation of all "interests" including interests of the backward and other communities. All right-thinking men would feel that the committee should consist of a body of experts, collaborating with an equal body of those who do the actual teaching work. The experts of course should be selected, but the teachers should *all* be elected. Let us now examine how the members have been 'appointed' by the Director.

The six ex-officio members require no comment.

The seventh member 'appointed' to represent Sanskritic Studies is Professor Nilmani Chakravarty of the Presidency College, Calcutta. Personally, he is unexceptionable, but see comments on the 8th member.

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The eighth member appointed to represent Islamic Studies is Mr. A. H. Harley, Principal of the Islamia College, Calcutta. If the Principal of the Islamia College is to represent Islamic Studies, the seventh member to represent Sanskritic studies should have been the Principal of the Sanskit College and not a Professor of the Presidency College. But neither the Principal of the Islamia College nor the Principal of the Sanskrit College is exactly in a position to represent Islamic and Sanskritic Studies in Secondary Schools on the Text Book Committee. The Government Madrasas should have been called in to *elect* the former and the Government High School Head Pandits the latter. They *teach* the subjects; they know the requirements of the students and common sense dictates that it is they and not Professors or Principals of Colleges who are most competent to help the Text-Book Committee in this matter.

The 9th member represents the women graduate teachers in Government High Schools. The member appointed is Miss Biswas, Head Mistress of Dr. Khastagir's High School for Girls. We have no objection to her personally: but she should have came in after *election* by the graduate lady teachers of Government Girls' High Schools of Bengal.

The tenth member Dr. N. Gupta, *represents* Normal Schools. This Round-Table-Conference-method of *representation* is absolutely obnoxious. Let the Normal Schools of Bengal *elect* their own representative. We do not doubt the competence of Dr. N. Gupta of the Rangpur Normal School, but let him come in by all means as a real representative and not as a representative (?) nominated on the R. T. C. method.

The 11th—14th members represent "Inspection." The Director of Public Instruction is expected to know his officers better than any body else and possibly may be allowed to "nominate" in this case. We should prefer, however, the Inspectorate staff to elect their own nominees to the T. B. C. and not be dictated to by the D. P. I.

The 15th and 16th members represent Teaching. They are Mr. P. C. Mahalanabis of the Presidency College and Mr. Badiur Rahman, Head Master, Dacca Collegiate School. A Professor of the Presidency College, however able, representing Teaching in High Schools is rather inappropriate. Both the Official representatives of Teaching should have been from Government High Schools, and elected by the Head Masters themselves. The allocation of four seats to Inspection and two to Teaching is invidious. They should have been equally divided.

The 17th and the 18th Official members represent Primary Education and they are Mr. J. M. Sen, Additional Inspector of Schools, Presidency Division and Khan Bahadur Maulavi Maula Bakhsh, Inspector of Schools, Dacca Division. The question naturally arises: 'who represent Primary Education in Bengal officially and how do they represent it?' Turning to the list of schools, we find that the Middle-vernacular Schools, the Schools for training teachers for Primary and Vernacular Schools and the Primary Schools are actually concerned with Primary Education. The Sub-Inspectors of schools come next. If there are no Government-managed Vernacular or Primary Schools and if the claims of the Training Schools are rejected on the ground of their having been represented before by No. 10, members to represent Primary Education should be elected by the Sub-Inspectors from among themselves,—one from East-Bengal, the other from West-Bengal. The two Inspectors selected have hardly any claim to come in and the selection only shows the bias of the D. P. I. for his Inspectors and his desire to make the T. B. C. a close preserve for the Higher officers of the Inspecting Department.

The remaining 18 members are non-officials.

No. 19—22 represent Non-official Teaching. Let us repeat that this Teaching should in all fairness and common sense be regarded as Teaching which is imparted in the Secondary Schools. But who are the members *appointed* to represent this teaching?

19. Maulavi Muhammad Ishaque, Lecturer, Calcutta University.

20. Babu Kalikrishna Goswami, Professor, Jagannath Intermediate College, Dacca.

21. Rev. C. S. Milford, Offg. Principal, St. Paul's College, Calcutta.

22. Ramesh Chandra Chakravarty, Headmaster, Malkhanagar High School, Dacca.

What have the first three estimable gentleman to do with 'Teaching' in Secondary Schools?—None whatsoever!

These four memberships (their number ought to be at least double this figure) should by all means be filled by *election* by the Headmasters of Aided and Unaided High Schools of Bengal. Ramesh Babu of Malkhanagar is very probably a competent Head master; but we believe, even he would not disdain to seek election by his compeers and vindicate the rights of the Headmasters of High Schools as a class.

No. 23 and 24 represent Non-official Primary Education. Who represent or are intimately concerned with non-official Primary Education? The District Boards of Bengal, without doubt. And who have been nominated to represent it?

23. Kalipada Sirkar, Retired Inspector of Schools, Bankura.

24. Maulavi Sayed Abdul Jabbar, Secy. Anjuman Islamia, Comilla.

The nomination of the first gentleman only makes prominent once again the bias of the D. P. I. for Higher-grade Inspecting officers who must be most familiar to him even in their retirement. The second gentleman belongs to a political institution and has hardly any right to be on the T. B. C. Representatives of the District Boards should fill these two places.

Nos. 25 and 26 represent Missionary Societies! What business have they to be on the T. B. C.? To watch that the teaching imparted by the books selected is not anti-Christian? But then, are there no Missionary Societies among the Hindus and Muhammadans? The two Reverend gentlemen selected show that the Hindus and Muslims do not count. The Christian Missionary Societies are the only ones that need be taken note of! The D. P. I. has been able to smuggle them in unchallenged only because the public has no knowledge of this fact. Missionary Societies have no business to be represented on the T. B. C. If they have, the claims of Hindu and Muhammadan Missionary Societies are overwhelmingly more weighty.

Four members, Nos. 27-30 represent special interests. Who are the members selected?

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27. Prof. Radhagovinda Nath, Comilla Victoria College.

28. Jyotishchandra Mandal, Prof. St. Paul's College, Calcutta.

29. N. C. Das Gupta, Headmaster, Durgapur High School, Chittagong.

30. Babu Manimohon Ghose, B.L., Secretary, Central Co-operative Bank, Rampurhat, Birbhum.

We know that Prof. Nath is a well-known and highly respected member of the Natha Community of Bengal and is a vastly learned man. But all the same we should have preferred one who is intimately associated with Secondary and Primary Education in the Natha Community to come on the T. B. C. to represent that community, if such communal representation is at all necessary. The same may be said regarding Prof. Mandal. There is no indication how the third gentleman represents a special interest but his selection from a High School is all right. We fail to see how the secretaryship of a Co-operative Bank entitles one to a place on the T. B. C.

The next four places go to Non-official Educationists. The members are:

31. Gopal Chandra Sarkar, Retired Second Inspector of Schools, Pabna.

32. Mr. Ibrahim Khan, Principal, Saadat College, Karatia.

33. Mr. Matloob Ahmad, Retired Inspector of Schools, Calcutta.

34. Mr. P. C. Banerjee, Prof. St. Xavier's College, Calcutta.

Nos. 31 and 33 are retired Inspectors of Schools and therefore they are Non-official Edcationists! This nervous and probably unconscious desire to fill the T. B. C. with Inspectors, of both invalid and valid class, amounts to an obsession with the D. P. I. The other two gentlemen have no connection with Secondary Education. These four places should be filled in by experts. Men like Bidhusekhar Sastri and Prof. Kshitimohon Sen of the Santiniketan, and distinguished Secretaries and founders of High Shools, may also be thought of in this connection.

The next two members are representatives of the Calcutta and Dacca Universities. Dacca University has no connection with Secondary teaching and does not deserve representation on the T. B. C. The place should have been given to the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dacca.

We have now finished examining the various offices and their "representatives." We have seen how the whole structure is based on wrong principles and how even the principles laid down have been attempted to be evaded and the T. B. C. packed by a set of non-representative members at the D. P. I's sweet will. Now let us examine how this wonderful structure manufactured by the D. P. I. works.

The whole body is divided into several Sub-Committees to deal with different subjects and there are different sub-committees for the subjects of the Primary schools as well as those of Secondary schools. Eighteen members were co-opted, mostly from Calcutta, to evade paying travelling expenses, and were added to the Original 36. Two of these Co-opted members are teachers of High Schools. One is the Assistant Director of Public Health. The remaining 15 are all professors and lecturers of colleges, selected at the D. P. I's sweet will. These co-opted members are distributed among the various sub-committees, so that each sub-committee has a number of co-opted members tagged to some members of the original T. B. C. The co-opting of members was a convenient opportunity for the D. P. I. to secure the services of Experts. How far this has been done will appear when we come to scrutinise the constitution and the working of the sub-committees.

§3. How The Books Are Submitted To And Judged By The T. B. C.

Six copies of each book have to be committed for scrutiny by the Text-Book Committee. A thorough and conscientious scrutiny of a book is not a light work. It is certainly heavier than examining a script of the Highest Examination of the Calcutta or Dacca Universities. For the latter work, the examiner is paid Rs 1-8 and Rs 2 per script respectively in the two universities. The scrutiny of text-books has hitherto been done as honorary work. But bitter experience of the past ought to have convinced the Bengal Government that this heavy and responsible work, the conscientious and thorough performance of which concerns the well-being and the future of the whole country, should not be left to be perfunctorily performed by unpaid workers. Moreover, there is no justification for making it unpaid, as it concerns a lucrative trade. Publishers should not refuse to pay fees to get their books properly examined. No self-respecting person should desire to have the work of others without paying for it. Paid examiners are surely expected to do their duty better than unpaid ones. A gradation of fees for books submitted, from Primary to Class VIII standard, is not difficult. It may begin from Rs 3 for books for Primary schools and be Rs. 3 for classes III and IV, Rs 4 for Classes V and VI and Rs 5 for Classes VII and VIII. As a book is examined generally by three examiners, the respective fees for Primary, III-IV, V-VI, and VII-VIII should be Rs. 9, Rs. 12, and Rs. 15 respectively for each book submitted. There should be an additional fee of Rs 3 for meeting the travelling and other expenses in connection with the work of examination. This would practically make the Committee self-supporting and Publishers would have the satisfaction of having their books examined in reality and not have to be content with a so-called examination. The Publishers should have the *right* to obtain copies of the report of the examiners on their books on payment of a small fee. The examiners will then be compelled to take examining and reporting seriously.

All this is unexceptionable and this principle was actually accepted, as Rule 26 of the Rules for the management of the Text Book Committee will show.

"Rule 26. Books, which are submitted for approval as text-books shall, in the first instance, be forwarded to the Secretary by authors and publishers by the end of March each year. A *chalan* showing payment into a Government Treasury in Bengal of the sum of

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Rs. 10 should accompany the application submitting a text-book for secondary schools or a prize and Library book. In the case of a text-book for Primary Schools and Maktabs, the application submitting it should be accompanied by a *chalan* showing payment of Rs 5 in the above manner."

This absolutely fair and just rule was however deleted by Education Department letter No 549 T dated the 23rd May, 1929, about a year and a half after its promulgation by Government order No. 4429 Edn., dated the 11th Nov. 1927. We are informed that a small band of publishers waited in deputation on the Education Minister and prayed for the abolition of this Rule for payment of fees. These short-sighted people failed to see that they were striking at their own feet by this thoughtless prayer, and were working at their own ruin by this penny-wise pound-foolish policy. The Education Minister also gave in to irresponsible clamour and won cheap popularity by conceding this silly demand and thus undermined the whole fabric. By loosening this central knot he has vitally damaged the whole machinery and made it incapable of healthful working. It is sufficient to note here that this unwise concession of the Education Minister has not led to the ultimate good of the country. We desire and demand that not only this rule should be restored but restored in an amplified form as suggested above. This will diminish the number of flimsy and mush-room publications and stand in the way of thoughtless submissions.

§ 4. Limit To The Number Of Books To Be Approved.

Rule 10-vi for the management of the T. B. C. runs as follows :—

The number of books approved for each class of a school as Readers in English or in the Vernacular or in Mathematics shall not exceed 30 [thirty] the number of books approved in each other subject shall not exceed 50 [fifty] in the case of each class."

This is repeated under Rule 17. But in the blank forms that were supplied to members of the Text-Book Committee, by filling up which they had to submit their reports on the books examined by them, there occured the following footnote :—

"The number of books approved for each class of a school as Readers in English or in the Vernacular or in Mathematics shall not exceed 30 [thirty] : the number in each other subject shall not exceed fifteen in the case of each class."

As a comparison will readily show, this merely repeats what has more than once been stated in Rule 10-VI and Rule 17. But *fifty* of these rules has been changed into *fifteen* ! Will the D. P. I. inquire who is responsible for this change which has practically ruined many flourishing publishing concerns ? The members, in recommending books kept as near to 15 as possible and thus many deserving books were rejected. The officer responsible for this change of 50 to 15 ought to be summarily dismissed.

§ 5. The Sub-Committees and Class-Committees

Each subject has a Sub-Committee for it. It consists of a number of members of the General Committee, supplemented by the addition of a number of co-opted members. We have neither the time nor the space for scrutinising the constitution and the work of all the sub-Committees. We shall take only one Sub-Committee and see how it has been constituted and worked. History is a rather specialised subject and none but an earnest student of it can keep abreast of all the latest researches that are published. I hope no one will argue that stale and incorrect facts are sufficient for boys of our High and Middle English schools and a writer of a school-text-book on History need not be very up-to-date. If writing text-books on History requires up-to-date knowledge on the subject, the qualification of an examiner of those books should not be a whit less. Now let us see who are the members of the History Sub-Committee.

Sub-Committee for Historical Primers (for Primary Schools and Maktabs)

1. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Tasaddaq Ahmed.
2. Babu Paresh Chandra Mukherjee,
3. Dr. Hem Chandra Roy Chaudhury ; co-opted.

The last two are well-known students of History and hardly any better selection could have been made. Khan Bahadur is an amiable gentleman but he is no student of history. Could the D. P. I. find no other officer, a real student of history, among his numerous Muhammadan officers in the Inspection line or in Colleges ? I believe there must be many, but peaceful people of scholarly habits most often avoid this honorary but extremely onerous and troublesome duty.

The list of historical primers for Primary schools was revised and reduced by this Committee. As far as our information goes, many unworthy books still find a place in the list only because the Khan Bahadur was determined to intercede on their unworthy behalf and could not be persuaded to follow the strict line of justice.

Sub-Committee for History and Geography for Secondary Schools

This Sub-committee consists of 18 members, of whom four are co-opted members. Of these, the service of only twelve members were requisitioned in forming the class-Committees. Books for the particular classes were submitted to these class-Committees for scrutiny. They were marked by the examiners A, B or C according to merit and only those books were approved which obtained A-marks from all the examiners. As the examiners were probably influenced by that mistake by which the number of books to be approved was limited to 15, they were naturally careful to keep the number of A-marks close to that figure. Now let us consider the personnel of the class-Committees and their work.

Committee for Class III

1. Babu Paresh Chandra Mukherjee, M.A., District Inspector of Schools, Burdwan Division.
2. Mr. Matloob Ahmed, Retired Inspector of Schools.
3. Mr. S. C. Majumdar, Professor of History Presidency College.

Babu Paresh Chandra Mukherjee M.A. was for a long time a very successful teacher of

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story in the now defunct Dacca College and in Dacca University. We know nothing regarding the knowledge of history possessed by Matloob Ahmed and his capacity for examining primers of history. And it would probably be a privilege to doubt this knowledge and capacity of Mr. S. C. Majumdar of the Presidency College, though some M. A. students whose lot compelled them to study under him have some very strong comments to make regarding his method of teaching history and his treatment of that subject. All the same, let us concede that he is a historical prodigy. In all, eighty-seven historical primers were submitted to the Text-Book Committee, of which four were rejected on preliminary examination. Eighty three books were circulated to the members of the above committee. Careful scrutiny of even one historical Primer requires a good length of time and not inconsiderable mental labour; and thorough examination of 83 books is prodigious labour even for historical prodigies. To expect the conscientious performance of this prodigious labour for nothing from mere human beings is, to say the least, unpractical. As a result of the recommendations by the members of this committee, 15 books were finally approved. Mark the number 15, the limit which owes its origin probably to a proof-reader's mistake?

To understand the nature of these Primers, it is necessary that our the readers should have an idea of the Syllabus under which they were written.

History Syllabus for Class III

Stories including the following:

Agastya, Harish Chandra, Bhagirath; Viswamitra and Basistha. Rama; the war between the Kauravas and the Pandavas; and Bhisma.

The Deluge, Joseph and his brothers; Moses; Solomon; and David.

Vikramaditya, Sohrab and Rustum, Hasan and Hussain; Harun-al Rashid; and Dhatree Panna.

It would be a digression if we stop to criticise this silly Syllabus. But we cannot proceed without a word or two. I wonder which "expert" of the Education Department was requisitioned to frame this wonderful syllabus! The purpose is clear,—to acquaint boys with the the story of the legendary heroes of Hindu, Christian and Muslim Mythology. But the whole purpose becomes meaningless if the time sequence is not followed in relating these stories and if they are not made to form the back-ground for the knowledge of history to be imparted in subsequent classes. The order of the Biblical stories follows the time sequence; but the order of the Pauranic stories shows that the framer of the syllabus himself has hardly any idea of their time sequence. Then, how has Vikramaditya found a place with the Iranian legend of Sohrab and Rustum and how does a 16th Century Rajput story find a place with Harun-al-Rashid. The framer of the syllabus may have lost the balance of his mind by the weight of superincumbent learning; but how could the D. P. I. pass such a syllabus! And how could the authors and publishers of Bengal solemnly start manufacturing books according to this mad syllabus without raising a chorus of protests? Degeneration can go no further!

We have already stated that 15 Primers out of the 83 submitted, were approved as a result of recommendations by the members of the above committee. Here are a few of the books rejected:

1. Itihasher Galpa by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprashad Shastri
2. Puran Katha—by Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumder
3. Nabin Itihash—by Rai Jaladhar Sen Bahadur and Hemendranath Ghose.
4. Katha o-Kahini—by Gurubandhu Bhattacharyya, offg. Principal, Dacca Training College,
5. Itihasher Galpa, by Narayan Chandra Banerji, Professor, Calcutta University,
6. Itikatha—by N. K. Bhattasali.

Is not this galaxy of names a sufficient condemnation of the work of this sub-committee? If the committee could not approve of a historical story-book written by M. M. Shastri, the greatest authority in India on Pauranic literature, whose Bengali style is unsurpassed for simplicity and gracefulness, there must be something fundamentally wanting in the members themselves. The fact that works by veterans like M. M. Shastri, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, Rai Jaladhar Sen Bahadur were weighed by this committee and found wanting, would naturally give rise to the suspicion that the judgment of the members was influenced by something else than merit. This is confirmed by an examination of the books that were passed by them.

We have carefully gone through nearly all the books approved by this committee. Only one author has taken the liberty to arrange the stories in time sequence. The majority slavishly follow the order as printed in the syllabus and mix up Harun-al Rashid with Vikramaditya and give the story of Bhisma after having recounted the story of the Kurus and the Pandavas! The Syllabus laid down that the book is to be one of about 50 pages, without mentioning the size and the kind of type to be used. The framers of the Syllabus certainly did not attempt to write the stories themselves and thus see whether even the 17 stories named by them could be finished within the limit of 50 pages. The limit must have been a conjectural one. All the same, some writers have made their stories ludicrously cramped, in their unseemly anxiety not to exceed 50 pages. Many distinguished writers have fallen into curious minor inaccuracies, which I have no space to point out,

But some of the approved books have serious defects. Limits of space prevent us from pointing them out in this article. We shall do so in another.

One author, for example, writes of *dhanurveda* as a weapon!

Class-Committee for Class IV.

Members.

1. Babu Akshaya Kumar Dutta Gupta, M. A., Librarian, Bengal Library.
2. Miss. H. Bose, Inspectress of Schools, Presidency Division.
3. Abdul Mumin Chawdhury, Professor Islamia College, Calcutta.

History Syllabus for Class IV.

I. Stories including the following:—

Alexander and Puru; Chandra Gupta and the

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Nanda princes; Asoka; Harshavardan and his charities and brotherly affection. Subaktagin; Prithwiraj and Jay Chandra.

Babar and his courage and fatherly affection; Nanak; Akbar and his Court; Rana Pratap and his patriotism; Durgavati; Chand Sultana; Jahangir and Mahabat Khan; Shah Jahan and the Tajmahal; Aurangzeb; and Shivaji.

Clive; Ahalya Bai; Victoria the Good; the Delhi Durbar; Sepoy, Khodadad and Victoria Cross.

II. Stories from local history :—

Bejoy Singha; Sultan Ghiyasuddin and the Kazi; Pratapaditya; Chand Roy; Isa Khan and Rani Bhabani.

This syllabus is reported to have been framed by some historical prodigy of the David Hare Training College. By driving every year a dumb-driven set of docile teachers and by lording it over them to their heart's content, a few professors of the Training Colleges acquire a sort of overweening confidence in themselves and have no difficulty in thinking that they know every subject better than anybody else. The framer of the Syllabus appears to be one of those unfortunate men. The stereotyped lessons from the History of India presented no difficulty but he was clearly beyond his depth when he was out selecting stories from the local history. From Bijoy Singha, (whose assignment to Bengal is very doubtful) to Sultan Ghiyasuddin is a big jump and he could find no story worth recounting, in the history of Sasanka, of Joyapida and Jayanta, of Gopala and his suppression of anarchy in Bengal, of Dharmmapala and his north-Indian conquests, of Ramapala, and the Kaivarta upheaval in Bengal, of Ballala Sena, and his social reforms! Of the fight for independence, put up by the Bengal Chiefs, the framer of the Syllabus appears to have only a hazy idea. He has named Chand Roy but omitted to mention Kedar Roy. Evidently he has no knowledge of the fact that Chand Roy has practically no place in history. He died very early and all the fighting with the Mughals was left to be done by his heroic father Kedar Roy.

The production of historical Readers under this syllabus demands a thorough and up-to-date knowledge of history. These qualifications are therefore much more necessary in the examiners of those Readers. And what are the qualifications of the examiners? Mr. Datta Gupta is a renowned sanskrit scholar and was an eminently succesful teacher of sanskrit. So far as we know, he has neither the requisite knowledge of history—necessary in an examiner of Readers of this class, nor would he probably claim that he has such knowledge. Miss Bose heads the list of the Bengal Educational Service holders in the Woman's Branch; but does that entitle her to be examiner of historical Readers demanding up-to-date knowledge in history? We have not been able to discover the special claims of the remaining gentleman to be considered competent to examine historical Readers. Now look at the manner in which this wonderful committee did their duty.

Sixty-five books were submitted to this committee for examination. Thirteen books were finally approved as a result of recommendations by this committee. The remaining forty-two books were rejected.

The familiar attempt to keep near the limit of fifteen is again in evidence here! Among the books rejected are :

1. Aitihashik Path II. by Prof. Satish Chandra Mitra, Author of the History of Jessore and Khulna.
2. Chotader Itihash by Dr. Surendranath Sen, Prof. Calcutta University.
3. Itihasher Katha by Principal Gurubandhu Bhattacharyya.
4. Aitihashik Kahini. by Babu Nikhilnath Roy, Historian of Pratapaditya.
5. Bharatiya Aitihashik Galpa by Prof. Surendra Kishor Chakravarty, Senior Professor of History, Ananda Mohon College, Mymensing.
6. Itikatha, Part II. by Rai Sahib Rajendralal Acharyya Author of Bangalir Bal.
7. Itihasher Galpa, by Babu Nalini Kanta Bhattasali, Curator, Dacca Museum.
8. Bharat Katha, by Babu Sivratan Mitra.

We present this list to our readers with only this comment that all the three scholars who have works to their credit in reconstructing the history of the struggle of the Bengal Chiefs with the Mughals and are authorities for this period of Bengal history, viz. Messrs. Nikhilnath Roy, Satish Chandra Mitra and Nalini Kanta Bhattasali have been taught lessons for presuming to write historical Readers for Bengali boys!

We have already spent much time and labour on, what, we are afraid, would turn out to be only a wail in the wilderness. We have examined carefully ten of the thirteen Readers approved and we are in a position to state that a majority of them are full of errors. But we refrain for the present from the dirty work of naming the Readers and their authors and pointing the mistakes out. This is reserved for a subsequent article. The mistakes in the Readers for class IV are of a much more tangible character and easier to point out. That Selim was not present in the battle of Haldighat and that the fall of Pratapaditya was not at the hands of Manasimha ought by this time to be known to all students of history. And many of these authors, who have presumed to write historical Readers, are not cognisant of these simple facts. The approval of these Readers shows that their examiners know no better! Facts and figures are ready and will soon be produced.

In order to complete the picture, we give below the personnel of the remaining class Committees.

Classes V-VI

1. Babu Monimohon Ghose, Secretary, Central Co-operative Bank, Rampurhat.
2. Babu Abinash Chandra Majumdar, Translator to the Government of Bengal.
3. Prof. Hemchandra Roy Choudhury.

Poor Roy Choudhury, a really competent scholar, was tagged on to two impossible associates. His judgment was taken to be of the same value as that of the Secretary of the Rampurhat Co-operative Bank! And it is quite possible and likely that the Government Translator is absolutely innocent of history.

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CLASSES VII-VIII.

1. Prof. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee
2. Khan Bahadur Maulabox
3. Prof. Krishnadhan Banerjee

Comment is useless !—

We again affirm that by the thoughtless loosening the central knot, *viz.*, the submission of adequate fees along with a book for examination, the Education Minister has brought down the whole fabric. The publishers and authors who waited on the Education Minister for this purpose, sold their valuable rights for a mess of pottage! *Tadbir* now reigns supreme in place of justice, and fair play. If the D. P. I. is under the delusion that the office of the Text-book Committee is impeccable, his article, let us hope, will be an effective eye-opener. In order to further clarify his vision, we may ask him to prepare a table showing how many books were submitted by which Publishing Firm and how many out of them were finally approved. He will find that some Firms, as if by magic, succeeded in getting nearly all their publications approved, whereas some had to rest content with a bare 10 or 12 percent of approvals! It is possible that the publications of the former were of such superior merit that they all got through without difficulty; whereas some firms were so foolish in their choice of authors and squandered money in publishing such rotten productions, that it was no wonder that most of their books were rejected! But when such marked difference of fortune befell the lot of different publishers, does not the D. P. I. consider that the matter is worth investigating? He may also inquire in this connection, what amount one has to spend in building even a small house in Calcutta.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[*Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.*—Editor, *M. R.*]

ENGLISH

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SULTAN MAHMUD OF GHAZNA: *By Muhammad Nazim, with a Foreword by Sir Thomas Arnold. Pp. XV.+271 with a Map. (Cambridge University Press.) 15s. net.*

At last the world-conqueror of Ghazni has found his historian. Dr. Muhammad Nazim and the Cambridge University alike are to be congratulated on the production of a book which will long remain as far and away the standard authority on this subject. Dr. Nazim had an advantage which no previous writer possessed, namely, access to all the surviving Arabic and Persian works on the Ghaznivide dynasty which are now to be found only in the public libraries of Europe; and it is only fair to add that he has made the fullest use of his opportunities by an exhaustive and critical study of these sources. His first chapter, on the authorities, is as illuminating as it is final. Dr. Nazim has undoubtedly made himself the greatest living authority on the house of Ghazni.

One great merit of this book is that its author realizes, and makes his reader realize, in a greater extent than any previous Indian writer, the cardinal fact that the centre of gravity of Mahmud's empire was outside India, that the interaction between him and the other Powers of the Middle East makes up the real significance of his reign and that his Indian expeditions, in spite of their glamour, were mere diversions,—very profitable diversions no doubt, but still diversions,—in his career. The century-old controversy about the dates and routes of Mahmud's numerous Indian expeditions, in which Dr. James Bird, Elphinstone, Sir H. Elliot and other Orientalists took part, here reaches almost a final settlement. We say *almost*, because the only weak element in Dr. Nazim's thesis is that he has not examined the Sanskrit inscriptions and Hindu coins of the time with the same care, acumen and even patience that he has bestowed on the Arabic texts. He frankly admits on page 16, "It is exclusively on Muslim authorities that the present work has been based." His account of the Hindu Kingdoms of the N.-W. F. and identification of places like Bhatiya require reconsideration. And, on the interpretation of Mahmud's achievement and character opinion will legitimately differ from him without any disparagement to his scholarship as regards facts.

We suggest a few corrections, but in no carping spirit. Page 5, l. 6 for *million* read *millions*. Page 14, the date of composition of Sujan Ray's *Khulasat* was 1694 and not 1675 (See Jadunath Sarkar's *India of Aurangzib*, and also Dr. Nazim's own book p. 197, *n* 1.). P. 15, for *Solankhi* read

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Solanki. The knighthood conferred upon the late Vincent Smith is (to borrow Mark Twain's phrase) "much exaggerated." On p. 17, V. A. Smith's masterly study of Mahmud's Indian campaigns and rectification of the misreadings of Indian names by Arabic writers, published in the *J. R. A. S.*, has been totally ignored and the book is bound to suffer from this cause.

It is very much to be desired that some Indian University would finance Dr. Nazim in editing the literal Persian translation of *Kitabu-l-Yamini* of which the British Museum possesses a MS. (Or. 1888).

J. SARKAR

—

LEAGUE OF NATIONS: TEN YEARS OF WORLD CO-OPERATION; *with a Foreword by Sir Eric Drummond. (Secretariat of the League, Geneva.) pp. xi+467.*

"The aim of the present volume is to present a simple record of the work done by the League during the first ten years of its existence—to set forth briefly and impartially...the progress which has been accomplished, and the methods which have been devised for dealing with the problems that have arisen. It is a statement of facts. It seeks neither to discern the causes of events nor to estimate their effects...It is not even the raw material of history." In spite of the above frank admission of the limitations deliberately imposed upon the book as a quasi-official document, it is a very useful and informing compilation. In view of the interest taken throughout the world in the League of Nations and the hope awakened in far off countries that now at last

"After all the madness, massacre,
Jacobinism and Jaquerie,
Some diviner force to guide us through
the days, we *shall* see,"—

this full and accurate record of the League of Nations' actual achievement and future plans will, we are sure, have a wide circulation. Considering the fact that the League has no "sanction" (in the legal sense) behind its decisions, its record of achievement during its infancy is not one to be ashamed of, though ardent optimists have not had their hopes fulfilled. Still more promising is the work of educating civilized public opinion to which the League has set itself from the outset, for such opinion will be the most effective force behind the League in future. The reader's attention is specially drawn to the chapters on International Justice, Codification of International Law, Social and Humanitarian activities, Health Organization, Intellectual Co-operation, Protection of Minorities and "The League and Public Opinion." A very useful list of the publications of the League is given in an appendix, and another on the principal works relating to the League, which ought to be of service to public speakers and writers.

THE COMMERCIAL POLICY OF THE MOGULS: *By Dr. D. Pant. Pp. X+281, (D. B. Taraporevala.) Rs. 6.*

This book consists of a thesis accepted for the degree of Ph. D. at Dublin. The title is a misnomer, as Lord Meston points out in his foreward: "None of the four great Emperors...had any constructive policy for encouraging the commerce of India." A patient examination of the book will enlighten the Indian reader as to the standard of scholarship and critical power represented by an Irish doctorate. It is a mere compilation made up of extracts from a number of works,—good, bad and indifferent, some representing the latest research and others deservedly obsolete for a century,—without the least discrimination as to their relative value or attempt to criticize their statements. Everything that has been printed is equally Gospel truth in Dr. Pant's eyes. The depth of knowledge of Indian history possessed by the teaching staff of Trinity College, Dublin, is evidenced by the fact that there was none there to tell Dr. Pant that the *History of Hindustan* written by Dow (who died in 1779) is an utterly worthless and unscholarly work (see Sir W. Jones's remark quoted in Pogson's *Boondelas*) and that after the publication of Blochmann and Jarrett's learned translation of *Ain-i-Akbari* and Irvine's masterly edition of Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, no man in his senses ought to go to Gladwin's grossly incorrect antidiluvial version of *Ain-i-Akbari* and Father Catron's pirated and garbled translation of Manucci. Yet this is exactly what the writer of this doctorate thesis has done without the least suspicion that he is going astray. After this, one need not wonder that Dr. Pant cites Nolan's old *rechauffe* on the history of British India with the same veneration as the latest works of Sir W. Foster and Moreland. Pages 116 and 215 will contribute to the hilarity of students: there Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *India of Aurangzib* is entered as three different works under three separate numbers! Again, Malleson's *Akbar* is classed as a "primary source," while Beni Prasad's *Jahangir*, an infinitely superior piece of research, is placed among the "secondary sources." The citation "Political and statistical History of Guzerat by Ali Md. Khan" (p. 115 and elsewhere) is misleading; what the writer means is Dr Bird's English translation of a portion only of Ali Md. Khan's *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*.

From such "crudities hastily gobbled up" (to borrow a phrase of the old traveller Coryat), Dr. Pant makes a natural transition to the most astounding historical deductions, a few of which we quote below:

(6) "The daughters of the [Mughal] king were not allowed to marry.

(7) From the king to the lowest person every one kept a harem.

(8) King a trader. Hence very little private initiative. Trade followed the king

(9) Belief in the Divine Right of the king."

It would be a waste of space to correct these wrong statements. To take one example only, if Dr. Pant had read the authorities he cites, he would have learnt that a daughter of Akbar and two of Aurangzib were given away in marriage.

Misprints are numerous. Orme's name, invariably given as Orme Robert, is an eyesore.

INDIAN ECONOMICS. *Vol. II., by G. B. Jathar and S. G. Beri. pp. xlviii+623. (D. B. Taraporevala, Bombay) Rs. 5-4-0.*

An exceedingly elaborate and rather diffuse compilation on Indian industry, labour, transport,

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tyle (internal and foreign), currency, banking and finance, with copious extracts from blue books and reports. The authors have tried their best to bring the work up to date and have given clear pronouncements on many questions. But we would have liked to see more of *interpretation* of economic facts than *compilation* of statistics which tell nothing to the B. A. student for whom this book is professedly meant. The printing is remarkably clear, in spite of hundreds of misprints.

S.

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EQUALITY: BY *R. H. Tawney. Allen and Unwin Ltd. pp. 303 Price 7-6d.*

"Choose equality and flee greed," was the advice given many years ago by Matthew Arnold, advice which is needed as much to-day as at any time in the past. The question of equality about which Mr. Tawney has written is really the central problem of the present age, and though one may disagree with the author, the argument he advances cannot be neglected. The thesis is simple, namely, that a just and well-ordered society is an equal society, though this does not, of course, mean a society where different men are treated in the same way. The English worship of what Herr Dibelius has described as the "Gentleman-Ideal" has made inequality an object of fetish worship. The respectable cloak of tradition often prevents people realizing how mean and unfair is the unequal distribution of property and how effectively it deprives the majority of people of education, of justice, and of liberty.

The majesty of Mr. Tawney's style and his sustained irony make the book a pleasure to read, though it lacks the constructive inspiration that made *The Acquisitive Society* one of the outstanding books of this century. The book might be compared to a bottle of aereated water, pleasant but containing too much froth, and it would have been no loss had it been published with the other Halley Stewart lectures at 4-6d. To Mr. Tawney the case for democracy and equality seems so obvious, that he appears to expect that once they have been told about it, the powers that be will experience a change of heart. But this entirely disregards the fact that certain people, such as Dean Inge, think that the upper middle class is the salvation of the nation, and history teaches that a ruling class is convinced of its right to rule,—until its fall. To expect the present oligrachy of plutocrats to give up their privileges before they must, is to expect a miracle. To sum up, the book is good in so far as it attacks the pretentious shams of modern civilization, but one is left with the feeling that it should have concluded with the words, "to be continued."

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

—

ANCIENT INDIAN FASTS AND FEASTS: *By Rai A. C. Mukherjee Bahadur, M. A., I. E. S. Macmillan & Co., 1930.*

This little book, neatly got-up and well-printed, contains descriptions of twenty of the more common religious ceremonies observed by the Hindus throughout India, which were originally published in the form of articles in the *Leader* and the *Pioneer*. It is difficult to get correct accounts of the great Hindu festivals in simple language, and all readers—both Indian and non-Indian—will, therefore, be extremely thankful to Mr. Mukherjee for his excellent account. It will also be very useful to students who take up Anthropology in the undergraduate classes of the University.

B. S. GUHA

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PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC FINANCE WITH CHAPTERS ON INDIAN FINANCE: *By J. S. Ponniah, M. A., Rochouse & Sons, Madras, 1930. pp. viii+261.*

In view of the impending constitutional changes, the study of public finance is of great importance in India at the present time. Unfortunately, there are very few suitable books. Mr. Ponniah, therefore, deserves our thanks for this small handbook. It appears, however, to have been written in haste and there are a few careless statements of facts as well as of theory. For instance, on p. 31, the author writes, "fresh taxes were imposed on indigo, cotton and lac in the shape of export duties, and the proceeds are allocated for research in those particular industries." To guard against all misconceptions, these impositions should have been described as cesses. Export duty on indigo was abolished as early as 1880 and there is no export duty on cotton and lac. It is true that cesses are imposed on the last two articles for the promotion of research but cotton cess is levied not only on cotton which is exported but also on indigenous cotton consumed in Indian mills. In any case, it would have been better to omit indigo cess altogether, for it was abolished in 1923.

On p. 34, the author speaks of "heavier preferential rates on Japanese textiles." The Act of 1930 imposed higher import duty on all non-British textiles and not on Japanese goods alone. To avoid any possible confusion in the minds of students for whom the book is intended, the expression should have read "heavier import duties on non-British textiles with a preferential rate on British goods." Again, on p. 35, referring to the Factory Act of 1911, he writes that "the hours for adult workers were limited to 12 daily." He should have made it clear that under this Act, the hours of work of adult male labour in non-textile factories were not directly limited. On the same page he says that another Act "for arbitration on the American model" was "passed in 1923." The reviewer is not acquainted with any such legislation passed in India during that year.

There is to be found the following statement in the next page: "The large majority of the Indian workers are the rural agricultural labourers." There seems to be a confusion here between "agriculturists" and "agricultural labourers," otherwise the reference to tenancy legislation in the next line would be somewhat irrelevant. The writer appears to be somewhat inacurate when he describes the Rent Act of 1859 as conferring "proprietary rights on a tenant who has occupied land for twelve years" (p. 183). It was not so

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much the Act of 1859 as the Act of 1885 with its subsequent amendments that made the Bengal ryot a part proprietor of his land along with the landlord. In a book published in 1930, the export duty on rice should have been stated as 2as. 3p. and not 3 as per maund. (p. 168).

It is a pity that these inaccuracies somewhat impair the usefulness of a book which contains a lucid and concise account of the main principles of public finance.

The reviewer has come across only one mistake in the statement of theory. In discussing the question of incidence of a tax on monopoly, the writer observes that if the tax be a fixed sum, the new price charged by the monopolist "may be the same as the old price before the imposition of the tax or a little more or less." (p. 185). As a matter of fact, the monopolist will charge the same price as before, for, as Marshall has pointed out, "the selling price which afforded the maximum monopoly revenue before the change will afford it afterwards."

J. C. SINHA

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PUBLIC FINANCE AND OUR POVERTY: *By J. C. Kumarappa. Published by Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad, 1930.*

As Mahatma Gandhi puts it in a neat little foreward to this monograph, this book examines the economic policy of the British Government and its effect on the masses of India. Basing his arguments on undisputed facts of history, recorded by eminent British and Indian historians, Prof. Kumarappa proves that the economic distress of the people of India is due mainly to the injurious financial policy followed by the British Government and not through legislature. Until that is put upon a sound footing mere constitutional adjustments can be of no value. To quote Mr. Ramsay MacDonald himself:

"If the Empire would readjust the burdens which it imposes upon Indian finance and if that were done and nothing more, the Indian Government could inaugurate great reforms which would increase Indian wealth."

Professor Kumarappa limits himself to only one part of the economic policy of Government, namely, public finance and prefers to judge more by results than by the professions of Finance Members. On a study of the figures of public expenditure even so late as 1925-26 it is shown that nearly 94 per cent is spent on debts and military and administrative expenses, the bulk of it going out of the country. It is no wonder that the country is reduced to dire poverty when such a policy is continued decade after decade.

Professor Kumarappa is one of our scholars in economics that feel strongly for the poverty of India and he has joined R. C. Dutt, Wacha, Naoroji, Blunt, and Hyndman in condemning British rule as sapping the life-blood out of the nation. We are entirely at one with him in his conclusions. But we find hardly anything new or remarkable about the book. The material used in this essay have been dilated upon in many of our political and economic propaganda work and however handy they may be for working up public feelings they do not inspire the national worker who aims at rebuilding India's industries and trade and to regain for the country her lost place of glory.

Any way, we welcome the book as a "seasonable" publication. The value of the book is enhanced by a copious index.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

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LAW OF EQUITABLE MORTGAGES IN INDIA: *By Narottam Singh Bindra, B.A., LL.B., Advocate. The Student's Popular Depot, Kacheri Road, Lahore. 1931. pp. ii+123. Price Rs. 2.*

This small book is made up principally of a commentary on Sec. 58f of the Transfer of Property Act, and certain other provisions of that Act relating to mortgages. The commentary however is of the type with which members of the legal profession are only too familiar, being a digest of a certain number of reported cases, faithfully and correctly reproduced, with very little indication of a successful attempt to find out the resultant law on complications likely to result out of transactions of the type covered by Sec. 58f. The commentary as such lacks intellectual work of a sturdy type, but the explanatory notes are mostly lucid. There are some well-chosen illustrations, but there is enough room for improvement in the method of presentation. But after all is said, the value of the book as a digest of case-law, Indian, English and American, remains, and that itself will recommend it to junior practitioners. The book also contains certain details of procedure for bankers to follow, in advancing moneys on securities of the type contemplated by Sec. 58f, which may be of assistance to new banks, as the older institutions have excellent forms based on age-long experience; from which there is very little necessity to depart. The book on the whole is an attempt at collecting the law and rules of procedure on a subject on which there are not many treatises. The printing is good. The general get-up is satisfactory.

AMAR PALIT

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POPULATION PROBLEMS OF INDIA: *By B. T. Randive (Longmans, Green & Co.)*

This is a rather disappointing book. The theoretical portion suffers for want of proper appreciation of recent developments in population theory. There is no discussion of optimum population nor of differential fecundity though the author himself recognizes that the modern idea of over population is quite different from the Malthusian conception about it. In the discussion of the relation between population and food supply generalities are indulged in, although the work of Baker in the United States and of Dubey in India serve as a model and illustration of the principal line of investigation on the subject in India. Emigration as relief of over-population has not been discussed at all. The trend of birth and death-rates in India is considered

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but although recent figures are available for the provinces from the Provincial Health Reports, only the census data of 1921 are used as up-to-date figures. There is no attempt even to touch the relation between vitality, mortality and population density, a subject which has been opened up by Professor Raymond Pearl. The book covers a wide ground and fails all the more flagrantly. Thus, for instance, the attempt to deduce the law of diminishing returns in agriculture on the lines followed in the book is open to grave objections. Nor has the treatment of the progress and obstacles of industrialization as a relief of population pressure, has been adequate. This, however, cannot be said of the discussion of the checks of population in India. The history of mortality particularly from the epidemics is both full and interesting.

LIFE AND LABOUR IN A SOUTH GUJARAT VILLAGE: *By G. C. Mukhtyar.*

The above is an excellent intensive survey which is written both systematically and attractively. Certain new features lend the survey an additional interest. There is a health survey, which reveals that the average expectation of life for the village is 26·9 years. Out of every 1000 children born, 185 die on an average within the first year of their birth. The agricultural depression and poverty will be realized from the fact that about 88 p. c. of the cultivated holdings in the village are uneconomic. There is an excellent discussion on the standard of living and it is interesting to note that there is a marked difference discernible between the two broad racial groups who live in South Gujerat. The survey of marketing methods and practices is also interesting. One would hope that the author might continue his research in this field and give us a monograph on the subject of fruit marketing in that area. The agricultural organization of South Gujerat rests on some form of serfdom known locally as the *Hali* system. Like slavery the *Hali* system has also proved both uneconomical and inefficient. Yet it continues offending all sense of fair play and justice. The *Kamioti* system has been abolished by law in Chota Nagpur, but debt bondage is still to be found in the outlying areas beyond the reach of law and civilization. It is strange how this system is permitted to continue even in these days. In Chota Nagpur, in Rewa and some other States in Central India there is seen today a gradual change from debt bondage to free labour and the legal abolition of the *Hali* system will not give a shock to the agricultural organization of South Gujerat as the author fears. The chapter on social customs is rather incomplete. On the whole, the author is to be congratulated for carrying on conscientiously a piece of investigation which has given us an accurate and comprehensive picture of Gujerat peasant life with its toils, hopes and fears.

R. K. M.

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FAMOUS PARSIS: *G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, pp. 488 Rs. 3.*

The lives of fourteen great Parsis have been admirably written. There are many illustrations. We have read J. N. Tata's life with profound interest. Others are equally instructive. Every Indian should read this book.

CRITIC

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FORGERY IN CHRISTIANITY: *A book of 450 pages with full index. Price $ 4. To be had at the Truth Seeker Company, 49 Vesey Street, New York: A documented record of Jewish Christian forgeries, frauds and fakeries. By Dr. Joseph Wheles, the author of "Is It God's Word".*

The author has taken the following famous saying of Pope Leo X as something like a motto: "What profit has not this fable of Christ brought us"? The author has discussed the following subjects in the book: (1) Pagan frauds—Christian precedents; (2) Holy Hebrew forgeries; (3) Christian "Scripture" forgeries; (4) The Fathers—Liars of the Lord; (5) Christian "Gospel" forgeries; (6) The Church forgery-mill and (7) The Triumph of Christianity.

The book lays the following charges at the door of Christianity: (a) That the Bible in its every book, and in the strictest legal and moral sense is a huge forgery; (b) That every book of the New Testament is a forgery of the Christian Church: and every significant passage in those books, on which the fabric of the Church and its principal dogmas are founded, is a further and conscious later forgery, wrought with definite fraudulent intent; (c) Especially and specifically, that the famous Petrine text—"upon this Rock I will build my Church," the corner-stone of the gigantic fabric of imposture;—and the other, "Go and teach all nations"—were never uttered by the Jew Jesus, but are palpable and easily proven late Church forgeries; (d) That the Christian Church, from its inception . . . until it reached the apex of its temporal glory and moral degradation, was a vast and tireless forgery-mill; (e) That the Church was founded upon, and through the Dark Ages of Faith has battened on—(that it yet flourishes decadently upon)—monumental and petty forgeries and pious frauds—for purposes of ecclesiastical graft and aggrandisement through conscious and most unconscionable imposture; (f) That every conceivable form of religious lie, fraud and imposture has ever been the work of Priests—the age-long stock-in-trade and sole means of existence of the priests and ministers of all religions; (g) That the clerical mind, which reasons in chains, is from its vicious and vacuous 'education', and the especial selfish interests of the priestly class, incapable either of the perception or the utterance of truth, in matters where the interests of priestcraft are concerned.

The following deadly arrow has been flung full in the face of the myth of crucifixion and resurrection. Bishop St. Irenaeus in his first mention of the four gospels, violently denounces their account of the early death by crucifixion of Jesus as false and "heresy", and on the authority of the true "oral" gospel directly from St. John the Evangelist, "and all the elders,"

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declares that Jesus lived to be a very old man, even to the time of the Emperor Trajan (98-117), and evidently died of old age in his bed—thus denying the crucifixion and resurrection of the Christ.

The book under review has been dedicated to Henry L. Mencken who appreciatively writes to the author in the following glowing terms: "I have read your book with immense pleasure... It contains a great deal of unfamiliar matter and your presentation of it is tremendously effective. I know of no other book that covers the same ground with anything approaching the same completeness...I have enjoyed it very much".

The informed readers of this review need not be told that most of the subjects dealt with in this book have been, in some cases, more elaborately discussed in the *In Search of Jesus Christ*.

DHIRENDRANATH VEDANTAVAGIS

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THE INDIAN YEAR BOOK AND WHO'S WHO, 1931: *The Times of India Press, Bombay. Price Rs. 7-8. Cloth, gilt letters. Pp. 1090. With a coloured map of India.*

This is a well-known statistical and historical annual of the Indian Empire, "with an explanation of the principal topics of the day." In spite of its defects, no publicist in India can do without this annual. It contains a mass of accurate statistics and other information which can be obtained only with much difficulty from various publications. The "Who's Who" section requires thorough revision and supplementing, and much pruning, too. The index does not show that there are any statistics of literacy given in this book.—The names of Indian celebrities should be properly spelt. On p. 380, Rammohun Roy is referred to as "Mohan Roy." No Indian uses such a mutilated form of his name.

INDIA IN WORLD POLITICS: *By Taraknath Das, Ph. D., Saraswati Library, 9, Ramanath Mazumdar Street, Calcutta. Fourth Edition, Second Indian Edition. Pp. 298, Cloth, Gilt letters, Author's Portrait. Neatly printed on thick antique wove paper. Price Rs. 4.*

Dr. Taraknath Das is one of the small number of Indian publicists who have studied contemporary international politics to good purpose. His book is written in a lucid style which makes it easy reading. It is well documented. It contains the following chapters: (1) India and the growth of the British Empire; (2) Anglo-French Rivalry in India, 1763-1815; (3) Anglo-Russian Relations on the Indian Frontier; (4) Anglo-German Relations and India; (5) Anglo-Turkish Relations and India; (6) The Approaches to India—the Suez Canal; (7) The Approaches to India—the Persian Gulf; (8) The British Policy towards the Persian Gulf and the Berlin-Bagdad Railway; (9) Anglo-Afghan Relations and India; (10) Anglo-Japanese Relations and India (11) Anglo-Chinese Relations as Influenced by India: (12) Anglo-American Relations and India; (13) India and British Militarism; (14) Recent Aspects of Britain's Indian Policy; (15) India a World Power—the Future; (16) Egyptian Independence and India; (17) Arab Independence and India; (18) Persian Independence and India; and (19) British Imperialism in India and the Movement for Indian Independence. There are, besides, three appendices, namely, Anglo-French Discord in the Near East and India, British Labour Government's Opposition to Egyptian Independence, British Efforts to Establish a Protectorate over Persia through an Anglo-Persian Agreement. Agreement between Great Britain and Trans-Jordania signed at Jerusalem on February 28, 1928, and Condition of Indian Workers under British Rule.

There is an ably and frankly written introduction by Mr. Robert Morss Lovett, one of the editors of the *New Republic* of New York.

No Indian nationalist can afford to be ignorant of the contents of this book.

R. C.

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HINDI

RAJPUTANA KA ITIHAS. TISRA KHAND: *By Mahamahopadhyaya Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha. Pp. 737-1136, with 8 illustrations. (Vaidik Press, Ajmer) Rs. 6.*

With the present part (covering the history of the Udaypur State from 1576 to 1881), a great work reaches half its completion. That half, though most important and interesting to the reader, is, however, not the more difficult or unknown half of the annals of Rajasthan. Mahamahopadhyaya G. H. Ojha has thus far nearly completed the history of Mewar. But Tod had lavished all his care and space on the Sisodias and his account of Mewar is by far the longest and fullest of all States in his book, while the other Rajput principalities have been treated by him too briefly and with the scantiest materials. This is particularly the defect of his annals of Amber. The Kachhwah clan excited his antipathy while the Sisodias roused his love and enthusiasm,—just as Sir Walter Scott gave his love to the "Conquering Grœme" and his aversion to the Campbell clan.

I have heard a tradition at Jaipur that as the Jaipur darbar had refused Tod's request to be supplied with the raw materials of its history, the disappointed historian had taken his revenge by running down the former princes of that house. Whatever the reason may have been, the fact remains that Tod's history of Amber (and in a lesser degree that of Marwar, too,) is the most unsatisfactory and meagre portion of his book and requires to be fully expanded, or rather entirely re-written. In the case of Udaypur, correction that would bring Tod's chapters abreast of modern knowledge is no doubt necessary, but not expansion or the filling up of gaps even half the extent that his annals of Jaipur or Marwar are clamouring for. There is nobody who is a quarter as competent as Rai Bahadur Ojha for doing it. It is now thirty years since I first met him at Udaypur, and we discussed the urgency of replacing Tod's

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Rajasthan by a modern accurate history; and to-day I ask myself in trembling solicitude, "Will the veteran Pandit live to accomplish this task?"

The present part covers the most glorious and best known period of Mewar history, namely, from the accession of the great Pratap to near the end of the 19th century. The field of Haldighat, which in the eye of every Indian is radiant with

"The light that never was on
land or sea,
The consecration and the
patriot's dream,"

is here in a photograph. (But the portrait of Pratap himself is a modern guess-work.) Raj Singh, a worthy heir of Pratap, is here too, and the tragic figure of the Indian Iphigenia, Krishna Kumari. In many a European country such a volume would have sold like the latest popular novel. Let us see how Hindi India treats this masterpiece.

To put it briefly, Ojha's work entirely replaces Tod's legend-based annals by the full and critical use of inscriptions, Sanskrit works, bardic chronicles, Persian histories as far as available in Hindi or English translations, and the various records brought to light in Kaviraj Shyamaldas's *Viravinod*. Its only weak point, so far as I can see, is the author's lack of acquaintance with the contemporary *Persian* histories, memoirs, letters, and news-bulletins which are yet untranslated and mostly in manuscript, and the *Marathi* records (very late 18th century) printed by Parasnis. A detailed comparison of the chapters on the Rajput wars in Aurangzib's reign given in my *History of Aurangzib*, volume, III (1679-1681) and volume V (1681-1707), with Ojha's treatment of the corresponding incidents will make this point clear. Many of the objections in his note on p. 863 will disappear if he consults the critical remarks and correct reading of the proper names in "the letter of protest against the "*Jaziya*" given in the third editions of my *Shivaji* and *Aurangzib*, vol. 3. Note 3 on page 849, is incorrect if it is intended to mean a general usage. (See Irvine's *Army of the Indian Moghuls*.) But these are exceedingly minor points, which cannot detract from the greatness of Ojha's work. When will it be translated into English and placed before the entire world?

We must, however, protest against the blindness of the Press that is bringing out this monumental work. Can any sensible person expect us to bind 1400 thick pages of super royal size in one volume! If not, why is the Vaidik Press printing such a large book in fasciculi that run into one another, without any facility for division into separate volumes? Each fasciculus contains about 400 pages and yet has no distinct beginning, no title page, no list of contents. No fasciculus even ends with the end of a chapter! As if to tantalize the reader, this third part begins with the third page of the history of Pratap Singh, so that the reader is bound to go to the end of the second part; but he cannot tear out this leaf and bind it with fasc. 3, because some spirit of mischief suggested to the Press to carry over a line and a half of Uday Singh's history to the top of the page on which the chapter on Pratap begins! Can absurdity go any further?

J. SARKAR

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KUMUDINI: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Translated by Dhanyakumar Jain. Published by the "Vishal Bharat" Pustakulaya, 120-2 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, pp. 384. Price Rs. 3.*

The book under notice is the Hindi translation of one of the recently published Bengali novels of Tagore, *Yogayoga*. We need not speak much about the superb charm and consummate skill of the original. The position of woman in society may be said to be its central point. The psychological developement of the cultured heroine set against the rough and boorish character of the *nouveau riche* hero has been brought out with insight and power that the author commands. As regards the Hindi translation we may at once say that we have never seen any Hindi rendering of a notable Bengali fiction so beautifully done and done with equal justice to the original. This has been possible because Mr. Jain possesses not only a sound knowlege of Bengali, but has the sense of its life and beauty. On the other hand, his Hindi is irreproachable, though it is not puritanic, and is almost adequate to bring home to the Hindi-speaking public the soft or sharp touches of Tagore. We congratulate Mr. Jain on this successful attempt.

RAMES BASU

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BHARATIYA RASHTRA-DHVAJA: *By Dr. N. S. Hardikar. Translated by B. G. Janglekar. Published by L. S. Hardikar, 753, Sadasiv Peth, Poona. Pp. iv+36+viii. Price as, 2. 1931.*

This little book deals with all that is to be known and done in connection with the National Flag of India. It is a timely publication. Dr. Hardikar has discussed the topic in a nutshell. The appendix gives three songs, one being the celebrated "jhanda uncha rahe hamara." There are some pictures of the different postures. A big chart shows the arrangement on the occasion of flag hoisting.

R. B.

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BENGALI

CHALANTIKA (A DICTIONARY OF CURRENT BENGALI): *Mr. Rajsekhar Bose. Published by Messrs M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 15, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. VI+644. Price Re. 2-12 as.*

Those who had noticed the ingenious Bengali names of the products of the Bengal Chemical & Pharmaceutical Works and the names the characters in the bright humorous sketches of Mr. Bose, must have suspected that he was an adept in the art of word building. We hasten to congratulate

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him on his decision to bring out this immensely useful dictionary of current Bengali. This is easily the best and the most trustworthy dictionary for the purpose of ready reference which can be comfortably handled. More than 26,000 words are here compiled, but that is only the least of its merits. Those who have utilised this book and have compared it with other lexicons of far bigger size must have found that the proportion of really Bengali words to those of Sanskritic origin is greater here. It is because of this that big Bengali (?) dictionaries were destined to be failures. Yet few Sanskrit words which should find a place in Bengali dictionary have been excluded. The want of such a book was long and grievously felt by both Bengalis and non-Bengalis. Meant as it is for the general public, the compiler was judicious enough not to make it unduly cumbersome. Those who are not Bengalis will specially appriciate the English equivalents. The source-languages of many words now used in Bengali, but altered in the process of pronunciation, have been indicated. The different forms of the same word have been given. The colloquial forms have been noted, idioms and phrases have been indicated. The ten appendices are indispensable for the correct understanding of Bengali grammer and the technical words of the various sciences. It is for the first time that the formidable number of Bengali verbs have been grouped under 20 classes for the convenience of declension. We only hope that this important work will grow from edition to edition. Finally, we are not one with Mr. Bose in including 'pandal (Eng. pandal), 'paupar' (Eng) pauper) and such other words in a Bengali dictionary. We should like to see similar dictionaries of other Indian languages.

RAMES BASU

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MARATHI

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA DAFTAR (GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS, BOMBAY.) *No. 7. Early Activities of Shahu and Balaji Vishvanath, 1707-1720, pp. 34, one map and one plate. Eight annas No. 8. Shahu in his Private Life, 50 pages and one plate. Nine annas No. 9. Bajirao and his Family. 1720-1740. Pp. 56 and one plate. Ten annas.*

The first of these throws light on the least known period of Maratha history in the 18th century and disperses many legends and traditions that have hitherto passed for history. On the whole, the interest of these three parts is personal rather than strictly historical, but they enable us to visualize many great actors of early Maratha history. One incident has greatly amused us. Orthodox Chitpavan Brahmans must shut their eyes and stop up their ears—and afterwards take a purifying bath in the Ganga Godavari—when they are told (No. 9, letter No. 30) that the great Peshwa Baji Rao I called for a dish of fowl and also drank wine (No. 31). It was as horrible as if the Chief Rabbi had dined of a plate of roast pig! These three parts keep up the high standard of editing and printing which we owe to the enlightened liberality of the Bombay Government.

J. S.

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PERSIAN

MIRAT-i-AHMADI, SUPPLEMENT, PERSIAN TEXT, ED.: *By Sayyid Nawab Ali. M. A. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Baroda.) Pp. 254+12. Rupees 5*

With this volume the most important history of Gujrat in the middle ages is completed and scholars will be deeply thankful to H. H. the Gaekwad for placing before them this excellent reprint of the work which will enable them to throw away the horrible lithographed edition. The third part of the Supplement (*Takmila*) is in one sense even more important than the preceding two parts which merely give a political narrative enriched with *farmans* and letters of first rate authenticity. Here we have an account of the topography and hagiology of the province, and what is of still greater importance, a detailed description of the official system of a Mughal province. But why is no distinction made between *kaf* and *gaf* in printing?

An incorrect and abridged English translation of this supplement was issued in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series in 1924 and reviewed in this paper. It was subsequently replaced by a better translation in 1928.

J. S.

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Youth On City Pavements

By WALTER BROOKS FOLEY

"I will tell thee of the knowledge and ernment which if thou possessest there ll remain naught else to know."

BHAGAVADGITA

HE Bhagavad-Gita was intended and has been used for nearly two thousand years as a manual which the farmer, e soldier, the shopkeeper, and the Brahmin ight read day by day while pursuing eir ordinary avocations. Millions of people India have heard it, read it, taught it and llowed its precepts. No other book among l the Hindu scriptures has the power mong the educated classes of India as at possessed by the Gita—the Song Celestial.

Those young men and women of India ho go to the cities of this land do so r the sake of an education, largely. hey want to know. Their search after acts is deep and high and broad. The raditions of the past hang heavily upon hem, and it is a great effort for them to et out steadfastly on a road of elimination nd reconstruction. To select the best from history of thousands of years and try to ake history's best assimilate with the inest results of modern centuries is a ask that partakes of the impossible. Yet it is being accepted with a welcome by he youth of India.

It is not to be supposed that the young eople of India who take an active part n the increasing migration from village o city go entirely for the purpose of ncreasing their knowledge. This is no more true than it is in the United States. They have a desire to find methods of earning more money, and they believe that in the securing of a college degree they may find an "Open, Sesame" for the door of economic advancement. Yet after they reach the city they find themselves swung out forcibly into a stream of world events which requires a wisdom of discernment that must be acquired with a great deal of rapidity.

A day or two ago, I sat with an Indian gentleman who must be listed with the 'older generation'. He bemoaned the fact in a wide variety of terms that "the college students in the cities were being ruined". After close questioning I discovered that he meant that because these young people were increasingly interested in the political present and future of their country they were being "ruined". In other words, he wished the the college students of India to reserve their interest in the political and economic situation of India for the period after they had graduated from college and university. He held to the illogical thesis that a new nation would be formed by men and women after they had passed through their own formative periods of life.

For the first time in the history of this great country youth is taking its place in the forefront of progress. This is partly true because of the knowledge that is being accumulated rapidly by the youth in the cities. For in the cities the trends of growing life are most quickly discernible. What happens in one country is rapidly distributed to all the cities of the earth. At the most, a few hours after an important event in the United States the youth of India is passing it on in letters and conversation that go out from the city centres. With this influx of new approaches it is impossible to place as much stress on the uniqueness of value in their own culture as formerly. This boils down to the fact that the future of India will be moulded by youth and not by age. For the present there is no ancient worship, either in religion or politics, among the Indian young people who walk the pavements of our Indian cities.

Worship is displaced by a hesitant approach through new scientific methods to problems new as well as old. Nothing can sweep aside the cobwebs of dust-laden traditions as well as the present clear-eyed appraisal of what is and what ought to be. Age is fast losing its power as a fetish to

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hold back the half-understanding curiosity of youth. At the 1930 session of the Indian National Congress, youth commanded the stage, even while it still accepted advice from the older leadership.

But all is not well with the youth in the Indian cities. Most of these cities contain colleges and universities where a smattering of Western education is taught. Some of the students go to these colleges because they are "degree factories." They have the erroneous impression that a degree covers a multitude of sins—both of omission and commission. They have yet to discover that intelligence is not rated by the number, of grade, of college degrees. Not yet have they become entirely aware of the necessity of applying ordinary human common sense to everyday tasks rather than attempting to wave a wand made of degrees over a difficult situation. Because of this failure the position of many students is tragic. They find themselves with degrees but no qualifications for vital and essential service. Hundreds of college students in Calcutta alone find employment at salaries of only ten or fifteen dollars a month.

Of course it is obvious that the fault does not lie altogether with the students. The failure of the system of education must also be taken into account. It superficially prepares for clerkships and not for life. Because of its undue emphasis on memory and absorption in printed materials rather than the training of individual intelligence and the results to be obtained from co-operative enterprise, the educational system tends to prevent rather than to promote true education.

Yet youth in college in the cities has opportunities for character building under new world influences that are not as yet open to youth in the villages. For the materials are at hand to be grasped by the enterprising young man or woman. Those who are thoughtful and interested in the in the development of their country are taking advantage of the opportunities presented. It has been my privilege to have dealings with young Indians who have discovered the only methods that will serve vitally in the hard work of re-making India. They are devoting themselves to an accumulation of the facts that are playing a large part in the production of our modern civilization. They take every opportunity to discover what the youth of America, Europe, China and Japan is thinking. They accept criticism of their own country—its religions, its traditions, its past. They apply the critical method to customs and ideas that come from other lands. While they are glad to cast away what is worthless they are not willing to accept the new without a careful use of their reasoning powers.

Even in the field of religion, where are to be found all the elements of purely Indian civilization, there is a distinct disinclination on the part of the young people to accept and carry out traditional practices without first rigidly applying scientific reason to the customs and ideas in question. A recent article in a Youth periodical illustrates what is going on in the minds of Indian young men and women. "If the present-day civilization threatens Hinduism with destruction, what does it matter to those who are denied any privilege in the same religion? It has become the fashion of orthodox Brahmins to raise the cry of 'religion in danger' whenever any attempt is made by other castes to introduce reforms in society; and our people also quite unwittingly join the chorus without knowing that they are bringing down ruin upon themselves. . . . When it is a question of all people using temples, tanks, roads and other public resorts, or stopping all rites and ceremonials, or doing away with the caste system, then 'religion is certainly in danger.' But on the other hand if it is a matter of the Brahmins sailing to foreign lands or learning a foreign tongue, or sending girls to schools and colleges, or serving under a 'heathen foreigner' then there is no danger for religion. It is only the fashion of the times."

"We are pained to see that our people do not realize their situation. The 'salt of the earth' (priestly caste of Brahmins) is notorious for its mud-slinging practices, and it has a glorious record behind it of having destroyed Buddhism in the land of its birth. It has a brilliant record of hypocrisy in having defeated the attemps of many social reformers to introduce changes in religion and society. . . . If India still allow itself to be carried away by the qualities of orthodoxy there is not salvation in the near future."

A speaker recently declared when addressing a visitor to his section of India:

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You ask us to work for a united India all love and sympathy. Everyday ccurence tells us that it is impossible so ng as the warring castes and creeds ntinue, and it is because of our endeavour reach our ideal of a united India that we wish to destroy caste." The thronging youth of the Indian cities is trying to meet the terrific challenge of ancient and modern civilizations in interlocked collision in the great land of India.

The National Flag

By Prof. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M. A., D. LITT.

At the last session of the Congress it was decided to go into the question of the National Flag. It was a good thing that this decision was finally arrived at. A flag stands as a symbol of something : and a National Flag is the symbol of our national ideals and aspirations, of our hopes and achievements as a people. It is a beacon light showing the people the path to sacrifice, often to the supreme sacrifice. Consequently it is not to be treated lightly as something which need not have any special or deep significance. The Flag Committee of the Congress fortunately realises the importance of question and their responsibility in the matter. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the Convener of the Committee has issued a questionnaire inviting opinions from different Congress and other organisations as well as from individuals.

* * *

There is no ancient flag or banner whether of Hindu or Muhammadan times, which we can think of for adoption as the flag of our country as a whole. Imperial or local princely houses had their standards —e. g. the Garuda Standard of the Imperial Guptas. But even when nearly the whole of India was united under the Mauryas in the 3rd century B. C. and the Moguls in the 17th century A. C. no *national* flag or crest seems to have been thought of. India was never physically ss a *nation militante*, and so there was no need for a national symbol to rally round, in opposition to other nations. Besides, the political unity of India that we are now conscious of is an entirely new thing. But underlying this new sense of political unity is the unseen foundation of a sense of cultural and geographical unity which is age-old in our history, and which transcends all diversities and oppositions of race, language, and creed.

* * *

If we set about trying to find a National Flag for India, what should be in the first instance, the right attitude to take up? If we aim at having a united Indian nation—or federation of Indian nationalities,—we must not, as the most solemn article of our political creed, countenance anything that will help to perpetuate cleavages in the community. *We must not think in terms of different communities, whatever be their language or religion or geographical situation.* We cannot, therefore, think of quartering our National Flag to perpetuate a sense of communal distinctness among our people. Any explanation of the colours in our National Flag as symbolising Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians and other communities we should regard as pernicious and anti-national.

The colours in a national flag for a country like India, which has been the most remarkable meeting-ground of peoples, should thus represent ideas and aspirations which are of universal significance and which have no merely accidental connexion with this or that section's past—a past which is sought to be employed for communal or national chauvinism. If any particular community finds a secret pleasure in thinking of a certain colour or symbol which has been adopted in the National Flag as being specially connected with its own little or big world within the bigger world of India, either spiritually or historically, it does not matter,

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so long as that is not forced upon the national interpretation and so long as other communities also find it appropriate, from a national, supra-communal stand-point.

Let us now see how far the National Flag in use satisfies the above and other considerations,

* * *

In the case of the national flag and crest we have, like many national anthems, an accidental beginning or an arrival or promulgation at the psychological moment. The official British flag for India (the Union Jack with a star with an English motto "Heaven's Light Our Guide") could have no appeal, and the need for a flag was felt by the nationalists. There were many tentative essays at flag-making: a green field with five white lotuses in a row here, a white lotus in a red field there, an outline map of India on a blue background at some other place. More than twenty years ago the late Sister Nivedita suggested in an article in the *Modern Review* a design for the National Flag in which the Thunder-bolt and the Lotus were included to symbolise the spiritual aspirations of India. Green and Red were probably first hoisted as the national colours for India by Mrs. Annie Besant and Mr. Wadia in the year 1917. Green then stood for Life and Hope, and Red for Blood and Sacrifice. In 1921-22 the White was added to the Red and Green, and with the political atmosphere being surcharged with the spirit of Khilafatism and communal compartmentalism, the communal interpretation of the colours came into being—Green was made to represent the Mohammadans, Red the Hindus, and the neutral White all the lesser communities.

* * *

Objections were put forward to these colours from time to time, but a general loyalty to Mahatmaji and to the Congress and the intensity of the political struggle did not allow any serious opinion to crystallise. Sanskrit scholars at the All-India Sanskrit Conference held at Calcutta in 1924 mildly talked of including Saffron or Ochre and the mace of Vishnu as Hindu symbols in the flag. On the eve of the Belgaum session of the Congress in 1924 a letter was sent from Rabindranath's institution at Santi-niketan, signed, among others, by the late Dwijendra Nath Tagore and C. F. Andrews, requesting Mahatmaji to consider the advisability of including the *gairika* (saffron red ochre colour) in the National Flag. It typified the spirit of renunciation, and was a colour which symbolised an ideal common to the Yogi and Sannyasi as well as to the Fakir and Darwesh. (See in this connexion the *Modern Review* for November 1930) Recently the Sikhs brought the question to a head by making a firm demand that the Sikh colour which is equally saffron should have a place in the National Flag.

* * *

Let us see what objections can be urged against the present Red, White and Green National Flag.

In the first instance these three colours, and these three only, already figure in the flags of at least four different countries—Persia and Italy, and Bulgaria and Mexico. The dispositions of the colours are different, but Bulgaria has an identical arrangement with the present Indian Flag. We do not know what these three colours symbolise for the peoples of the above countries. But why not let India have something distinctive, something in the way of colour which one can specially connect with her and her ideals? Moreover, the communal symbolism suggested for the colours in our Flag is to be objected to, and further objection can be made for both the Red and the White even on these communal grounds.

We should (at least in the authoritative Congress explanation of the device) expunge all communal connotations, and further substitute some new colour-scheme consisting of three or more colours (cf. China, which has five horizontal bars of red, yellow, blue, white and black). We can retain three, falling in a line with most countries: our tricolour will then be described, in our democratic language, as the *Hindustan-ka Tiranga Jhanda*. Or, we can have four colours: we shall then call our Flag the *Chauranga*, which by itself, like the French tricolour, suffice to indicate the National Flag. *Four* is a number we are fond of in India. It is the basis of computation in our monetary system, in our weights and measures, and in our game of chess (*Chaturanga i.e.* the four wings of the army, Arabicised & Persianised into *shatranj*), a great gift of India to the world. So four colours would be quite distinctive of India if included in the Indian Flag.

* * *

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What should these three colours, or four, be? What should they represent? A symbol, when it once has obtained a vogue, should not be disturbed, for two reasons. It has to be seen whether there is anything really objectionable against a symbol as such—if there is none, then there is no point in trying to improve upon it. Then, we must not disturb a state of things which is crystallising as something very necessary in our national life and consciousness. Now, for the last ten years the present National Flag is being used throughout the length and breadth of this country. And these last ten years have witnessed, under the shadow of this banner, a wonderful transformation of our Indian people. We should not consequently bring in any violent or revolutionary change in our National Flag; we should, if some change is thought necessary, bring in the minimum amount of alteration required under the circumstances.

* * *

I wish to reiterate once again that communal explanation or allocation of colours, like communal electorates should, be taboo—we should keep away from this poison as much as possible. We can easily revert to the original explanation of these Colours as Symbols of Ideas—the explanation of which is also universal. Green and Red should both be retained. Green, the colour of vegetation, is the colour of life and growth, and this symbolism is current among all nations of the earth. As a people, above all we want to live, and we can very well have the symbol of Life in our national emblem. Green is also the colour of Hope, and we live largely in hope. As we want to live we want to strive—we want to fulfil a purpose in our existence. Life for us should be something more than mere existence. It is a quest—it is a kind of ardour which would rise superior to all oppositions, material, moral and spiritual, in our realisation of the Ideal. Life is indeed *Passion*, taking the neutral sense of the word—the passion which throbs in our breast and which tingles in the life-blood in us. Red is the colour of this quality in our life: call it Passion or Suffering, call it Exultation or Triumph, call it Sacrifice that is necessary for both. Red, the colour of blood, is the most appropriate colour for this Passion—this *Raga*, and this sacrifice—which the blood crushed out of the victim's existence enables us to visualise most forcefully. Green and Red, therefore, both are appropriate: they are the symbols of life which is a perpetual striving and sacrifice: not petty symbols of a community or a minority, eagerly jostling with others for a place in the sun.

* * *

What should the third colour be, if we elect to retain three colours? Should the White, too, be retained? I think here practical considerations in the first instance should make us pause before we can finally accept the White. White is a good colour, it is a universal symbol of Purity. But it is likewise a colour which we associate in India with Mourning. But weightier than this is the fact that White already occurs with Red and Green in the flags of three other countries enumerated before. And everywhere White does not connote purity. In the French tricolour, White is retained as the monarchist colour—the colour of the Bourbon house. This practical consideration should make us think of some other better (or at least equally suitable) colour. And it will be an additional point in favour of that colour if we can connect it in a special manner with our country.

* * *

It seems that the idea of Renunciation and Harmlessness—of *Vairagya* and *Ahimsa*—form the keynote of Indian life, whether Hindu or Muhammadan or Christian. This is the ideal which would send the king in his old age to the forest hermitage in Hindu India: this same Ideal of Renunciation made Lord Buddha don the saffron garb of the ascetic; and behind the magnificence of the Mogul court it was this ideal, again, which dominated the eclectic Akbar, and the austere Aurangzeb whose single-minded devotion to the creed in which he was born soared up in the firmament of his career with the unbroken sweep of a tall mosque minaret. An Indian is never in so great love with life and its possessions as to think highly of a death in harness in his old age: life has far deeper and more mysterious meaning for him than piling up the goods of the world, or going on building something and yet starving his soul. He would rather be a mendicant in the shrine of of his own faith and pious contemplation, guiding and helping his followers and yet feeling detached from them. That is why the faith in the unseen world and preparation for it which Islam teaches with such insistence found a congenial soil in India, more than

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perhaps in any other land where Islam penetrated. And the Indian always associated with this spirit of detachment and of *Ahimsa* the reddish or orange brown colour of the garments worn by the wanderer. The *geru* or *gairika*—the Red Ochre or Saffron colour worn by the Indian *Sannyasi* brings to our mind most forcibly the picture of this great ideal of Detachment and Harmlessness. This Saffron colour also is the colour of discipline in life, physically or morally and spiritually, for it is the colour enjoyed upon the *Brahmachari*. A modification of this Saffron colour is the yellowish brown—the *Kasava* or *Kashaya*—of Buddhism, where it is the great symbol of the Buddhist brotherhood with its ideal of *Ahimsa*. This colour is of the Earth—it is a kind of *khaki*, for the red ochre is a pigment which is a gift of Mother Earth. This red brown tint of the earth has also been accepted by Islam in India, for Muhammadan *Fakirs* with robes dyed in *geru* are as much the wanderers over the highways of India as are their brothers in the quest, the Hindu *Sadhus*. It does not require much imagination or sense of the fitness of things to feel that in India's National Flag her great message of *Brahmacharya*, *Ahimsa* and *Vairagya* should be symbolised by a colour which has been associated by her people with these ideals from time immemorial.

* * *

Red, Green, and Ochre or Saffron would thus be a distinctive colour scheme for India. These should in all cases be of homespun—whether cotton or silk. There would then be less chance of confusing our national colours with other nations like Persia and Italy, Mexico and Bulgaria. The disposition of these colours should be vertical rather than horizontal, preferably with Red near the staff, Ochre or Saffron at the outer edge, and Green in the middle.

A vertical arrangement is suggested because the oblong vertical blocks give an idea of robustness and strength which the supine horizontal blocks, one lying above another, fail to do. Any one would be convinced of that by contemplating the pictures of the flags of the different nations side by side.

The idea of having *four* colours may also be considered. In that case, the retention of the neutral White addition of the Saffron may be advocated. We shall have a representation of the Ideal of Purity as well. Here again the White might figure for better effect after the Red.

* * *

The colours as representing ideals or sentiments of universal appeal and yet with a special Indian touch in the Ochre or Saffron can be symbols of manifold power and significance, and can have more meanings and more kinds of appeal to communities or individuals within the state. If the Musalman thinks of the great brotherhood of Islam, when he contemplates the Green in this Flag and if he finds pleasure in thinking that his creed with its insistence upon the Unity of Godhead is represented with its traditional colour-symbol in his National Flag, other communities will also rejoice with him and appreciate his special affection for the ideals of the demacratic faith of Islam. If the Christian sees in the Red the blood of his Lord, which, by His supreme act of sacrifice, helps to make men cleaner and whiter, we shall be equally happy that such a noble ideal should also be thought to have a place in our national emblem. And if the Hindu, whether Sanatani or Brahmo or Arya Samaji, or Buddhist or Jain or Sikh reveres the National Flag with greater awe as containing the symbol of *Vairagya* and *Ahimsa*, every true Musalman and Christian will be equally glad for it. And if four colours are decided upon, and the White is retained, those who love the Ideal of Purity which is present through all faiths—and sometimes transcends them, it may be—will have as citizens of India an equal cause for rejoicing. Thus the Hindus of Bali in Indonesia pleas themselves by regarding the Red white and Blue banner of Holland as representing respectively Brahma Siva and Vishnu;—and the Dutch to feel pleased at the idea.

* * * *

Should we have any device on the Flag—Red, Green and Ochre, (or Red, White, Green and Ochre)? Most countries have a device, in addition to the national colours: *e. g.* Ireland has the Shamrock and the Harp, Mexico the Cactus Plant with an Eagle carrying a Snake, England the Rose, the Soviet Union the Hammer and Sickle, etc. The *Charkha* or Spinning Wheel has been in use, with our National Flag, being painted in black on its body. It represents India's desire for the simple life, and her will to combat poverty with the wholesome remedy of her cottage industries. But the *khaddar* cloth itself as the

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product of the *charkha* amply indicates this ideal. The Spinning Wheel as a device on a flag is cumbrous. We do not want to have a sword or a thunderbolt, or some plant or animal figure,—that will not be acceptable to all. But simplifying the *Charkha*, we might have a Simple Wheel.

* * *

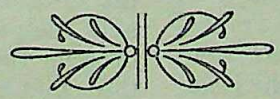
A simple wheel is the most eloquent of symbols. It represents Eternity ; it represents Time ; it stands for Progress ; it figures the Universe. We can put any great idea or meaning to it, and it will not be vulgar. In Persian, the word for wheel, *Charkh*, signifies also the celestial globe, the sphere of the heavens, circular motion, and fortune. The ancient Indian use of this symbol is as varied as it is profound. We can have symbol of Eternity as something mystic behind existence as an embellishment of our National Flag. Besides, this symbol can further be employed, in a most appropriate manner to indicate one great fact in our national life in a United States of India—our federalism which in principle has been accepted for the future constitution of our country. The Wheel can be made to represent our India as a Federal Union : and we can then take the spokes to stand for the constituent members of the Federation—the various Provinces and States. The American National Flag has a similar device—in its flag of stars and stripes the forty-eight white stars in the blue field indicate the forty-eight Members of the Federation of the United States of America. But it is not necessary to make the number of the Members of the Federation and the spokes of the Wheel agree. We need not press the comparison too far : the idea of the individual spokes forming the wheel should be enough, and we can have a wheel of the minimum number of spokes—three, or better four—for the Flag : for we should remember the question of making the flag, and so avoid complications. If the Wheel idea is thought worthy of consideration, a three or four-spoked wheel in yellow or black —either of the colours will go best with the Red and Green—can be suggested, to find a place in either the Red or the Green field of the Flag.

* * *

It has been suggested by some that it will be appropriate to have a spread-out Lotus, in White, with four or eight petals, in place of the Wheel. The Lotus will be certainly poetic, and no one can take exception to this great symbol of India. But would it not be a little too weak, when compared with the Wheel ? Then, a simple Wheel with four spokes will be easier to affix on the Flag than the more elaborate Lotus : we shall have to consider the practical side of the question too—the National Flag will have to be made in hundreds and thousands. But the Lotus will be quite welcome, as a beautiful symbol from Nature, and the idea of Federation is exquisitely indicated by its petals. It will be quite striking when in a suitable simple and conventional form.

* * * *

The above suggestions are offered for what they are worth. The present writer has discussed the matter with some of the best intellects of the Country, in Bengal and outside Bengal : and the idea of vertical bands of Red Green and Ochre or Saffron, with the three or four-spoked Yellow Wheel or the Four or Eight Petalled White Lotus in the right Red or central Green field, seemed to satisfy most people, It is now presented before the public, and before the Flag Committee appointed by the Indian National Congress : and it is done with the fervent wish and prayer that out of the endeavours of the Committee and with the co-operation and approval of the people a National Flag and a Crest be finally evolved for India which will be in perfect accordance with her great and composite culture, her noblest ideals and achievements, and her high destiny in the future.



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North and South in Indo-Muslim Culture

By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR

IT is little known, except to serious students of our country's history, that Muslim civilization in India developed in two independent centres, Delhi and the Deccan, and on two broadly different lines. This difference was due to race, creed and language no less than to geography and history. If a rough generalization is permissible, we can say that the dominant ethnic element in Northern India in the Muslim age was the Turks, in administration and war alike, with valuable assistance from the Persians in the civil business (and occasionally in warfare also), while the India-born Muhammadans (*Hindustan-zais*) were nowhere, and the Abyssinians were mere slaves, rising at the best no higher than the Prefect-ship of the city police. The one form of Islam here was Sunnism, the sprinkling of Shias being compelled (except in a few localities of their own) to hide their faith (by *takia*) unless the country had a strong and liberal ruler like Akbar or Shah Jahan. In North India the language of culture continued to be Persian almost to the end, while Urdu was a despised tongue, not generally accepted by polished society for literary purposes till a century and a half after its triumph in the Deccan, *i. e.*, after 1720, when the downfall of the Mughal empire had already begun.

In the Deccan, on the other hand, when the early years of the local sultanates were over, Abyssinians and Persians rose to supreme places in the State, with the country-born Muhammadans forming a good third. The flow of Turkish recruits from the cradle-land of Central Asia was cut off from the Deccan by the establishment of a Chaghtai-Turki empire at Delhi in 1526, the occupation of Afghanistan by the owner of Delhi, and probably also by the wide spread of Shiaism in the Deccan. But, as if to compensate for this loss, increasing numbers of spirited and adventurous Afghans were pushed into the Deccan by the loss of the Delhi throne by their kinsfolk, the Lodis and the Surs. The Deccan became so welcome a refuge for Afghans that here, in the seventeenth century, their armed bands often turned the scale in dynastic contests and their generals rose to be provincial rulers. The Abyssinian emigrants here gained opportunities unequalled elsewhere for displaying their rare capacity for sea-faring, land warfare, management of men, and civil administration. They were no longer household slaves and palace eunuchs as in the North, but regents of kingdoms, generalissimos of armies, admirals of fleets, viceroys of provinces. The Deccani Muslims, some of them converts from the bravest and brainiest Marathas and Kanarese, rose to eminence in war and diplomacy, finance and government alike and exercised no small weight in shaping the policy of the Court and in conducting war.

In the South, the Muslim population was like a drop in the ocean of the surrounding Hindu millions. Hence, the isolation between the conquerors and the conquered which was jealously maintained by the more numerous Muslim body of Northern India from the earliest times, broke down in the Deccan from the stress of circumstances. Hindus rose to high offices in war and diplomacy, revenue and local government, from the days of the Bahmani empire. Hindu influence permeated the Deccani sultanates long before Akbar's liberal synthesis of the two cultures in Northern India began to bear fruit in the golden age of Shah Jahan. And the local Hindu dialect invaded the speech of Deccani royalty, and the mixed product, called Rekhta or Deccani Urdu, became the literary language of kings and nobles, ministers and poets in the South Indian Muhammadan States in a triumphant manner in the sixteenth century.

Next came religion. For causes not fully explored by historians, the Deccani Sultans embraced the Shia form of Islam, gave it recognition and power as the State-religion, and helped it by these secular advantages to become the prevailing religion, in respect of the number of its votaries in the Court circle, the official world, and the population of the capital, though not in the army. I am doubtful if the Shias ever formed a majority

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ong the dumb masses of Muslim villagers any Deccani kingdom, but these people not count. The Shia religion naturally de Persian culture and Persian racial aracteristics the ideal of these Southern ates,—as distinct from Turkish and even hurasani models, which ruled at Delhi cept during the latter years of Akbar). The ia religion influenced Deccani poetry by rning the thoughts of the local poets into the annels of the lives of the Imams and the tragedy Karbala. Lament for the murdered Husain d his progeny (*marsia*) became the universal etical type, and under Ali Adil Shah II. e poet even bore the title of Mirza *Marsia-wan* or 'the Chanter of Elegies', [*Busatin-s-salatin*, litho. ed., p. 432.] The anniversary the massacre at Karbala in the month of Muharram was celebrated with fulness of remony and show by the Court and the eople alike and called forth uncontrollable rvour. The occasion supplied the Rekhta ets with inspiration and reward, as the lympic games did to the ancient Athenian ramatists.

Hindu metres and Hindu poetical *motifs* ery early entered into the Muslim vernacular iterature produced in the Deccan, and an Adil Shah wrote *dhrupads* and a Qutb Shah acted in his palace the antics of Krishna with the milkmaids of Vrindaban. *Marsia* and *ras-lila* and Spring Carnival (*Vasant*) were equally popular as themes of poetry and equally yielded a prolific crop of verses in Rekhta.

Hence, Rekhta poetry affords, apart from Muslim architecture in the South, the only key now surviving for entering into the magic garden of Deccani Muslim culture. Happily a large mass of this literature has been preserved in anthologies. We notice one in particular, India Office Library No. 3522 (Ethé's Catalogue 701) which Dr. Hermann Ethé thus describes,—*Makhzan-i-Nikat*, the most valuable anthology of the earlier Rekhta poets, by Muhammad Qiyam-ud-din bin Ali, compiled in 1754 A.D. Dr. Sayyid Muhi-ud-din Qadiri, Ph. D. (London), has analysed a manuscript in the Edinburgh University Library, in two volumes, catalogued as "*Marsias of Hashim Ali.*" But only the first volume of it contains some 250 elegies written by Hashim Ali (a Bijapuri poet of Ali Adil Shah II's time, noticed in the *Busatin*) and entitled by him *Diwan-i-Husaini*, while the second volume is a *Biyaz* or collection of elegies written by nearly 80 other poets (lacking some leaves at each end).

Dr. Qadiri's *Urdu Shahparai* (365+XIV +XVI pages and 11 plates, Ibrahimi Press, Hyderabad, Deccan) treats of Rekhta literature from its origin to the age of Wali Aurangabadi (*c.* 1720), and gives critical biographies of the writers included, with many extracts from their poems and 17 pages of prose selections. Good paper, clear printing, appendices, an index and a glossary of the Indian or Indianized words used by the poets, make this volume all that scholars can desire. Dr. Qadiri is a modern critic and as such he is nothing if not destructive of old writers and popular traditions. He corrects Garcin de Tassy (who had long been venerated as an oracle on Urdu literary history and criticism) and refutes points in the accepted life-story of Wali (p.149.) A new world is thus opened to the reader of Urdu, because nearly all of these poets were unobtainable in print and collections of their writings are preserved in very few public libraries in India. In fact, Dr. Qadiri had to spend months in ransacking the public libraries of London, Oxford, Cambridge, Paris and Edinburgh, besides utilizing the rich private collection of Nawab Inayet Jang of Hyderabad during a two months' stay in the Nizam's capital. Two other volumes (one by Sayyid Muhammad, M. A., and the other by Abdul Qadir, M. A.) will carry this biographical history of Urdu literature enriched with typical selections, from Wali to Hali and from Hali to our own times. These will effectually demolish the popular theory that Urdu literature originated in the Deccan and perished there with Wali (p. 4.)

When completed this work will deserve a place on the same shelf as Browne's edition of Daulatshah and Awfi.

We only wish that, in order to confirm its claim to that supreme honour, the *Urdu Shahparae* had been printed with types and not lithographed. It is a common experience that when lithography is done on thick antique wove (*i. e.*, soft rough-faced) paper, the impression is less distinct than when glazed paper however thin is used. My copy of this book is unreadable in two places. In lithographing the editor is also at the mercy of the ill-taught, ill-paid press-man, while in printing he can correct the proofs himself. If it be not too late, the concluding two volumes should be printed and not lithographed. We

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also wish the editors to print a collection of *complete* poems on the lines of Hales's *Longer English Poems*. The *Ali-namah* of Nusrati has been long neglected. It should be taken first in hand, or why not Ibrahim Adil Shah's *Nau-ras*?

The Imperial Library, Calcutta

By K. M. ASADULLAH, B.A., F.L.A.,
Librarian, Imperial Library

MOST of the readers of this article are perhaps under the impression that there is only one university in Calcutta, the second city of the Empire, but I intend to tell them about another university in this very London of the East, which one might call the "University of the People." The name must sound strange, but it does refer to an institution of great importance and value,—the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

It would be interesting perhaps to begin with the origin and history of this great institution. For this purpose, we shall have to go so far back as the thirties of the last century. Lord William Bentinck had left India after handing over charge to Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had been appointed to fill the interregnum between Lord William Bentinck and his successor, Lord Auckland. During the short period of his administration, Sir Charles left his mark by having an Act passed by the Supreme Council, the object of which was to remove the restrictions previously imposed on the freedom of the Indian Press. This measure earned Sir Charles, the well-deserved title of the "Liberator of the Indian Press"; but his admirers not being content with this, decided to perpetuate his memory in some suitable manner. In the meanwhile, as the result of a meeting held in August 1835, under the presidency of Sir J. P. Grant, the Calcutta Public Library had been established. It was kept in the house of Dr. F. P. Strong in Esplanade Row up to July 1841. From that date to June 1844, the books were kept in the College of Fort William, in the Writers' Buildings. Another institution of importance, *viz.* the Agri-Horticultural Society had no home of its own to hold its meetings or exhibit its possessions, consisting of curious models of agricultural implements, seeds and specimens of produce. In February 1838, therefore, it was decided to erect a building, large enough to accommodate both these institutions and to name it after the statesman who patronized both of them for a long time. Government gave the site at the junction of the Hare Street and Strand Road, and a sum of about Rs. 70,000 was raised by public subscription. The foundation stone of the building was laid with masonic honours on the 19th December, 1840, by Dr. James Grant in the presence of the Governor-General and all the members of the Council. The construction was completed in 1844 by Messrs. Burn & Co., and the building was named the "Metcalfe Hall." Internally, the building contained two storeys, the ground floor being occupied by the Agri-Horticultural Society and the first floor by the Calcutta Public Library. Due to the apathy of the public in the maintenance of the institution, the building itself was allowed to fall in disrepair. This state of affairs continued till about 1899, when Lord Curzon came to India as Viceroy. From the very beginning he showed an ardent desire to establish an Imperial Library for the use of the public. The Secretariat of the Government of India possessed another library, the increasing use of whose limited facilities prompted the idea of the establishment of an up-to-date and fully equipped library, and Lord Curzon set about this task earnestly. It was on the 24th February, 1899, that the first step was taken in the matter, by making enquiries whether the two institutions, the Calcutta Public Library and the

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ciety were willing to be bought up d to find out the original rights and e financial position of the Library. The mperial Library of the Secretariat had so r been maintained in conjunction with e Imperial Record Office, under the harge of Mr. G. W. Forrest.

The Calcutta Public Library was founded 1835 with the object of "establishing a ublic library of reference and circulation, hich was to be open to all classes and ranks ithout distinction and be sufficiently extensive supply the wants of the entire community every department of literature, the roperty to be vested in the trustees for the enefit and use of share-holders." The overnment made over to the Library 4,750 olumes from the College of Fort William, riginally as loan, out of which a portion (about 00 volumes) was made over to the Indian Museum in 1871. As regards the remaining olumes, Lord Mayo, the then Viceroy, made hem an absolute gift to the library. In June 851, the Library was registered in the Supreme Court under Act XLIII of 1850 as a Joint-Stock Company associated for literary purposes, and it was on the 23rd August 1871 that the library was registered in the Office of the Registrar of Joint-Stock Companies. The management of the library was in the hands of a committee of three curators chosen by the proprietors and first class subscribers. A sub-committee appointed in 1873 to make suggestions for the improvement in its management, resolved to appoint a Library Council composed partly of proprietors and partly of subscribers, which body was henceforward to be responsible for the general management of the affairs of the institution. The decade that followed shows that the financial position of the Public Library was far from satisfactory, and the suggestion made in 1899 to amalgamate the Public Library with the Imperial Library of the Secretariat was perhaps most opportune. Lord Curzon had at first the idea of only buying the more important books of the Calcutta Public Library and amalgamating them with those of the Secretariat. From the long correspondence that took place in the following two or three years it is quite evident that Lord Curzon was most anxious to establish the Imperial Library as early as possible, but due to some legal and other difficulties and a protracted and troublesome correspondence between the Government and the trustees of the Calcutta Public Library, it was not possible to do so immediately. The Government, after all, was in a position to buy the proprietary rights from both the Society and the Library in the Metcalfe Hall and to purchase the books belonging to the latter. To confirm and validate these transactions, a short bill was introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council and passed as the "Imperial Library (indentures validation) Act, 1902," and with the sanction of the Secretary of State, the post of Librarian was created, in the first instance for five years, to which Mr. John Macfarlane of the British Museum staff was appointed.

The necessary repairs and equipment of the building, the work of weeding and cataloguing and the transfer and arrangement of the books were completed towards the end of 1902, and on the 30th January, 1903, the new IMPERIAL LIBRARY containing about 100,000 books was formally opened by the Viceroy in the presence of the leading residents of Calcutta. An idea of the scope and functions of this new institution may be gathered from the following extract from the Government Resolution:

"The existing Imperial Library will form the nucleus of the new institution, which will be provided with reading rooms, public and private, as at the British Museum and Bodleian Library. It is intended that it should be a library of reference, a working place for students and a repository of material for the future historians of India, in which, so far as possible, every work written about India at any time can be seen and read."

The control of the institution rests with the Central Government, but the internal management is vested in a Library Council. The first Council consisted of four persons with the Hon'ble T. Raleigh as its first president, and the Librarian as its ex-officio secretary. Only a little over a a year ago, this arrangement was changed, whereby a much bigger Council, consisting of the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India as its ex-officio Chairman, two representatives of the Calcutta University, two representatives of the Bengal Government, and three others nominated by the Imperial Govern-

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ment to represent the provinces other than Bengal was established.

The library was shifted to its present home towards the end of 1923, as the Metcalfe Hall had become too small for housing its daily growing collection, which was then estimated to be somewhere near 300,000 volumes. The present building is supposed to be more central, commodious and likely to make the permanent home of the library.

Up to the beginning of 1930, the Government of India maintained the library out of its revenues, but from that date the Bengal Government has begun to contribute twenty thousand rupees a year towards the maintenance of the reading-rooms, which are of course used mostly by the local readers.

The library possesses three reading-rooms, *viz*, the public, private and ladies' reading rooms. The first named is equipped with all the important reference books, directories, year books, encyclopaedias dictionaries and university calendars besides a modest collection of books representing all sorts of subjects, which are in constant demand. In addition to these, several newspapers, periodicals and journals are exhibited there for the use of the readers. The private reading room is intended for the use of those engaged in systematic research work, while ladies not liking to sit in the public reading room may resort to the room provided for their exclusive use. The admission to the reading rooms is by tickets, which can be had on producing suitable reference and personally calling at the library. The reading-rooms are open on all week days and Saturdays from 10 A. M. to 7 P. M, while on Sundays and other gazetted holidays, these open from 2 P. M. to 5 in the afternoon. The open-shelf system is followed in the reading rooms, so that readers can take out themselves from the shelves any books they wanted to consult, while others which are not to be found there are supplied on requisition. As a test of the popularity of the reading-rooms, it may be stated that about 41,000 persons visited them during 1929-30, while over 26,000 books were consulted there, besides those found in the reading-room.

The Imperial Library is fortunate in possessing a very valuable collection of Arabic, and Persian MSS. besides a number of printed books in these languages and Urdu. This collection was presented in 1904 by the late Maulvi Sayyid Sadr-ud-din Almusavi, zeminder of Buhar in Burdwan District, on certain conditions. The total number of MSS. is 952, out of which 485 are in Arabic and 467 in Persian. None of these MSS. can be lent out of Calcutta. The gem of the whole collection is a unique copy of the Tarikh-i-Herat (History of Herat in Afghanistan) written at the beginning of the 8th century *Hijra* by an author who was himself an eye-witness of most of the events narrated by him. Students of history will be glad to know that it has been decided to publish this work on behalf of the library.

Books are lent from the library to all adults living in any part of India. The rules are quite simple and easy. Anybody depositing the price of a book wanted by him may have it on loan for a period of one month, a period which is extended, if necessary, at the discretion of the Librarian. Two works or six volumes can be lent out at a time. The forwarding charges in case of outside borrowers have to be borne by the borrowers, and these are realized by sending the books per V. P. P. for that amount. There is no membership system, nor any subscription to pay. About 6,400 books were lent during the year 1929-30.

As has been already pointed out, the Central Government bears the expenses of running the library, which includes the amount of fifteen to twenty thousand rupees spent every year for the purchase of books. On receipt the books are accessioned, classified and catalogued, and then placed in two separate almirahs in the public reading room, marked "New Books." Select lists of books added to the library are being published every week in the Press for the last few months, whereby readers are kept in touch with what has been bought for their use. The library, besides buying books of general interest, also gets free of cost books published in Bengal, which it may requisition from the Bengal Library. The League of Nations publications which are supplied free of any charge to it, can also be seen in the library. The Debates of the two Houses of Parliament and the blue books and white

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papers are all available in the library. Official publications of the central as also the various provincial Governments can be consulted here; and it would not be an exaggeration perhaps to say that such a big collection of publications of the latter class will not be available in any other Indian library. The U. S. A. official documents are another distinctive feature of the collection of this library, and they are received regularly. Among other countries supplying their publications to this library, are Ceylon and the Philippine Islands. Donations of books are also received from authors and publishers and other well-wishers of the library. The total number of such gifts during the last four years is a little over 13,000 volumes. Again, more than seven thousand official, parliamentary and U. S. A. publications were added to the library in 1929-30.

The library gets 316 papers, periodicals and journals in various languages. Some of these are placed in the public reading-room, while others can be supplied on demand. About half of this number is presented by their publishers, most of them being published from Bengal. The Bengal Library again supplies the library with a fairly large number of periodicals some time after their publication.

Besides the Arabic, Persian and Urdu collection of the Buhar Library, the Imperial Library possesses a small collection of its own Persian, Arabic and Urdu books. The largest collection of books in any Indian vernacular is naturally that of Bengali. Besides this, there is to be found also a very large number of Sanskrit and Hindi books. Some other Indian languages are also represented in the collection of the library.

The Imperial Library follows its own scheme of classification and has, similarly, its own code of cataloguing rules. At present, the library maintains two kinds of catalogues: the printed and the card catalogue. The card catalogue is always the most up-to-date record of the contents of a library as compared with the printed catalogue, which is said to be "out of date as soon as it is out of the Press." Yet for a lending library which serves the whole of India, a printed catalogue is a necessity. The details of printed catalogues are given below:

Author Catalogue. 2 vols. 1904. Supplement 2 vols. 1917-1919.

Subject-Index. 2 vols, 1908-1910. Supplement. 1929.

Subject-Index of Works on Political Economy, Industries, Commerce and Finance in the Imperial Library. 1906.

Catalogue of Maps and Plans in the Imperial Library, Calcutta. 1916.

List of Periodicals received in the Imperial Library, Calcutta. 1913.

Catalogue of Arabic, Persian and Urdu Books in the Imperial Library, Calcutta. 1915.

Catalague Raisonné of Arabic and Persian MSS. in the Buhar Library.

The card catalogues which are all placed in the reading-room consist of:

Author Catalogue of Printed Books in European Languages—Second Supplement.

Supplementary Subject Index.

Author Catalogue of Printed Books in Sanskrit.

Author Catalogue of Printed Books in Bengali.

Author Catalogue of Printed Books in Arabic, Assamese, Gujarati, Gurumukhi, Hindi, Malayalam, Marathi, Pali, Persian, Tamil, Telugu, Tibetan, Urdu, Oriya (in one cabinet).

Subject Index to Indian Official Publications.

Index to the U. S. A. Official Publications.

Catalogue of Periodicals in the Imperial Library.

All printed catalogues are for sale or loan like other books. Readers living outside Calcutta would do well either to buy or borrow the catalogue for ordering books or ascertaining the contents of the Imperial Library.

Lovers of books will be glad to know that the authorities are seriously thinking about the questions of converting the library into a "Copyright" library, and it would be the wish of every well-wisher of the library that the object may be achieved soon.

I would finish this article with a note of regret for the reason that the resources of the library, which are very considerable and are at the disposal of everyone without any charge, are not made use of as extensively as they ought to be, especially outside Bengal.

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Recent Bengali Literature

By RAMES BASU

BENGALI literature is growing apace. It is here where one is to seek for the soul of Bengal. Of all aspects of national expression literature in Bengal is the most pronounced and developed. To-day Bengal is not in the forefront of the political movement, and her inhabitants are lamentably backward in commercial enterprise, but there is no denying the fact that they have put almost the whole of their mental powers in the building up of a literature which, with all its defects, is unique and unparallelled in India. There are such questions as unemployment and malaria, but every Bengali thinks and feels that Bengali literature is the pride and hope of Bengal. Bengalis are accused of being sentimental. It is indeed a fact. Nothing properly appeals to their heart if that does not rouse their imagination and is given a literary form. Literature is real in Bengal, because it has relations to life. It has taken root here and grown thick in bole and branch having been nourished for the last one hundred years and more. Now, as ever before in Bengal, we cannot reckon without Bengali literature. Yet we are sorry to note that many of our famous writers write in English, specially when the books are on history, philosophy and science, and some of these never appear in Bengali.

It is not quite an easy task to record the ever-growing literary achievements of a country in normal times, far less so when it is in the whirlpool of a political struggle. The present through which we are passing has seen a unique political experiment. The waves of that India-wide movement submerged all other activities. Like the sister provinces, Bengal acted creditably. One cannot expect much literary output in troubled times. Though the immediate interest of the people was politics, yet the yester year's literary harvest is not negligible. We attempt to give only the outlines of the important phases—the only thing which is possible within the short compass of this article.

Compared with the last year the year that went before saw the publication of a few works of fiction of great and more than passing interest. Two important novels of Tagore, *viz.*, *Yogayoga* and *Shesher Kabita*, were published in book form. Tagore took all by surprise both in the matter and manner of delineating the story of the second book, which struck quite a new note. The first depicts the woeful position of woman in our present-day society and the second tries to foresee that in the society of the future which may or may not be far. Another epoch-making book was the *Pather Panchali* of Mr. Bibhutibhushan Banerjee. Here at last rural Bengal and its simple folks have got their poet.

Coming down to the year under notice we find that even amidst the thick of a peacefully stormy movement, all the various sides of literature were attended to by those who were outside the jail. As expected, books,—good bad and indifferent,—were produced to cater for the varying tastes of the various section of the people Political and topical literature naturally became the rage of the day, but that also was gagged almost to the last gasp. Novels, dramas, poems, stories and general literature were stirred and tinged by politics and social problems to a great extent. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who is still the most prolific writer, was out touring in Europe and America. During the last year he took up nothing befitting his literary reputation, but became the votary of a dumb art (as Wordsworth would have it) and exchanged the pen for the pencil. Death removed one of the most notable figures of Bengal from the literary field, *e. g.*, the lamented Prof. Rakhaldas Banerjee of Mohenjodaro fame, while some of the established writers like Messrs. Prabhatkumar Mukherjee, Mohitlal Majumdar and Dilipkumar Roy gave us nothing during the year. Some new writers are to be specially congratulated, *e.g.*, Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose and Mr. Subas Chandra Bose.

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NOVELS

In the field of fiction the most outstanding work is *Sesh Prasna* by the celebrated novelist, Mr. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee. Its publication had been long and eagerly awaited by the reading public and it came. In his earlier novels Mr. Chatterjee showed himself as a past master in handling the psychological niceties of a character, but he has latterly,—since the publication of his *Pather Dabi*,—chosen to write novels with a purpose, and politics and social topics have supplied him with his themes. Mr Kedarnath Banerjee's *Kosthir Phalaphal* was enlivened by his usual humorous touches. Some of the ultra-modernists continued to write and published some volumes.

STORIES

We have now story-writers without number. But it is a great pity that a very large number of the stories are without any point, and our general public is apt to miss that, if there be any. Nevertheless the practice of this subtle art is going on merrily. Sometimes it is through these stories that we get intimate glimpses of our beautiful Bengal and her lovable people of all classes. Young writers, men and women, have taken up the short story seriously. We may name two of the most successful writers in this line—Messrs. Sailajananda Mukherjee and Jagadish Gupta.

POETRY

In the domain of poetry it is at once marked that Tagore did not publish (in book form) anything important, though his contributions in periodical journals continued. Two poets who attracted our notice by their distinctive tone and tune are Messrs. Jatindranath Sen-Gupta (*Marumaya*) and Jasimuddin (*Nakshi Kanthar Math*, *Baluchar*, *Rakhali*) the former by his strength and the latter by his homeliness. Among the poets who added to the distinction they had already attained we may name Messrs. Girijanath Mukerjee (*Arpan*) Hemendralal Roy (*Mayakajal*). New poets, like Mr. Krishnadhan De (*Byathar Parag*) came with new offerings. Some ladies, *viz.*, the late Mrs. Uma Devi (*Batayana*), Mrs. Radharani Dutt, (*Lilakamal*) and Miss Maitreyi Devi, (*Udita*) have been conspicuously successful in writing poetry. Mr. Nazr-ul Islam seems to be on the wane. He moved to a new pasture, the stage. On the side of translation, that of the *Meghaduta* of Kalidas by Mr. Pyarimohan Sen-Gupta closely following the original metre has thrown the previous renderings in the background. Mr. Kalidas Ray's translation of the *Gitagovindam* of Jayedevas is also worthy of mention. Books of old Bengali literature were published; such as the *Dharmapuran* of Mayurbhatta and the *Sankirtanamrita* (which is an anthology of Vaishnava songs), by the Bangiya Sahitya Parisat, and Mr. Charu Bandyopadhya brought out a new and improved edition of the *Sunyapuran* of Ramai Pandit. Mr. Mansuruddin did good work in collecting folk-songs in his book *Haramani*. All lovers of "pure poetry" will be grateful for the selection from the works of Mr. Karunanidhan Bandyopadhyaya and of the late Satyendranath Dutt.

DRAMA

It was quite in the fitness of things that the storm and stress in the country found an echo in our dramatic literature. Historical or mythological themes were given new value and interpretation on the stage. The *Desher Dak* of Mr. Bhupendranath Banerjee disdained that garb and depicted the time and place as they were. Some Bengali novels were cast into play form. Of these the *Dhrubatara* of Rai Bahadur Jatindramohan Sinha, and the *Mantrasakti* of Mrs. Anurupa Devi, are two notable examples. Mr. Apareshchandra Mukherjee very creditably rendered the Sanskrit *Sakuntala* into Bengali.

SCIENCE

Science has never been seriously taken up by our men of science, otherwise we might at least have the philosophical side of it written in good prose. There was added a new scientific monthly the *Path*, to the scanty list of our scientific periodicals, by the *Purtta Vijnan Parisat*. Mr. Harinath Chatterjee translated the celebrated book on heredity by the French scientist Ribot (*Bangsanukramikata*).

HISTORY

Political history attracted some very well-known writers, *viz.*, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Dr. Narendranath Law, Dr. Surendranath Sen; but they did not produce anything original. What they did was only to give in Bengali the summaries of their well-known works in English. *Shivaji*, *Prachin Bharatiya Rashtrasamuher*

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Parasparik Samvandha, and *Marathar Rastrasasan Paddhati* are welcome additions to Bengali historical literature. A book of note on cultural history was the *Chine. Bharatiya Sabhyata* (which again is a translation) of Mr. Prabhatkumar Mukerjee.

Philosophy

Two very high class works were the translation of *Advaitasiddhi* of Madhusudan Saraswati by Prof. Jogendranath Tarka-Sankhya-Vedantatirtha, with a most illuminating history of Vedantic doctrines by Mr. Rajendranath Ghose, and *Hindu Shad-darsan* by Prof. Pramathanath Mukerjee. A welcome translation of the *Tripitakas* was began by Jyotipal Bhikshu. We had a very remarkable book on the religion and culture of the Muhammadan period in which both the Hindus and Muhammadans joined hands and composed songs of inimitable charm and infinite depth. This was the *Bharatiya Madhyayuge Sadhanar Dhara* of Prof. Kshitimohan Sen of Visva-Bharati, who is an authority on the topic. The philosophical side of Bengali literature is distinctly poor. There are translations of old texts or their expositions, but nowhere we find any real and original philosophical thinking. How we wish the Hibbert lectures of Rabindranath were published in Bengali! Mr. Satischandra Das-Gupta did well in translating the commentary of the Gita by Mahatma Gandhi. Sri Aurobindo Ghose does not always reach the Bengalee public as he is not always translated.

Biography

Some biographical books filled real want. *Banger Mahila Kabi* of Mr. Jogendranath Gupta, *Thakur Ramkrishner Dampatyajiban* by Mr. Matilal Ray, *Vidyasagar-prasanga* by Mr. Brajendranath Banerji, *Motilal Nehru* by Miss Binapani. Das (a student), *Maharaj Manindra Chandra Nandy* are amongst the best. The work of Mr. Banerji requires special notice as it is based on Government records and depicts a hitherto untouched aspect of Vidyasagar's life, that of an educationist. The credit for translating the most charming autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi goes to Mr. Satischandra Das-Gupta.

Political Literature

We have already mentioned that the political and topical side loomed large in Bengali literature of last year. Rabindranath's impressions of what he saw in Soviet Russia were admirably told, and they have since been published in book form. The poet seems to have been sympathetically interested in what they are doing in Russia. The communistic idea was expressed in some books which were suppressed by the Government. Mr. Bijoylal Chatterjee invoked the powers of poetry for the cause of the down-trodden. It is good that such a busy political leader as Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose could find time to write books in a commendable style. Mr. Satischandra Das-Gupta's translations of the works of Mahatma Gandhi on Indian self-government (*Hind Swaraj*) and jail experiences of Yervada have been timely.

Miscellaneous

Under the head of miscellaneous books we are to class all those which are useful and interesting, but are not many to form a class by themselves. Rabindranath's *Bhanusimher Patravali* was enjoyed not only by the young for whom it was intended, but also by the old. Literary criticism found an exponent in Mr. Biswapati Chaudhuri whose work on Rabindranath is important. Several books on travel appeared, but none obtained any literary success. The library movement was discussed by Mr. Susil Kumar Ghose in his *Library Andolan o Siksha Vistar*. The romance of the banking system of various countries was the topic of *Desh Bidesher Bank* written by Dr. Narendranath Law and Mr. Jitendranath Sen-Gupta. Mahomahopadhyaya Pandit Pramathanath Tarkabhushan did well in collecting his addresses delivered on Hindu Sabha occasions under the name of *Sanatan Hindu*.

Our juvenile readers are sadly deprived in their text-books which generally lack any sense of art or literature, but they are fortunate in their prize books. *Lal-Kalo* was such a book, beautifully writen by Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose, the reputed scientist, and beautifully illustrated by Mr. Jatindra Kumar Sen. Mr. Mahendra Chandra Roy appeared in the rôle of a friend and not teacher in his illuminating little book, *Kisalaya*. The fairy-tale instinct of the young readers has been advantageously brought into service in writing about modern science by Mr. Hemendranath Ghose in his *Ekaler Daitya-o-Pari*. The illustrated annual of the *Sisusathi* was really a joy. A long-felt want was removed by Mr. Basanta Kumar Ghose by publishing his book of games called *Khela-dhula*,

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FINANCIAL NOTES

The New Sterling Loan and Government Policy

In spite of repeated warnings from all quarters and in the face of the most strenuous opposition of Indian Chambers of Commerce the Government of India seem to be determined to go their own way and saddled the country's finances with as much difficulty as is possible before there can come about any real transference of power.

There can be no worse instance of a bankruptcy of financial acumen of those that guide India's financial destiny today, than that of the floating of the new sterling loan of £ 10 millions, while almost simultaneously there has been a further contraction of currency by Rs. 5 crores through the transference of gold from the Paper Currency Reserve to the Indian branch of the Gold Standard Reserve. All these go to show that the Government have no other policy or programme in view than that recklessly pursued for the last two years—a policy of maintaining an artificial exchange at all costs and of putting themselves anyhow in possession of funds to fill the growing gap between the Government's resources and expenditure. It is curious how those very eminent gentlemen in the present Government of India who have been responsible for initiating and perpetuating this ruinous financial policy and have greatly brought down the credit of the country, are extremely solicitous of "safe-guards" in the interest of India's financial credit in connection with the next stage of our constitutional reforms. Even taken at its worst it is doubtful if responsible government in India could mismanage financial affairs to any worse degree.

On the 19th May last, the Secretary of State for India issued the prospectus of the new Sterling Loan of £ 10 millions in the form of 1933-34 bonds. The issue price is £ 100 per cent and the bonds bear interest at the rate of 6 per cent per annum. If not previously redeemed, on giving three months' notice in the *London Gazette* or at any time after the 15th December, 1933, the bonus will be repaid at part on the 15th December, 1934.

The subscription list was closed in London on Thursday the 21st May and the usual arrangements were made for providing facilities to investors residing in India for subscribing to the loan.

The proceeds of the loan are said to be used for capital expenditure on railways in India and for "general purposes."

Arrangements were made to have the loans underwritten but unlike on previous occasions investors in Great Britain showed little enthusiasm for the investment. Up to the time we go to press (May 23, 1931) only about 38 per cent of the bonds have been subscribed and dealings still continued at a discount. It is reported that although there is abundance of money awaiting employment British investors are keeping out with the idea of forcing the hands of the Government of India to agree to spend a substantial part of the present loan in Great Britain.

We do not know how far the Rothermere-Churchill Campaign is responsible for this curious attitude taken up by the British investors. The evils of inviting foreign capital into a country are many but the worst is the dictation of the lending country to the borrower about its industrial, commercial, and financial policy. The present attitude of the capitalists in Great Britain only goes to confirm the belief that British investors of capital in India are not so much anxious about the safety of and the reasonable return from their investments as about the control of economic affairs in India through such investments. Obviously the patriotic efforts of the British financial circles directed to find more work for the British people have been successful, and the offer even of such high a return as 6 per cent, while the bank-rate has gone down to 2½ per cent, has not been able to break the determination of the capitalists. Our Indian commercial circles ought to take lessons from this experience, and our Government should realize their mistake in trying to raise money in Great Britain at all costs, without properly exploring other markets.

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Apart from the insidious efforts of the Rothermere-Churchill group to undermine the credit of India and to goad British investors to demand impossible terms there is a still more plausible explanation of the failure of the loan. Recent events in the Commonwealth of Australia have shown that even under the guardianship of the British Government there can come about a financial disaster to a constituent member of the Commonwealth of Nations, bringing in its train quite unthinkable losses to British investors. Taking good lesson from this experience financiers in Great Britain are naturally inclined more to examine the general financial policy of the Government of India and its ultimate implications than the attractiveness of the rate of interest merely. Clever people as they are they have realized that in spite of all the professions of the Government of India to the contrary the country is being taken headlong towards a currrency crisis and financial breakdown through the ruinous economic policy followed by the Government. The obvious result of this realization is the unprecedented shyness of British capital for investment in India. It is hard to believe that in the more or less atmosphere of peace and goodwill that has been established at the moment as a consequence of the Gandhi-Irwin settlement, political uncertainties will have greater influence on financial circles in London than what was noticed last year. The real reason for the unpopularity of the present sterling loan must, therefore, be sought elsewhere.

For years past our Bombay friends have been crying themselves hoarse over the dangerous consequences of the 1*s.* 6*d.* ratio. On this side of India, however, the warnings were not so seriously taken, and in fact, there were some who believed that the attack on the 1*s.* 6*d.* exchange rate was actuated by sectional motives. Speaking for those of us that took some academic interest in the question of the ratio, we felt that Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and his compatriots were perhaps overdrawing the picture. As months roll on, however, we feel impelled to modify, if not to revise our opinion.

It appears to us that the ratio by itself cannot or should not give rise to considerable misgivings. The real point is how far the economic resources and reserves of the country are to be sacrificed or endangered in an attempt at the maintenance of the rate of exchange, whatever that rate may be. The experience of the last two years goes to show that apart from other manipulations the 1*s.* 6*d.* ratio cannot be maintained without adopting a policy of heavy sterling borrowings and contractions of currency. The falling tendency of prices may be accepted as the primary reason for the continuation of this policy but still the responsibility of the Government of India in this matter cannot be denied. For instead of over-emphasizing the need of maintaining the stability of the exchange at 1*s.* 6*d.* ratio if they had directed greater attention towards conserving the gold and other resources of the country together with the advancement of indigenous industry and commerce the position to-day would have been entirely different. Even the most ardent supporter of the 1*s.* 6*d.* ratio will admit to-day that we have paid and are still paying rather too heavy a price for the maintenance of this ratio

In 1929 Mr. G. D. Birla critically examined the financial policy of the Government of India and particularly their exchange and currency policy. Neither the Government nor the country took him very seriously at the time. His warnings, however, are more or less proving true. Heavy borrowings in England without a corresponding increase in India's favourable balance of trade have been increasingly saddling the finances of the country and no one knows how this increasingly heavy burden can be borne by the country. The embarrassment has been frightfully increased on account of the recent tendencies of a flight of capital from India and consequent rise in the export of gold on private account. Increased productive efforts and activities towards the creation of exportable wealth, which was considered by Mr. Birla to be the only panacea to the situation, could not be attained as, in addition to the difficulties caused through world trade depression, the continued contraction of currency by the Government of India left Indian industry and commerce in a virtual state of starvation.

There has been yet another cause for serious anxiety in the transference of gold reserves from the Gold Standard Reserve to the Paper Currency Reserve and subsequent frittering away of the gold in the process of contraction of currency. In a period of currency uncertainties in the world the highest value is to be placed in a country's gold resources. This is what is kept in view in the United States, in France

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as well as in England, and every country was straining its nerves to conserve its gold. This is reflected in the plentiful supply of gold and a consequent low bank-rate in most of the advanced countries to-day. But curiously enough the Government of India, in gross violation of even the elementary principles of economics are not only making no attempts at strengthening the position of its currency but is actually causing a depletion of gold reserves The only inevitable consequence of this will be inconvertibility of our paper and silver note currency, and nobody knows what serious economic, social and political consequences this will lead to.

In the February issue of this journal we summarized the loan operations of the Government of India in 1930 as compared with their Budget estimate of new loan activities in 1930-31. In our April issue we examined again the ways-and-means position of the Government of India in 1931-32 in connection with our comments on the Central Budget. The May issue of sterling loans last year was in the form of 6 per cent 1933-35 bonds for £7 millions issued at £99 for £100. The loan from the Imperial Bank in August and the October sterling loan were at 6 per cent on issues at par. The present issue appears to be in line with the loans contracted in the latter part of last year with this difference that while the present issue is for a comparatively short term the previous two issues were for a longer period, the October issue being in the form of 1935-37 bonds. Examined in the light of this factor as also that of the problem of highly uncertain price movements in near future, the present rate of 6 per cent on 1933-34 bonds issued at par may be regarded as a slight improvement on the conditions of sterling loans entered into last year. But if we take into consideration the falling bank-rates in foreign markets including that of the Bank of England which has recently brought down its rate to 2½ per cent, and if we make due allowance for the comparatively peaceful atmosphere in the field of politics this year, the present rate must be regarded as out of all proportions to what may be reasonably expected under the circumstances.

Commenting upon the last October's sterling loan of £12 millions a foreign financial expert who was then travelling round the country observed "A constant increase in the rate of borrowing of the Government of India can be forecast from this high rate, the only consequence of which will be further depression in trade and industrial undertakings..... Nobody would go in for industrial ventures or invest his money in trade. That would only cause further depression and deepen the economic crisis through which the world is passing." It was then roughly calculated that about a million-and-a-half sterling or nearly two crores of rupees would be India's net loss in seven years owing to the excessive rate of interest then allowed. Calculated at the same rate the net loss to India during the three years of the life of the present loan would be nearly Rs. 70 lacs on account of the high rate of interest paid.

We have hardly anything more to add to what have been said times without number already. So far as this issue goes there is nothing to be surprised at but the Government of India could have certainly waited a few weeks more to see the effects of the reduction in the Bank of England's rate to 2½ per cent. In view of the recent transferences of funds from the Paper Currency Reserve to the Indian branch of the Gold Standard Reserve, we presume that there was not such great urgency to put the Secretary of State in funds for his usual payments on the Home Charges.

The Austro-German Customs Union

The most outstanding event in European economic field during recent weeks has been the establishment of Customs Union between Germany and Austria and the removal of tariff barriers as between them. In these days of growing aggressive nationalism combined with the raising of higher tariff walls in Europe this union should be thrice welcome. But unfortunately the political implications of a closer contact between Austria and Germany are considered to be so far-reaching and dangerous to European peace that both Great Britain, the champion of Free Trade, as well as France, the sponsor of Fraternity, have become furious at this Austro-German settlement. Reference has been made to the Permanent Court of International Justice for advisory opinion as to whether the protocol for the establishment of the Austro-German Customs Union is consistent with the treaties demanding the maintenance of complete separation of the two countries.

Thus do professions and actions diverge in the field of politics.

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Manchester Prepares Herself

Reuter sends us the message that in addition to arrangements for effecting internal economy through various schemes of rationalization and reorganization of the textile industry, attempts are being made to meet the rapid fall in the textile trade in Far East by other methods. The latest effort has been that of a number of well-known Manchester shipping houses to, form a combine under the name of the Motco-Manchester Overseas Trading Company. It is expected that the combine will reduce the overhead charges and effect considerable cuts in the freight charges thus enabling the offer of lower priced goods to India and the Far East.

Tata Iron And Steel Affairs

Considerable misgivings have arisen in the public mind recently about the present working and financial position of the Tata Iron & Steel Company. That everything is not what is desired of an industry that is systematically being supported by the Indian taxpayer, was exposed at the last session of the Assembly when Mr B. Das, M. L. A., opposed the Government proposal for prolonged subsidy to the Tatas. The gravamen of the charge against the Tata Iron & Steel Company is their poor response to the demand for Indianization and economy in overhead administration.

It is interesting to note in this connection that Sir Padamji Ginwala, former Chairman of the Indian Tariff Board, has made recently, at the request of the Directors of the Company, a careful personal study of the works, operations, costs, sales, and general management of the Company and has presented to the Board "a full and frank report on his findings." The report is confidential but the shareholders are assured that it contains no revelations of an alarming nature and nothing which justifies nervousness about the stability of the Company.

The public who are in a way made to pay the piper have a right to know all about the report.

The Toy Citadel

A Ballad by Rabindranath Tagore
Translated by Nagendranath Gupta

1

In Chitor the Lord Rana swore a mighty oath,
'Until I rase Bundi fortress to the dust
'Neither food nor drink shall pass my lips,
'So help me God who is ever just !'

2

'Alas ! Lord King,' muttered the ministers,
'Why make a vow that none can keep ?'
Answer made the Rana, 'I may not take the fort
'But I can die and so peacefully sleep !'

3

In the dim distance frowned the fortress,
And reared its proud head to the sky,
Held by doughty warriors of the Hara clan
Who drove the enemy far and nigh.

4

Said the ministers, 'Let us build o'ernight
'Another Bundi fort all of clay.
'So the Lord Rana may pull it down
'And level it with the dust at dawn of day.'

5

Among the Rana's retainers was Kumbha,
An aged veteran of the Hara clan ;
As he returned from the chase ; his bow
slung on shoulder,
Over the toy citadel his keen glance ran ;

6

'Who will capture the mimic Bundi fort,' he cried,
'And put the gallant Hara clan to shame ?
'Come who will I shall hold the fort
'For I am a warrior and I bear the
Hara name !'

7

Down on the sword he knelt beside the fort,
He swung his bow forward to his hand ;
When the Rana marched down, hand on sword,
The Hara straightway bid him stand.

8

'Halt, there !' he thundered, 'who plays
with the name
'Of Bundi shames the mighty Hara race ;
'I shall hold this lump of clay against all,
'For I come of the clan Hara and here is
my place!'

9

He twanged his bow, he fitted an arrow,
He aimed straight at the Rana's breast,
And all around him Chitor's chivalry
With flashing swords and hurrying feet prest.

10

They slew him with the edge of the sword,
The severed head to the mud-gate rolled away
The blood of the aged warrior-martyr
Hallowed the mock citadel of clay.

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INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Land in Tanganyika

A local correspondent of mine had sent me a questionnaire about procuring land for agricultural purposes in Tanganyika, East Africa. I forwarded this questionnaire to a friend of mine in that territory for reply. Both the questions and the answers are reproduced here so that they may be of some use to other intending emigrants :—

1. How should one, willing to go to Tanganyika for the purpose of agriculture, proceed ?

A. He must first of all find capital to the amount of shillings 15,000 to 20,000 and then sail for Dar-es-Salaam.

2. Whom to apply for land ?

A. The Land Department. But it is imperative upon the purchaser to find out what piece of land he wants to apply for.

3. Is the land to be had from the landlords or Government ?

A. Both from landlords and from Government.

4. If from the former—are there Indian landlords ?

A. Yes, there are Indian landlords (agriculturists), but they are a drop in the ocean. Most of the planter farmers and agriculturists are Greek and German, and a few British.

5. Whether the Government encourages land development and agriculture and whether there is any co-operative scheme for helping agriculturists ?

A. Most of the lands surveyed and made available for sale in the highlands have been disposed of. Government have deferred sale of further lands in four most fertile provinces. There appears to be some political motive behind that. Government encourages British settlement only, and for that purpose great agitation has been carred on in London. There is no co-operative scheme in force as yet. Mr. Strickland of the Panjab co-operative movement was recently invited by this Government to advise on the co-operative movement. It is intended to secure co-operation between settlers and native producers. Government policy is to encourage native development. It is futile for Indian agriculturists to expect encouragement from Government.

6. Can anyone get land on lease ? If so, what is the nature of the rent ?

A. There are three kinds of ownership of land. Freehold, restricted ownership and leasehold. It is one of the clauses of the Land Law that after 1923 no land should be sold. Freehold land and restricted ownership land were given by the German Government and this Government have confirmed the validity of their title. Freehold land can be had from its owner. But there is no land which is freehold, available from Government. Lands are sold in auction and go to the highest bidder at yearly rentals, which sometimes are half a shilling an acre. If bidders are in large numbers the rental goes up a little.

7. Condition of the land *i.e.* whether it is from jungle or not.

A. Africa itself is a jungle.

8. General nature of land regarding fertility.

A. Lands are most fertile and virgin. They produce cotton, sisal, coffee, ground-nuts, rice, and other commodities in abundance.

9. Amount of money to be invested in agriculture on a small scale.

A. Not less than ten thousand shillings any way.

10. Cost of living for a middle-class man and the same for a labourer.

A. Shillings 150 per month for a man living very simply and 100 shillings for an Indian labourer.

11. Attitude of Indians in Tanganyika towards new-comers.

A. New-comers without capital are not welcomed. If assistance is meant by this I think new-comers must abandon the idea of getting financial assistance from his brethren, who are already overburdened with their own worries and anxieties.

12. Any political disadvantage that may threaten the prosperity of the Indians in Tanganyika.

A. A lot.

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13. Whether labour can be had in any number.

A. Yes.

Need of an Indian Trade Commissioner in Japan.

A correspondent of mine who is making a special study of the Indian problem in Japan sends me the following brief note from Kobe:

"Since my arrival here early this month I have interviewed several leading Indian business men of Kobe, where the majority of them reside. I asked them whether they experienced any kind of difficulty with the shipping companies, banks, insurance companies and the British Consular services. I also asked them to furnish me with their views as to how far any remedy to their grievances (if any) might be effected.

As regards the shipping companies, there was however no difficulty which Indians had to experience. They could export cargo to any country they liked by any line of steamers, owned by Japanese, French, German, British, Italian or American companies. Freight rates by all these steamers are one and the same.

It is alleged that the British banks do not offer as many facilities to Indian traders as the Japanese banks do. The Japanese banks help the Indian business man considerably because the Japanese are conscious of the fact that the Indians have done a great deal to promote Jananese trade not only in India but also in foreign countries like South and East Africa. Many Indian business men who have had long connections with the British banks do enjoy some previleges at the hands of these banks, but at the same time with such long connections with the Japanese banks, Indians enjoy far better facilities.

Some thought that an Indian bank would be of much help to Indians here, but after careful consideration, I am of opinion that it can hardly work on a successful basis unless the establishment receives the whole hea ted patronage of all the Indians *first*. I think that will be quite impossible and, therefore, I cannot make a suggestion to any Indian banking concern to extend their activities to this far off land.

In the matter of insurance of cargo also Indians here obtain better facilities at the hands of the Japanese companies than the British. Indians could make great profit if they carried out insurance through the medium of one particular concern than having independent connections with various insurance companies. But mutual trust and co-operation among them is lacking.

With regard to the alleged difficulties with the British Consulates here I do not find any truth in them. I have tried my best to examine this question and I have even individually questioned many local Indians, but I was never given to understand any specific kind of trouble any Indian had to experience with the British Consular services. Generally, our people do not seem to go to the British Consulates for anything save in the matter of obtaining their passports for travel.

Before I conclude I would like to make a suggestion. Indians in Japan, who are a community of business men, need a protector, to whom they could freely express their feelings and who might be much more interested in their welfare than the British Consul can be. That is only possible if the Government of India can appoint an Indian Trade Commissioner. There are such Commissioners in London and Hamburg, chosen from the ranks of the Indian Civil Service and such an appointment in Japan will result in great help to local Indians. The foreign embassies in Japan have officers known as "Commercial Attachées", who are here particularly to watch the trade interests of their respective countries. I believe the British embassy has also such attachées, but in the interests of about 300 Indian business men who have vast interests in the country the appointment of an Indian Trade Comissioner at the earliest possible date is absolutely essential.

Arya Samaj in Greater India

Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi (Address: Pravasi Bhawan, P. O. Khargarh (*Via* Sasaram) E. I. Ry, Bihar) will be much obliged for any information regarding the history and the work of the Arya Samaj in the colonies. He is writing a pamphlet on this subject under instructions from the Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of Delhi.

Education of Indian Children in the Colonies

I wish to publish some illustrated articles on the education of Indian children in the colonies and shall be grateful if any of my colonial correspondents will send me material on this subject.

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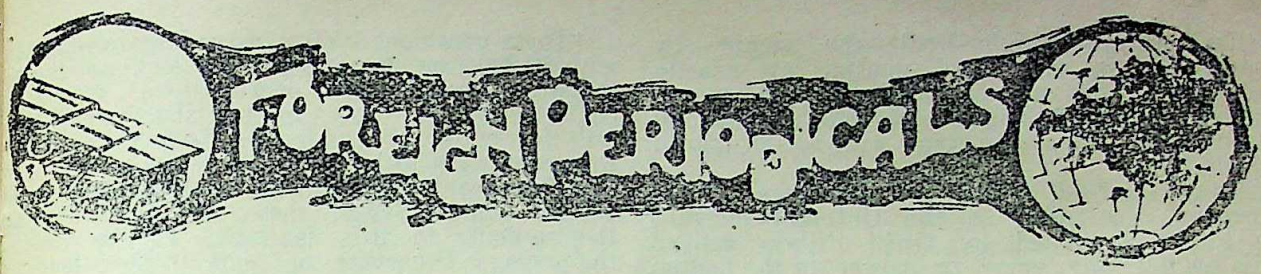

Self-rule with Reservations

The following article by J. T. Sunderland, n "Self-rule" in India "with Reservations," as appeared in half a dozen American apers:

At the close of the London Round Table Conference, as is well-known, announcement was made Premier MacDonald, that it is the intention the British Government, as soon as a new nstitution can be framed and certain necessary reliminaries can be arranged, to grant India responsible government," "self-rule," but with ertain "reservations," certain "necessary reservations" as "safeguards."

If this means that India is to be given real lf-rule, a government really and fully responsible the Indian people, which she long demanded her right, then there seems every reason to elieve that Indian discontent will cease, and the ark cloud full of thunderings and lightnings hich to-day hangs over India and over the ritish Empire on account of India, will pass away.

But is this what the proposed "self-rule with eservations" and "responsible government with eservations" really mean? Practically all India troubled Why are reservations necessary for great historic nation which in the past ruled self for two or three thousand years without eservations, and occupied a place of honour and fluence in the world second to that of no other ation? Cannot such a nation rule itself now? If ot, why not? Has 170 years of British rule aused such degeneration in her that she cannot o again what she did for so long a period with istinguished success. India feels insulted by these eservations.

She also distrusts their meaning. What can heir real meaning be? Are they not another smoke-screen" such as she declares she has xperienced so often from her present foreign ulers? Is not offering self-rule with these eservations, on the part of Great Britain nother instance of professing to give without really iving? Of "giving with one hand and taking ack with the other?" Under the name of granting ndia self-rule, does not Britain by her reservations eally deny her self-rule, refuse to give her self-ule? If I may quote the language of the Editor of *New India* (Madras), "In holding out to India o-called self-government with these limitations attached, are India's foreign lords offering her nything whatever but the trappings of self-overnment at all?" These are vital questions. Word comes that virtually all India is asking them with intense earnestness.

Just what are the reservations? The answer is as follows:

1. Great Britain is to control India's "Defence," that is, India's "Army." India possesses, and is to continue to possess, a large army. What does control of it mean? If we, in the United States, had a large army and it was controlled by Germany or France, or Japan, or Great Britain, and if we had not a single soldier under our control, could it be said in any true sense that we were free or possessed self-rule? This exactly illustrates what British control of the Indian army means. Does not all the world know that any nation whose army is wholly in the control of a foreign power is under serious and dangerous bondage?

2. In the new constitution which is to be offered to the Indian people, Britain is to control India's foreign relations. What does that mean? It means that India the real India, the India which consists of the Indian people, cannot officially communicate with any other nation, she cannot make a foreign treaty, or do any kind of foreign business. She cannot send to any nation an ambassador, or a minister, or a consul, or any official to represent her; nor can she receive any ambassador, or minister, or consul, or official representing any foreign nation. She cannot be recognized as a nation by any other nation, she can have no place among the nations of the world. To all the world she is not to be a nation at all, but simply a subject province of Great Britain. Will this be self-rule? Will it be anything but unbearable bondage?

3. Britain is to control India's foreign finance, foreign exchange, foreign credit. That is to say in financial matters India's foreign credit is to be in the absolute power of Great Britain. Indian financiers claim that one of the important causes of India's impoverishment has been the fact that in the past Indian finance has been under British control. They claim that by changing the value of the rupee and manipulating India's currency in the interest of Britain, and by creating artificial ratios of exchange between India and England, the British Government has drained from India untold millions of her wealth. Under the proposed new constitution for India, all this is to go right on. It is an axiom in statesmanship that economic power underlies and controls political power; and that whoever controls the credit of a nation controls the nation. Under such conditions, will the claim that India possesses self-rule be anything but a mockery?

4. While in the proposed new constitution for India the Viceroy (or Governor-General) is to be responsible in a measure to the Indian National (Federal) Legislature, and therefore indirectly to the people of India, *he is to be given autocratic and arbitrary power greater than any past Viceroy has ever possessed.* In other words, he is to have power to dismiss ministries at his will, in what he may claim to be a time of "emergency," which means that he can control legislation, or even

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dismiss the Legislature, and rule the country by arbitrary edicts, or virtual martial law, exactly as Lord Irwin has done for nearly a year past,—imprisoning tens of thousands of India's worthiest citizens and filling the land with acts of official violence.

Nor is this all. Since the governors of the provinces (as well as the Governor-General) are to be appointed by Great Britain without India having any voice or power in the matter, there is no way in which India will be able to prevent great provinces from being governed by men like Sir Michael O'Dwyer, or to prevent British generals like General Dyer from being forced on them. Will this mean self-rule for India?

To make these reservations look harmless, India is told that they are to be only "temporary," that they are to continue only during a "transitional period". But what do these words mean? When is the transitional period (and therefore this reservation) to end? In three years, or five, or ten, or as many officials in high places have suggested, not within the lifetime of any person now living? No date is set. That is absolutely fatal.

Such then are the four main "reservations" (there are others but these are the most important) which Great Britain makes as an indispensable part of the new constitution which she graciously offers to the Indian people.

Under such a constitution, will India in any true sense possess "responsible government"? On the contrary, will she not be a subject nation as really as in the past? The chains with which she is to be bound will be somewhat different in form, and they will be slightly longer, in this direction and in that, so as to allow her a little more liberty of movement in her bondage, but are they not to be chains still, chains of steel, essentially as strong and as bitter as those of the past have ever been?

—

Dreiser on the Cinema

Theodore Dreiser is no lover of the cinema. The films, he thinks, "are feeding the people hokum, insincere sexy stuff, crazy and expensive but just make-believe." He expresses these downright views in the New York *Herald Tribune* and is quoted in *The Literary Digest*:

If an earthquake or any other catastrophe happened, much less an economic depression, they would still be employing their magnificent brains out there on the right length of a kiss, or on 'the impatient virgin.'

They think they can evade problems if they make everything conform to the lowest-grade minds in the country, these little State reformers. If you mention a problem, they throw up their hands and say, 'My God, what would we do with a problem?'

"Sex and love, love and sex, that's the American interest. They get a telegram from the manager of some little theatre in Hocus, S. D., saying his audience can't understand problems, give them love.

"These enormous studios, extending over blocks, with 10,000 cars standing outside, look as though the world could be made over in them. They have conferences every day, they talk about what they will do, but it always comes back to the same thing, the right to kiss.

"They are dealing with the total average mind of the United States, these movies, and what they're doing to it is fantastic. They're making the average housewife or clerk believe that all that's important is this junk, that this is the way life is to be dealt with.

"There is danger in New York right now of two or three of the greatest financial institutions in the world tumbling, and if they did, the condition of the country would be much worse. It doesn't occur to them that economic or social or educational problems are subjects for movies.

"They have to get back to the kiss stuff. For purely commercial reasons they try to find what pleases the dub at his lowest, because he is the most numerous.

"That's what's the matter with the mind of America to-day.

"John Dewey and other radicals say you can't interest Americans in any serious problems.

"Why? It's the damned movies, like bread and circuses in the old Roman days. Here they fill 'em up with kissing scenes.

"It's a low mental condition for a country to be in, and a low comment on the United States that an enormous industry should flourish on that basis."

—

The Meaning of the Spanish Revolution

The New Republic explains the meaning of the Spanish revolution in course of a leading article. It writes:

The three oldest institutions of monarchical Spain—nobility, Church and army—have lost their hold in shaping the destinies of the nation. The provisional government under Alcala Zamora has announced in unmistakable terms that the Church can no longer expect official support, that the army will be drastically reduced and that the nobility will be held responsible for the injustices and mistakes committed during the past centuries of untrammelled domination. Many will doubt if this can be done. It seems hardly possible that a country which up to a few days ago was ruled by the most mediaeval nobility, by the most overbearing priest-hood and by an army larger than that of the United States (Spain's population is 22,000,000) could be so radically upset.

After giving a brief account of the nobility, the Church and the army, the writer goes on to say:

More powerful than any of the other institutions are the Socialists—the moving force behind the moderately conservative Alcala Zamora, the ever changing Alejandro Lerroux and the firebrand of the last moment, Miguel Maura. It is the Socialists who rule. And what gives them so much power and influence is that their party, except for that in Russia, is the most perfectly organized Socialist party in Europe.

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According to the census of 1920, there were in ain 1,729,449 industrial and commercial workers d 2,822,009 agricultural workers. In the last cade the industrialization of Spain has grown ith great rapidity. Of the industrial workers—nong whom lies the strength of the Socialist party there were about 800,000 actively organized and ues-paying members of a union. Of these, about 0,000 paid dues directly to the Union General Trabajadores, the Socialist organization. Others, ith the exception of 47, 480 who belong to Catho- or similar unions, were members of professional d syndical unions and sure in most cases "to fall line" if called to do so by the Socialists.

The Socialist party, by its perfect organization, n at any moment paralyze the life of the country ith a general strike. It did so in 1917, and if at strike failed, it was due to skilful manoeuvering the central government, which, after much blood- ed, rallied central and southern Spain to its sup- rt by the war cry that the movement was to fect the secession of Catalonia.

Many observers have doubtless been struck by e resemblance between the new Spanish Republic d the Kerensky government of 1917 in Russia, d have asked themselves whether the new regime ill be as transitory as was that first Russian Re- blic. It is, of course, entirely possible that this ay happen. Some of the members of the new panish government are at least sympathetic to mmunism, and if there is any widespread revolt, is not altogether impossible that the Communists ay gain considerable more power.

And last of all the writer deals with the rospect of King Alfonso's return to Spain.

There is no remote possibility as matters stand day for the return of Alfonso.

Despite the likeable personality of the King—a keable personality which has been "sold" by expert blicity methods—Spain remembers too many her things about him, and not least of all, his ve of despotism. Before he could ever have a hance to return, the part he played in the conduct Moroccan affairs will have become fully known. When in 1921 a committee was appointed to in- estigate the disaster that cost Spain within a few ays the lives of some 40,000 soldiers—10,000 in ne day alone, the report of the investigating com- ittee (formed by parliamentarians and a few enerals) implicated the King of Spain first and hen many generals and officers.

Another aspect of the King's life which will be ully investigated is his financial affairs. There is rave question as to how he came by some of the arge fortune which he now possesses snugly tucked way in the bankers' strong boxes in Paris, London and New York. There is good reason to believe hat if the facts were to be known, Alfonso would e found to have had a career in dubious finance hich might turn many a shady Wall Street pro- moter a delicate green with envy.

The future of the new Spanish Republic is on the knees of the goods. That its position is precari- ous goes without saying. At the same time, it is probably safe to predict that if there is another shift, it will probably be to the Left and not to the Right. The Spanish people have endured enough and the hands of autocrats, whether of the nobility, the army or the Church. They now insist on the right to make their own mistakes for a while.

Calendar Reform

A reform of the Gregorian Calendar has long been called for. The subject is on the agenda of the League Transit Conference which is to meet next October. In view of this fact, the League of Nations *Overseas Bulletin* gives a brief account of the present position of the question:

Before the foundation of the League of Nations, the reform of the Gregorian calendar was a matter of frequent discussion. It was in 1923, on the suggestion of the Dutch member of the League of Nations Advisory Committee for communications and Transit, that the League decided to appoint a Special Committee to ascertain the state of public opinion on the desirability of simplifying the calendar.

Considerable material was collected by this Special Committee and a great number of reform schemes, emanating from the most varied sources and countries, were received. These schemes were classified into three main groups. The Committee did not decide in favour of any one group to the exclusion of the others, nor did it even decide that any reform should be introduced into the present calendar. It considered that, before there could be any international examination of the question, it was necessary to institute a more complete study among the representatives of the circles concerned within the individual countries.

For the purpose, therefore, of discovering whether and in what form public opinion in each country holds calendar reform to be desirable and possible, national committees of enquiry, composed of persons representative of the chief interests involved, have been constituted in virtually every country. The procedure of most national committees has been to issue questionnaires, particularly to economic and social interests, with a view to ascertaining their views as to the expediency of fixing what are at present movable feasts and of simplifying the Gregorian calendar. National committees have been requested to emboby the results of their enquiries in reports to be submitted to the League before the end of April 1931. Such reports have already been received from France, Italy and the United States of America.

Acting on the instructions of the Assembly of the League, the Advisory and Technical Committee has included in the agenda of the Fourth General Conference on Communications and Transit—a Conference, which takes place every four years and is composed of Government representatives, assisted by experts—the question of the examination of the expediency, from an economic and social standpoint, of fixing movable feasts and of simplifying the Gregorian calendar.

The conclusions of national committees will be taken as a basis of discussion at this Conference, which meets in Geneva in October next.

In order that a comprehensive report might be submitted to Governments some time before the Conference, it was decided to convene a preparatory committee, composed of persons appointed by the Advisory Committee, who would frame this report after having heard the representatives of any organizations that might wish to supply it with

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information. This Preparatory Committee will meet in the early part of June.

The Conference will probably be called upon to place on record, in a Protocol, the opinions of the Government representatives on the question and such measures as the Conference might contemplate with a view to giving effect to its decisions.

It is in this way that all nations, speaking through the agency of their national committees, will have the opportunity, in October of this year, of expressing their opinion on the advisability of changing the present calendar and, if so, in what manner and at what time.

—

Body and Mind

Inter-relation between the body and the mind is intimate. There is an interesting discussion of this question in *Mental Hygiene Bulletin* :

The mind has a potent and far-reaching influence upon the body. This effect may be either harmful or beneficial.

Everyone is familiar with the deep sense of power and strength which seems to radiate from that human being who has reached a state of moral serenity in life. Peace of mind, contentment, satisfaction are reflected in quiet, orderly functioning of the body. After a serious mental or moral struggle is over, we can feel relief and relaxation in our very muscles. Before an important examination there may be anxiety and a higher blood pressure. With the sense of completion that follows a strenuous task well done, the pressure falls to a normal level.

If a cat is frightened by a fierce dog there is an outpouring of adrenalin into the blood stream far in excess of the usual amount. The majority of the members of a famous varsity football squad show sugar in the urine on the eve of the important game of the season. It has been authoritatively related that on one of the South Sea Islands where voodooism is practised, strong, healthy, young natives died a few weeks after they had been told that a small tree gum image of themselves had been fashioned by the voodoo priest, thrust through with a sharpened twig and melted in a flame. If this is true it is an example of emotional death.

Pleasant environments influence the physiological processes. Beauty soothes, quiets, relaxes. Surroundings in which truth, goodness, and kindness predominate foster happiness and peace of mind. Digestion may be aided by the proper accompaniment of food. Good food tastefully served in quiet, pleasant places goes a long way toward preventing indigestion. This is not merely poetry but actual fact which can be demonstrated in the laboratory.

After we have solved a difficult problem there is a sense of well-being and elation which has definite bodily components. The body of a human being whose mind is occupied with satisfactory work *feels* and functions better than it would have if the mind were continuously idle. If the mind is not engaged with the concrete problems of daily life, it turns in upon itself and is occupied with certain physical activities which attract its attention and with which it was never meant to be concerned.

The body functions more harmoniously when love dominates the mind than it does when hate rules. Similarly, when tenderness, joy, happiness, and the warm feelings of sympathy and comradeship prevail in our minds, unquestionably the physical mechanisms work more easily and more satisfactorily. These feelings and emotions are at once reflected in the organism. Compare appetite and digestion when dining alone or with a group of friends ; after a walk or game with congenial companions or an unpleasant session with someone we dislike and distrust.

The lighter side of life, play, laughter, amusement and even occasional childish silliness are as important for the proper working of the body as are more serious pursuits. They oil the bearings of the body through the mind, decrease friction, and make the machinery run more smoothly.

One of the functions of art in general is to produce favourable bodily reactions. Think of beautiful strains of music, a perfect painting, immortal poetry, sublime sculpture. Surely, we are physically better for having heard and seen. Finally, it may be added that attitudes of reverence and worship before the great mysteries of life have a wholesome effect on the body ; antagonism, bitterness, distrust and fear are harmful.

—

With Rolland

Mr. Robert Merrill Bartlett, who was lately on the Faculty of the Peking University, went on a visit to M. Romain Rolland at his home. He gives his impression of the meeting in *World Unity Magazine*, from which the following passage is taken :

At the dinner table I sat opposite father Rolland, age ninety-four, between my host and his charming and brilliant sister, Madelaine Rolland. His words through that memorable meal were balanced yet radical, his face was always serene, yet clothed with the passion of a prophet. In the intimacy of his home I realized the qualities which have made him beloved by a host of disciples. In every land today are those who breathe new hope and determine to strive more bravely because of the inspiration of his life and his manifestoes to mankind. Has there been any figure like him since Tolstoy ? Here is a superior man of universal mind, whose love is with every fighter for truth, and whose heart has a place for all the oppressed !

"The spiritual fellowship to which I belong is the very freest. Tolerance is the first attribute of religion. I want to give that message in 'Ramakrishna,' and recent letters about the book from Muslims and Hindus prove that some are ready to follow. Religion is tolerance, light, love ! Communism is a religion, a worship of material forces. It may succeed in a certain type of society, but its regimentation of men and its material code do not permit play of the innate divine spark. The spirit of man cannot be enslaved !

"Religion justifies itself if it can preserve the soul against the encroaching demands of a material world. We need to recover the mysticism of the

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Orient. Too much contemplation has proved itself disastrous in India, but we must give heed to the divine fire within. Christianity began as a mystical faith; its spiritual glow died down, but was renewed in the middle ages. It must be re-captured and re-defined for modern civilization.

"I want to finish my autobiography before I lay down my work. The first section, telling of my youth has come out in the 'Prabasi Bengali Review' of Calcutta. I want to tell of my inner struggle. Zweig and Jouve have related events but have not given the inner life. My career has been possessed by certain inexplicable ideals. I grew up in a humble home in Burgundy under the devoted care of my parents, but there was something more than training and environment. I had an innate longing for the music of the of the German masters, a craving to see Italy, and a desire to know about the Orient. As far back as I can remember there was this divine endowment which gave me a kinship with the men and causes that I have struggled to love."

Monsieur Rolland sat at the piano and played for me from his great companion, Beethoven. He bent over the Adagio from the Fourth Quarter, his pale, statue-like hands playing with the skill of a master. And then he plunged into the Last Symphony. As I watched his bent, gray figure, my mind travelled a long pilgrimage through the years of his stormy, valiant life. "I am terribly alone these days," he had told me. "Peguy is gone, killed just as the Armistice was signed. Almost all of the old fraternity which made the famous 'Cahier de la quinzaine,' were taken by the war." I thought also of the words of René Lalou, "His virtues are absolute sincerity, hatred of every baseness and every hypocrisy, love of heroism and divine music."

He rose, the deep triumphant notes resounding through the room.

"How wonderful it is to have that privilege of communion through music, and to be able to speak with the great spirits and to interpret their message to men!" I exclaimed with feeling.

"Ah, but it is only out of long silence!" he said.

I had brought with pride my original editions and Monsieur Rolland withdrew with them after his playing to write a personal message in each volume. After his cordial farewell, I walked into the Swiss moonlight through the great trees and down to the lake. I sat by the water to review my high experience; and read the challenge he had written on the pages of my books—"Si vous voulez trouver Dieu, servez l'homme." "Non moi, mon frère, mais toi!"

—

Burial of Mohammed Ali in Jerusalem

The following graphic account of the funeral of the late Maulana Mohammad Ali in Jerusalem by an eye-witness is published in *The Inquirer*.

At last there was a stir in the throng outside the station. A body of English mounted soldiers cleared the way by taking up the entire middle of the street and thus pressing the crowds to the sides. Behind the military came the various uniformed Mahammedan schools, led by their scouts, who carried flags and banners of red, green and black silk, bearing inscriptions in Arabic, also a more than life-size, half-length portrait of Mohammed Ali. These were followed by such a vast throng, that we were afraid we should miss seeing the chief thing, the coffin. Far back more and more flags came into view; these, with flowers and wreaths were carried by deputations from villages, institutions, Consulates, etc., and the band of the Mahommedan orphanage played a funeral march. This was the first sound that had broken the deep silence.

Again a host of people passed by, then came the coffin. Two enormous green banners, the upper points fastened together, thus forming an arch, led this third division.

Until now the street had contained the procession; but all at once like a river overflowing its banks, the multitude surged, a seething mass, on to the high ground on either side, in the midst of which an English police superintendent rode fearlessly. And now came the coffin on a flat motor, covered with a green and red pall said to be a portion of the holy carpet which is manufactured every year in Egypt to be sent to Mecca. Slowly it went past, surrounded by a hundred or more teachers singing their funeral hymn with subdued voices. Two Arabs who were standing near us suddenly became much excited, and one exclaimed to the other: "See, there is his brother. You can see it by the likeness." This brother, Shaukat Ali, had come from India in order to be present at the funeral. The old, greybearded man wore a high Indian cap, and saluted the crowd with waves of a gloved hand. Behind him another host of people, then the street emptied rapidly. The march past had lasted more than half an hour, and probably the head of the procession was at the Haram before the end of it had left the station.

There were no women in the crowd, which numbered fifty to sixty thousand. The burial was at 12 o'clock, and was a dignified and impressive ceremony, many speeches being made in honour of Mohammed Ali. Shaukat Ali, in expressing his thanks, said that he was six years older than his brother, and that he had brought him up, sending him to Oxford. He was thus familiar with the luxury and civilization of Europe, but preferred the simple life of Islam and had worked with a body of young and earnest men for the spread of the principles of Islam. He entreated the women to inspire their husbands and children to work for Islam and victory, and ended with these words:

"I may have lost one brother, but I have gained thousands of others. Avoid those customs which the West has brought to the East, and whose aim and object is to destroy Islam."

—

Romain Rolland on European Imperialism

In the *Nouvelle Revue Mondiale*, M. Romain Rolland joins issue with the well-known French writer, M. Gaston Riou, on

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the political future of Europe and European Imperialism, and he has been so kind as to send us a reprint of his article. The tittle of his article is "Europe, élargis-toi ou meurs !"—"Europe broaden thyself or die." All that follows is an eloquent commentary on this text. M. Rolland discovers no signs of the immediate broadening of the European spirit. It is still absorbed in its plans of self-aggrandisement. He subjects the the Pan-European plan of M. Briand and Count Coudenhove-Kalergi to a devastating criticism. But perhaps the most eloquent passage in M. Rolland's article is that which deals with the revolt of Asia against European domination :

But that is not all. Another conflagration is flaming outside our doors. To charm her young lovers, the fair Europe whose knight-errant Gaston Riou is, has borrowed the form of a pretty girl of 1789—the Goddess of Reason with her blossoming bosom bearing the new Evangel of the Rights of Man. But she has less pretty features under that make-up. The rest of the world knows her tiger snout. The democracies of to-day are empires—some would say vampires. These beasts of prey have divided the carcass of the earth. Their appetite is immense. They gorge themselves with the gold and blood of peoples twenty times more numerous than they. The British lion has his claws sunk into the flanks of India, sunk so deep that he cannot withdraw them, nor live detached from his prey.

We French who let him capture his magnificent prize in the days of the unfortunate Lally and Louis the well-beloved made up for it rather well later on. It is noteworthy that our imperialistic expansion coincided with the establishment of the Third Republic. "In a republic," Victor Hugo might have said, "there are publicans." The climax of the Roman republic was the rule of Crassus and Verres. Naturally we made away with a fourth of the planet only in order to bring to it the light of our civilization, our culture, and our language, which are the most beautiful and perfect of all ! But our lucky charges have the ill grace to perfer their own. Ingratitude, we know, is the law of life.

And the great Asiatic races accept no blame for attempting a renaissance of their own The foremost, Japan, has declared itself adult by force of arms. China, awake now, will never go back to sleep. And, conscious of its power, Gandhi's India has just given the signal for the emancipation. The rest of Asia will not take long to follow. Our Indo-Chinese empire has already manifested the first awakening twitches, which the proconsuls of our democracy have, naturally, wiped out in blood. The same weakening thrill is coursing through the large body of Islam which from end to end covers about a third of the Old Continent.

The question will arise to-morrow, it has arisen to-day : Where are Gaston Riou and his friends going to stand—with the Great God Rubber, flanked by all his pantheon, and his holy harem—the Goddess, of Liberty, Spiritual Enlightenment, Art, Science, Progress, Civilization ? Or with the great brothers Asia and Africa, trying to snap their chains ? I will have no side-stepping. When the duel starts—which the blind selfishness of Europe makes almost inevitable—what soldiers will docilely help the adventures of Europe to combat a world fighting for independence ?

I Will Not Be a Soldier

I answer for myself, pledging no one else, but pledging all of myself : I will not be such a soldier. Europe, if you enter upon this monstrous struggle I will march against your despotism and your rapacity, and for my brothers in India, China, Indo-China, and all the oppressed and exploited nations. I shall do so not only in the name of justice and the sacred rights which you lyingly invoke, but in the name of civilization itself, of the 'greatest' civilization—the unlimited progress of the human spirit. For this spirit has a vital need in this hour to be enriched and renewed by the intellectual and moral contribution of these magnificent races, who through centuries of rapine have extorted from them their gold, still hold fast to their spiritual treasures, their ancient and now resuscitated civilizations.

A Brother of the Oppressed

I shall hope against all hope that this mighty clash of the two halves of humanity can still be averted. But if this happens I am too near death to hide my thoughts. I say to the U. S. S. R. of Lenin, and I say to the Asia of Sun Yat-sen and Gandhi : Brothers, count on me ! I am only one man among millions. But that man is and has all his life been a liberal voice in the West, the voice of the Jean-Christophes and the Colas Breugnons, a free worker, brother of the free workers of the world, who want to open the way to a universal labour union, free of the yokes and prejudices of race, caste, and class.

To Europe

And I say to Europe : Broaden, Europe, or die ! Wed all the new free forces on earth ! You are stifling yourself in your out-moded liberty cap, glorious but crushed down over your face. Tear it off. Breathe and let us breathe ! We need a home, a country, more far flung than Europe.

My country is not yesterday. My country is tomorrow. And the angelus has already rung out this day.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

War Lies

The part that propaganda played in inflaming hatred between nations is referred to by the Rev J. R. Macphail in *The Young Men of India Burma, and Ceylon*,

In the war days people were mad, mad with hate and fear; and all the time, Government told lies about the enemy, in order to inflame the people's madness still further. In these saner days, surely no Briton can hear the words 'German atrocities' without shame. How many stories of handless babies and crucified Canadians were invented, and circulated, and believed, which sane people would have scoffed at! Again when the *Lusitania* was sunk, it was deliberately concealed that she was carrying ammunition; and every one in Great Britain and America glowed with moral indignation. After the War we found that we had been played with; and how sick and sold we felt! That is how the war was carried on. The lowest motives were constantly appealed to, by the lowest methods. If the truth had been known, or if people had been allowed to think, or if the British had realized for a moment that the Germans were just like themselves, the war could not have lasted. And it has to be recognized that, if the leaders of the people were liars, the people were more than willing to be dupes.

During a war, most of the fighting men have some respect for their enemy, and even some affection. One man, whose health has never recovered from his war-injuries, told me that he was in the fighting-line when the news of the Armistice came through, and he felt inclined to give three cheers for the Germans as if it were the end of a football-match. Many shared this feeling: and we all know that the higher authorities had to send orders into the front-line trenches forbidding the troops to 'fraternize' with the enemy. But some of the combatants, and the majority of non-combatants, are thoroughly demoralized, during a serious war, by hate and fear: they will believe any evil of the enemy, and will cherish thoughts of frightful barbarity. This is nothing new in war: Isaiah and Aristophanes and Tolstoy describe how the same sort of thing happened during the smaller wars of their days. During the Napoleonic wars, there were thousands of Englishmen firmly convinced that Napoleon's normal diet was babies. But never before did it happen on the scale of 1914-18. Insanity is certainly not too strong a word. Almost everyone was affected: the few men who kept their heads seemed to the rest to be possessed by the devil. If a man suggested that there might be any good in any German, or that there was any chance of Germany 'winning,' he was denounced as a traitor to his country.

—

The Crisis in Islam

The Calcutta Review has a very interesting article on the present tendencies in Islam by Mrs. T. H. Weir in course of which she says:

Has this reformed Islam, which in its beginnings we may observe in the most diverse places of the wide Islamic world, really still a right to the name of Islam, or is it, to return to the dictum of Lord Cromer, in truth Islam no longer! The final answer, if indeed it is to be anything more than a play upon words, can only be found in the development of the Islamic world as a whole. And only thus is it permissible and profitable to allude to certain points of view which might be important for the understanding of the result of that historical judgment. The Modernists feel that they are thoroughly good Muslims not only Muhammed 'Abduh, but also men like S. Khuda Bukhsh and Ziyā Gōok Alp. Those of the old orthodoxy, who of course at the beginning of the movement, were enormously in the majority, and are still, especially as they are supported by the great mass of those who have no opinion, will doubtless be inclined to see in the ideas of reform which certainly, confessedly or not, include the abandonment of the Islamic law, a defection from Islam. The reproach of unbelief is now-a-days generally in disputatious theological circles, made pretty freely and rashly, and all the more so just because it usually has not much serious effect, and being so lightly made, it is not taken very seriously. For as the Islamic Church is originally and fundamentally one with the State, it has not evolved any definite organization of its own to examine any such reproach and if necessary deal with it energetically. So the name of Muslim cannot very easily be refused to practically anyone who feels and declares himself a Muslim. In addition the founders and leaders of Modernism were men against whom mainly because of their respected position and partly because of their undoubted piety, the frenzy of the crowd dared not break out. They themselves did not wish to put themselves outside the Islamic church, nor had the church the will, the power or the courage to draw a dividing line between itself and them. Therefore, thanks to a certain elasticity due to the very lack of a hierarchical organization of the church, the justification of Modernism seems almost from the beginning to be in principle ensured within its own bosom.

To be sure, there is no possible doubt that Modernism means a wide breach with the ideas of Islam hitherto regarded as binding, and certainly so does the Modernism of the comparatively moderate Wahabi culture, hardly less than that of those who think more consistently and regardlessly in terms of historical development. For as we have clearly seen they all, in a greater or less

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degree, abandon the Islamic law which hitherto was held to be the essence of Islam. But the whole imposing structure of the Islamic system is so constituted that when one part gives way the whole threatens to fall. That fact is brought home to us when the Turkish reformers reject "historical Islam" and go back to "original Islam." It really means nothing else than the giving up of the Islamic civilization of the Middle Ages, and if Lord Cromer, in his famous pronouncement, has that in mind, then he is right; but even if this civilization, by the fixity imposed upon it by Islamic law, has been wrapped up in the cloak of religious consecration, still in reality it never was the essence and heart of Islam. It is conceivable that outsiders have seen rather the outward form than the inner meaning and only too frequently have run the risk of mistaking the one for the other. Islam is *also* religion, religion *to its very core*, a religion which is not only a collection of outward ceremonies, but one which is a conviction, a kind of attitude towards God and the world. Even the boldest Modernists from conviction adhere to Islam in this sense.

—

The Indian Communal Problem—A Solution

Professor Radhakumud Mukherjee has been suggesting for the two years that the best solution of the communal problem in India to be to conclude minority treaties on the lines laid down by the League of Nations. He contributes an article on this subject to *The Hindustan Review* and concludes by saying:

We may now in conclusion sum up the applications of the scheme of the League of Nations concerning Minorities to Indian in the form of the following propositions;—

(*a*) The minority problem is not a Moslem but a Hindu problem in India. The Moslems in the different provinces of India are either in a majority or are in a hopeless minority below the numerical limit fixed by the League; for example, about 6 per cent in Madras, 10 per cent in Bihar and Orissa, 4 per cent in C. P., 14 per cent in U. P. and 19 per cent in Bombay. Hindus are in the majority in all the provinces except Bengal and Punjab, where, however, they are in a minority which forms 'a considerable proportion of the population,' as required by the League, more than 45 per cent of the population, which is much higher than the minimum percentage fixed by the League for a minority.

The minority problem is a Moslem problem where the whole of India is concerned, of which the Moslems form about a fourth of the population, and thus satisfy the numerical test inposed by the League.

(*b*) The Hindu minorities of Bengal and Punjab are not entitled to any special electorate or any reserved number of seats in the Legislature. They are entitled only to the kind of protection, linguistic, racial, or religious, which the League permits.

(*c*) Thus the Indian minorities of both Bengal and Punjab must be prepared to work a common electorate with Muslim majorities in those provinces without any reserved representation for themselves in the Legislatures or statutory guarantees as to the number of seats they must obtain in the Legislature through the avenue of the common electorate.

(*d*) The Hindu minorities in the two provinces aforesaid are however entitled to the full protection of their language, their religion and their racial characteristics, their social customs and personal law. They can even claim denominational schools out of public funds if they can produce sufficient number of pupils to take advantage of them, 40 in the case of primary schools and 300 for secondary schools.

(*e*) If in any local area within the province a Muslim minority appears to be numerically larger than 20 per cent of its population, it will be entitled to all the three kinds of protection, linguistic, racial, and religious, on the lines indicated above.

(*f*) Similarly, if the Sikhs who form only about 11 per cent of the population of the Punjab and thus fail recognition as a legal minority, form more than 20 per cent in certain local areas, there they will be entitled to full protection as indicated above and to denominational schools for purposes of the training of their children in their mother tongue and religion from public funds.

The Sikh position has been made clear by the patriotic declaration of the Sikh representative to the Round Table Conference, Sardar Ujjal Singh, at its last plenary sitting to the effect that the Sikhs will withdraw their demands for separate electorate or any reserved or weighted representation if the whole of the Punjab is thrown open equally to all creeds and communities for building up a genuine democracy on the basis of a common electorate, or constituencies representing only localities or special interests.

It is to be hoped that the whole of India, irrespective of creed or community, will declare itself with one voice against communal electorate or representation which is the very negation of democracy and is entirely incompatible with, and completely contradictory to, any form of popular responsible Government or Dominion constitution, which British policy stands pledged to grant to India.

Will not the different communities and minorities of India, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, Anglo-Indians, and Depressed Classes rise to the height of the occasion, and, placing country before community and creed, achieve for their common motherland a sound, stable, and strong democracy comprehending in a common citizenship and nationhood her many races and communities or will they, against the law and constitution of every civilized country in the world, carry their communal differences beyond their legitimate sphere to legislature and administration to split them up into sections and thus permanently disfigure and disable the entire body-politic?

—

A Board of Economic Enquiry

The suggestion for an economic general staff is not new. Something like this has been attempted in Great Britain and suggested for India. In connection with this sub-

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ect, there is an article in the *Indian Journal of Economics* by Mr. J. W. Thomas, Principal, Hailey College of Commerce, Lahore, on the working of the Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, which is particularly interesting :

At the present moment there seems to be considerable interest displayed in the question as to whether it is desirable to set up in India, Economic Advisory Councils on lines similar to those which have been established in other countries. The recent visit to India of Sir Arthur Salter, the Economic Adviser to the League of Nations, Geneva, has probably stimulated this interest and frequent requests are made for information as to the origin and constitution of the Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab. Such seekers after light are usually referred to the article which Prof. Myles wrote for the *Indian Journal of Economics* in January 1925 (Vol. V, Part 3, pp. 246—49), but as some of the information contained in that article is now a little out-of-date, it may not, perhaps, be inadvisable, to review the reasons for the establishment of the Board, the objects it has in view and the work which it has done in the last decade. It is possible that the original article may not be available to all readers of the present note and for that reason perhaps a certain amount of repetition of the information contained in Prof. Myles' article may be forgiven.

The Board came into being at the instigation of the Government of the province in the year 1919, when it was thought desirable to inquire into the economic conditions of the agriculturists. It was felt that some permanent body should be set up to undertake economic research in the Punjab, and Government agreed to the recommendation of the Committee appointed to inquire into the matter, that "it was highly desirable to establish a Standing Board of Rural Economic Inquiry for the Punjab . . . this Standing Board to have at its disposal, an annual allotment of funds for expenditure of the payment of investigators, the encouragement of investigations and the publication of results."

The constitution of the Board was formed so as to secure the co-operation of officials and non-officials and was thoroughly representative of the people who were likely to be interested in the economic development of the province. The original constitution is still in force, though some modifications appear to be necessary in view of the ex-perience gained.

Although it was originally intended that the Board should deal with rural affairs only, an urban section was added and the two Financial Commissioners of the Province were appointed ex-officio Chairmen of the two sections. There are 23 other members, *viz.*, the Directors of Agriculture, Industries and Public Health, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, the Inspector of Factories, the Professor of Agriculture in the Agricultural College at Lyallpur, and the Professor of Economics in the Punjab University : all the above are ex-officio ; the remaining 16 members are nominated as follows :—two officials who are interested in Economics and Statistics, by the Chairman, one official from his department by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, four by the Syndicate of the Punjab University, two by the Director of Public Instruction, and seven by Government, of whom one has to be a journalist. The term of the nominated members is three years, and the Board has power to co-opt not more than four additional members to serve for a period of not more than three years.

The functions of the Board are as follows :

1. to lay down lines of economic investigation ;
2. to co-ordinate the results of economic inquiries ;
3. to encourage and direct economic study and research ; and
4. to publish economic material.

—

Roman Alphabet for India

Mr. A. C. Woolner writes in *The Educational Review* on the problem of applying the Roman alphabet to Indian languages :

Recently there has been some discussion in the papers on the use of the Roman alphabet for writing and printing Indian languages. This is a question partly of habit and of the sentiment born of habit and partly of practical convenience. Now one reason, why for instance, Roman-Urdu has not proved more popular than it has done, is that in several ways it is not sufficiently practical. The fact is that in applying the Roman alphabet to the Indian languages and to Urdu in particular one fundamental mistake was made. That mistake was the effort to reproduce all the peculiarities of two other systems of writing, namely, the Indian, represented by Nagari and the late Semitic, represented by Arabic and Persian. In other words, the attempt was rather to represent one set of letters (Indian or Persian) by another set (Roman with many diacritical marks or accents) than to apply the Roman letters (with as few accents as possible) to an Indian language.

The reason of the mistake is clear. The Roman alphabet was first used for this purpose by Europeans and especially in books intended for instruction in an Indian language. Moreover, it was desired that these European pupils should go on to read and write the Indian script.

The use of the Roman letters was intended to be only introductory to the correct use of another system. That is an artificial use of an alphabet, very different in character to the various adaptations of the Roman characters that have been made in Europe, where they have been adapted (with a sparing use of accents) to various languages as different in character as Spanish and Polish, not to mention non-Aryan languages such as Basque and the language of the Lapps.

In other words, Indian scripts have been *transliterated* with Roman letters (with many accents) but little has been contributed to the question of writing an Indian language directly with Roman letters in a convenient form. By convenient form I mean a form that could be easily *read* by Indian speakers of the language (after a little practice of course) and easily *reproduced* by typewriter, printing-press and telegraph.

The main problem in view is the use of the Roman alphabet to represent a modern Indian language. The transliteration of Sanskrit and Arabic is a different matter. It happens however that Sanskrit and Arabic words are often used by Hindustani writers which have not been thoroughly

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absorbed by the modern language. These are spelled according to the classical language, though currently pronounced in a different manner. What should be the Roman spelling? That is a practical problem which depends on the extent to which a word is familiar to readers. An out-of-the-way word would have to be transliterated exactly as written in Nagari or Arabic characters, in accordance with a generally accepted system of transliteration, or else be printed in the original character.

The problems cannot be solved by philologists alone. They concern the practical printer as regards the best kind of marks to use and the average speaker of the language as to what is intelligible without special marks.

—

Causes of the World Slump

Among the many interesting explanations of the causes of the world trade slump the most recent one is that offered by Sir E. Hilton Young, who was Financial Secretary to the British Treasury in 1921-22 and also the Chairman of the Indian Currency and Finance Commission. Sir E. Hilton Young's diagnosis is quoted in *The Mysore Economic Journal* with editorial comments :

In Sir Hilton's opinion the present slump is the result of the accentuation, by a coincidence of special factors, of a periodic depression. "Next, production is subject to periods of prosperity and adversity. They result from the fact that supply and demand are never long in equilibrium. Demand stimulates supply by rising prices until supply exceeds demand. Falling prices then put the brake on supply until demand exceeds supply, and the cycle begins over again. The stimulus of rising prices and the brake of falling prices are intensified by the working of the modern credit-system. Psychological factors are active in making them effective. Falling prices are at once the chief symptom of the period of depression and the measure of its intensity. The following special factors have been at work in this slump, tending to reduce prices."

The effect of reduction of demand claims attention next. Demand has been reduced or its previous tendency to increase has been checked, we are told, by special circumstances, including :

1. The fall in the birth-rate.
2. The reduction of armies, with their higher standard of consumption in comparison with that of the same men in civil life.
3. The impoverishment by the war and by subsequent Socialist legislation of the better-to-do and the reduction of their higher standard of consumption.
4. The recession of civilization in China and Russia, and political troubles in India, Egypt and South America.
5. Lack of confidence in the stability of property in general and accumulated wealth in particular, the result of high taxation and confiscatory tendencies in legislation ; as here and in Australia.
6. The dislocation of international trade by the multiplication of the number and rate of tariffs after the war.
7. Disturbance of the mechanism of exchange by Reparation and War Debt payments.
8. Big and abnormally swift changes of habit and fashion, sometimes due to competition of new commodities, have made productive plant obsolete without time for readjustment (wool, rayon, motors).

Turning to increase in supply, we are told that supply has been abnormally stimulated by special circumstances, including :

1. Increase in area available for cultivation, owing to progressive penetration of uncivilized areas by forces of civilization (Africa).
2. The rapid advance since the war in the technique of production, both in agriculture (for the first time in economic history) and in manufacturing industry (rayon, wheat in Russia).
3. Political stimulus, by such means as prohibition of imports, import duties, subsidies and differential transport rates.
4. During the war there was a general rise in prices. After the war there was competition to secure the advantage of the rise, and pass on its disadvantage.

"Prices for agricultural produce were, and remain, low in comparison with prices for manufactured goods. This stimulates agricultural production. As profits fail, producers seek to maintain income by increasing output. It reduces the purchasing power of the agricultural population of the world (a large majority). The fall in the value of agricultural produce relative to manufactured articles has a specially adverse effect upon our export trade."

Among the special factors are some of more than ordinary interest. Normally, as supply increases when prices fall, the fall in prices stimulates demand for previous uses and causes fresh demand for new uses, thus counteracting the fall. Special factors have been at work obscuring this normal effect :

1. For some of the principal commodities affected by the fall, the demand is incapable of substantial expansion (wheat).
2. In many cases the whole or part of the benefit of the fall has been absorbed by intermediate interest (capital charges, rents, transport and middlemen) and has never reached the consumer (coal, rayon, oil seeds, silver).
3. A special case of the burden of intermediate charges is the comparatively high wage rates in manufacturing industry in the United Kingdom, particularly in the sheltered trades such as transport.

That has tended to raise the price of our goods in comparison with goods produced in other countries, and so to reduce the demand for them. At the same time, the benefit on the high price being absorbed by intermediate charges, there is no compensating stimulus to production.

The effect of falling prices is next adverted to. Normally, when prices fall, the diminished return tends to check production. Special factors have been at work obscuring this effect :—(1) Combines to finance and hold up crops have "absorbed the shock" and enabled weak producers to survive who would otherwise have been driven out of production. These combines have invariably broken down in the long run, with the result that the productive system has been subjected to

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harp blows in place of steady pressure (cotton, ubber, copper, wheat). A special case of this is he reluctance of British banks to realize losses by ompelling liquidations. (2) Some articles are roduced as by-products in the manufacture of thers. Their production continues almost independently of their own (silver) price.

The general conclusions arrived at are thus ummed up:—Owing partly to reduced demand, ut chiefly to increased production, there is a arked excess supply of commodities. "A remedial policy," said Sir Hilton Young, "should have or its objects:—

To prevent the use of the powers of Government artificially to maintain wages and prevent heir adjustment to world prices.

To prevent the use of the powers of Government artificially to support industries or plan no onger profitable, specially by abuse of doles.

To help industry to rationalize intermediate interests and reduce their toll on profits.

To help industry to rationalize production.

To help industry to redistribute productive effort with a special view to the establishment of resh forms of export trade.

To help agricultural industry to rationalize production and organize marketing. Control to secure easonal marketing will do good in some cases, as or example wool, cocoa."

The following practical measures are of a sort o advance the above objects:—

"Protective measures (import duties, licenses, uota), to secure the home market to the home roducer, in efficient industries.

The stimulation by small financial advantages n investment in capital plant within the Empire, specially the Empire overseas.

The reduction of public expenditure not immediately profitable, with a corresponding reduction f taxation, to help the rationalization and redistribution of productive effort, and to stimulate it by ncreasing its reward.

Closer co-operation between central banks, articularly U. S A. and France, to ensure a uniform urrency and credit policy and to economize gold y diminishing competition for it.

—

The Cult of Mother-Goddess in India

Writing in *The Calcutta Review* on the pre-Aryan elements in Hinduism, Mr. Atul Krishna Sur describes the Mother Goddess cult as it was practised in India.

Lastly, certain fundamental similarity between the Mother-Goddess of ancient Sumer and the Mother-Goddess of India leaves no room for doubt that both are derived from a common source. Foremost among these similarities are the following: (1) The Mother-Goddess in both the countries are conceived as a virgin yet she had a consort. (2) The sacred animal of the Mother Goddess in both the countries was the lion and that of her consort was the bull. (3) Besides the performance of her feminine functions she was capable of doing purely male functions such as fighting. In Mesopotamian inscriptions she is constantly referred to as "Leaderess of Hosts in Battles." The Indian goddess as is well known was capable of doing the same thing. In the Devimahatmya section of the Markandeyapurana is narrated the story of how when the gods were ousted by the Asuras they implored the help of Durga whereupon the latter took up arms and humiliated Mahisha the Asura and his hosts. (4) The Mesopotamian goddess was intimately associated with the mountain. She is constantly called the "Lady of the Mountain." The intimate connection of the Indian Mother Goddess with the Mountain is shown by her such names as Parvati, Haimavati, Vindhyavasini, etc. (5) And lastly the name of Sumerian goddess, Nana, is still preserved in the name of the Indian goddess Nanadevi, who has a famous temple at Hinglaj in Gujrat. Those who believe that the Sumerian Kaunakas wore palm leaf skirt would find the use of a similar garment in modern India and above all its association with the Pre-Aryan goddess Parnasavari. Such fundamental similarities as above cannot be explained away as accidental.

Mother Goddesses occupy a very prominent and important place in modern Hinduism. But they have no place in the Vedic pantheon, which was modelled on a patriarchal earthly society. But with the process of time pre-Aryan feminine deities gradually found reception in the Aryan pantheon. Thus in the later Vedic period we find Kali, Karali, etc. But they were introduced not in their original character nor as separate entities, but as part and parcel of the Vedic cult of Agni or Fire. But as the Aryans advanced towards East India their religious orthodoxy became attenuated and the Un-Aryan deities began to assert their influence on the Aryan pantheon in a most aggressive manner. Thus in the Epics and the Puranas we find mother goddesses in their true non-Aryan character. Indeed, in some passages of these works, these goddesses have been frankly stated to have been originally worshipped by such non-Aryan peoples as the Savaras.

The cult of the mother goddesses underwent further development through the influence of the Tantras—which works reveal to us a religion—perhaps aboriginal—of sexual orgiastic character. which doubtless in substance is very old and popular.

In the Hinduism of to-day the village feminine deities occupy an important place. In almost every village and town of India may be seen a shrine or a symbol of the deities. There is no doubt that it represents another phase of the pre-Aryan mother goddess cult more or less modified by Brahminical influence.

Though the cult of the Mother Goddess had no place in the Vedic religion, yet the Grihyasutras incidentally mention some of the goddesses of popular origin. Of such deities mention may specially be made of Vasini, "the ruling Goddess who is probably the Mother Goddess who despite all Vedic influence always was the chief spiritual village power indentical with Siva's wife in various forms." These goddesses were invoked of as givers of offsprings and longevity. There cannot be any doubt that these goddesses were the direct descendants of the nude goddesses of pre-Aryan times.

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Training for Co-operation

Sir Lalubhai Samaldas writes in *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* on the

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proposals of Sir Daniel Hamilton for the promotion of co-operation in India :

The basic idea of the training institution is to prepare young men for rural uplift work to be done with the help of the co-operative movement. For this purpose, students will be given training in the theory and practice of co-operation and also will be made to do agricultural work in the fields and also to work at the spinning wheel and hand-loom and other crafts. For this work, which is to be carried on in two areas, dry and wet, at Bolpur and Gosaba, Sir Daniel wanted financial assistance to the extent of Rs. 1,50,000 which seems to have practically been promised by the Finance Member of the Government of India. That one Co-opertive Training Institute—or two if the original scheme is to be followed out in all details—can be established to train up as many men as Sir Daniel expects within this amount is quite feasible, if we take into consideration the fact that Sir Daniel wants to charge each young man Rs. 15 for his boarding and lodging. The real and the important point to consider is as to the use to be made of these men after they have been trained in the Institute, as no one wants merely an addition of unemployed co-operators to the already unemployed Arts graduates and under-graduates. Sir Daniel thinks, these men ought to be employed in expanding the co-operative movement in Bengal. I agree with him in thinking that useful work *can* be found for them in the co-operative field, but it can only be found if, as I have said above, the Minister in charge is prepared to chalk out a bold policy of considerable expansion of the movement and also if he is able to get from the Finance Member the requisite money for carrying out his policy. Probably, to strengthen the hands of the Minister and of the Finance Member, Sir Daniel submitted his second proposal, namely, to reclaim 30,000 *bighas* of land and hand over the same after reclamation to the Government of Bengal which will probably derive permanently, land revenue of Rs. 50,000 and a net income of about Rs. 30,000. An initial loan of Rs. 2,00,000 is required for the purpose of reclamation work which can be recovered from the land revenue income of the reclaimed property or may be written off as development charges under capital account.

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The Problem Of Adult Education

Mr. V. K. Rao points out in *The Social Service Quarterly* what is one of the most urgent and vital needs of the moment:

The criticisms that have been hitherto levelled against the educational policy of the Government have been mainly directed towards the field of either University education or secondary education or, as in more recent times, primary education. The late Mr. G. K. Gokhale made the extension of primary education the cardinal aim of his political life and the post-reform period has seen some expansion in the number of pupils attending primary schools and in the amount of money spent on their education. I do not for a moment intend to suggest that this enthusiasm for primary education was inopportune or disproportionate; it is certainly sad that sufficient attention has not been drawn to the almost entire absence of such a thing as adult education in this country. It is hardly necessary to point out, especially in view of the impending changes in our constitution, that it is only a literate people who can run most efficiently the democratic machinery of government. From a political, as well as an economic standpoint, adult education is undobtedly essential in the interests of the present generation. When compared to this imperative need, the available machinery of adult education in this country is deplorably poor, both in quantity and quality.

Not only are the existing facilities so few but no attempt has been made to study the needs of the Indian position on a systematic basis and we might well contrast this apathy of the Indian Government to the interest shown by the British Government in this problem as evidenced by the appointment, some years ago, of a special Government Committee on adult education by the Ministry of Reconstruction in Great Britain. And, in this connection, I would quote the Committee's own admission that "adult education is a permanent national necessity, an inseparable aspect of citizenship and therefore should be both universal and life-long." The World Education Conference which met at Edinburgh in 1925 also recognized the importance of this aspect of the educational problem by providing for a special section to discuss the various aspects and possibilities of the Adult Education Movement.

The problem of adult education in India is mainly three-fold. It includes education of a type that closely corresponds to university education given to those who are unable to acquire it by reason of their straitened means, education given to the workers of modern industry in the three R's as well as in the ethics and economics of a healthy trade union and working class movement, and instruction in elementary hygiene, and in some features of the concepts of citizenship given to the large masses of the rural population. These are three district needs and have obtained, in turn, appropriate institutional expression in Europe. University extension classes and summer vacation courses provide the needs of the first, labour colleges and workers' educational associations meet the requirements of the second, while those of the third are attended to by rural reconstruction leagues, agricultural associations and occasionally by co-operative societies. In view of this one cannot but disagree with the narrow interpretation which Prof. Kemp Smith sought to impose on the term adult education by defining it as "education for those who have not had the opportunities of a university training but who in the course of their daily vocations have come to feel the need, or who can be brought to feel the need, for such special training as only the universities and those who have passed through them are in a position to supply."

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NOTES

Safe-guards and Reservations

Efforts are being made in various ways nd directions by British imperial diehards o see that Mahatma Gandhi does not attend he Round Table Conference, or, in case e does so, to see that before he sets foot n British soil he accepts the safe-guards nd reservations, generally believed by ndians to have been formulated in British nterests. These efforts are being made both in Britain and in India: in Britain in the press, n the platform and in Parliament. As Mahatma Gandhi has declared repeatedly hat he would not attend the R. T. C. unless he terms of the truce concluded between Congress and the Government were " fully bserved and unless there was also a settlement f the communal problem, the non-observance f the truce terms by some officers in arious provinces and the persistence of the eparatist Moslems in their demands may e due in part to the influence of the mperialist diehards.

A British Official wireless, dated May 19, runs as follows :

Answering a series of questions directed to licit information as to the acceptance of safe-guards n the Indian constitution by Mr. Gandhi, the ecretary for India, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, said that he published result of the conversations between ord Irwin and Mr. Gandhi showed that the onstitutional discussions were to be resumed on the cheme outlined by the Round Table Conference nd that it was explicitly recognized that just as ederation and Indian responsibility were an ssential part of the scheme, so also were the eservations or safe-guards in the interests of ndia for such matters as defence, external affairs, inorities and the financial credit of India.

Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi would be prepared to accept only those safe-guards and reservations which could be shown to be clearly and solely in the interests of India. But Mr. Benn's reply admits of two interpretations, *viz.*, that the reservations or safe guards formulated were in the interests of India, or that only those safe-guards or reservations would be considered an essential part of the scheme which could be proved to be in the interest of India. Indians would not object to the second interpretation.

British diehards have been trying to make out that the safe-guards or reservations are "a settled fact—that they cannot be done away with or altered.

But Mr. C Y. Chintamani, one of the "delegates" to the R. T. C., publicly stated some time ago that whatever had been hitherto accepted at that Conference had been provisionally accepted. A cable, dated London, May 19, gives that to be the opinion also of Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, another "delegate."

Mr. Sastri, in his speech, pointed out that every member of the Round Table Conference had given only his provisional assent to its decisions, and had left himself free to reconsider the situation. Therefore it would not be surprising if the new-comers to the Conference should be anxious to discuss everything afresh.

The opinions of Mr. Chintamani and Mr. Sastri are admittedly entitled to full credence. But it is not necessary to rely on their testimony alone. For in the official report of the Indian Round Table Conference, it is stated that

—

"Agreement is only Provisional."

The official report on the Indian Round Table Conference from 12th November 1930 to 19th January 1931, containing Sub-Committees' reports, Conference resolution and Prime Minister's statement, presented by the Secretary of State for India to Parliament by command of His Majesty, and published by the Government of India, naturally gives the first place to reports of Sub-Committee No. 1 dealing with Federal Structure. The second report of this Sub-Committee, signed by Lord Sankey states the safe-guards and reservations. This self-same report contains on page 14, paragraph 2, the following passage :

"It must be clearly understood that although agreement has been reached by a majority of the Sub-Committee on many important matters, *such agreement is only provisional, and every member followed the example of Lord Reading who said that the understanding had been from the outset that it would be open to all members when they came to consider the complete proposals for the Federal constitution, to modify or change*

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any provisional assent they might have hitherto given. Every member of the Sub-Committee reserves to himself the right of modifying his opinion before the final picture is completed. This is the attitude of British and Indian members alike." (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*)

Nothing can be clearer and more conclusive than the above.

The doubts of the most sceptical should be set at rest by the Resolution adopted by the Conference unanimously at the final Plenary Session, held on 19th January, 1931, which contains, among others, the following words:

"The Conference sitting in Plenary Session has received and noted the Reports of the nine Sub-Committees submitted by the Committee of the whole Conference with comments thereon.

These Reports, *provisional though they are*, together with the recorded notes attached to them, afford, in the opinion of the Conference, material of the highest value for use in the framing of a constitution for India, embodying as they do a substantial measure of agreement on the main ground-plan, and many helpful indications of the points of detail to be further pursued." (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*)

If anybody really thinks that, after so much suffering and sacrifice on the part of millions, Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest of Indian leaders, would agree to go to London to fill in some minor details in a scheme of quite fractional self-rule, we cannot congratulate such a person on the possession of even an iota of common sense.

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Glaring Inaccuracy in Education Report?

In his report on "Education in India in 1927-28" Mr. A. H. Mackenzie, Officiating Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, gave a tabular statement on page 7, in which it was recorded that in 1927-28 Calcutta University had 1,720 students in University Departments and 27,390 students in affiliated colleges. The corresponding table in the same officer's report for 1928-29 states that in 1928-29 Calcutta University had 1,171 students in University Departments and 2,928 students in affiliated colleges. If Mr. Mackenzie's figures are correct, then one must conclude that, in the course of one year, in the colleges affiliated to the Calcutta University the number of students had decreased from 27,390 to 2,928. Is this a fact?

From the two tables in the two reports we learn further that the number of members of the teaching staff in colleges affiliated to the Calcutta University was 1,168 in 1927-28 and 1,268 in 1928-29. In other words, though these colleges lost 24,462 students in one year, they had to *increase* their teaching staff by 100 for such a phenomenally *diminished* number of students! Again, in 1927-28 colleges with 27,390 students turned out 2,104 graduates; but in 1928-29 the same colleges with only 2,928 students turned out 2,384 graduates, *i. e.*, 280 more graduates, on account of the unparallelled decrease in the number of students!!!

Another point requires clearing up. Calcutta University Departments are stated to have had 1,720 students and 303 teachers in 1927-28 and 1,171 students and 200 teachers in 1928-1929. This means that 103 teachers were cashiered in 1928-1929, because students had decreased by 549; or, in other words, each of these 103 teachers used to teach on an average less than three students!

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Not "Bharatam," But "Bhrataram"

On the eve of the celebration, at Santiniketan, of the 70th birthday of the poet Rabindranath Tagore, he was interviewed by a representative of *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*. He was asked several questions. One question and the poet's reply to it are printed below:

Asked about what he considers to be the duty of his countrymen in this juncture the poet replied that he really did not know what to say. He could, however, tell what he himself believed and tried all through his life to act up to. He continued: "Politics is not my sphere. The big political questions are not for me to solve. All that I know is that as an Indian I ought to put forth all my energies, not in paying sentimental homage to a deified Mother India who is an abstraction, but in trying to do good to, ameliorate the lot of, as many of my countrymen as lies in my power to do. If you call it a message—I hate the word message, my message to my people is this:—Don't let all your energies be spent up in sentimental outburst, but translate them into action. You have had enough of 'Bande Mataram.' Let 'Bande Mataram' be now replaced by 'Bande Bhrataram.' Neither by waving the national flag nor by spinning your allotted quota of cotton on the Charka, can you win Swaraj, but only by constructive work for the masses, only by actual service to your fellow-countrymen, can you achieve it."

In most of the papers printed outside Bengal in which we have seen the interview reproduced in its entirety or in part, the words "Bande Bhrataram" have been printed as "Bande Bharatam," thus making the poet's suggestion nonsensical. When one shouts

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Bande Mataram," it is meant that he alutes the Mother (India). If he houts "Bande Bharatam" instead, he alutes the same entity, India. So to substiute one cry for the other would be to nake a distinction without a difference. Rabindranath Tagore is undoubtedly a poet, but he is not quite innocent of logic or devoid of common sense. Yet on the ssumption that he exhorted his countrymen o shout "Bande Bharatam" instead of Bande Mataram," he has been subjected to solemn criticism even by some responsible and able editors.

What he wants is that instead of sentimental outbursts addressed to a deified abstraction or figure of speech, his countrymen should salute, should adore, their brethren (*bhrataram*) in the practical way of actual service rendered to them.

Many who do not know him think of him, not as a man who sleeps little and devotes his waking hours to work, as he does, but merely as a man of dreams, visions and abstract ideas, lying supinely on his back all day long. They do not know what has been and is being done practically in his estates for his tenants and in many a village in the Birbhum district in which Santiniketan and Sriniketan are situated. Among the village crafts practically taught and encouraged under the auspices of the Visva-Bharati Village Reconstruction Department, both hand-spinning and hand-weaving are included. We have purchased and used various kinds of cloth produced by Sriniketan spinners and weavers. Of course other village cottage industries are also taught and encouraged. Village sanitation, maternity work and medical relief receive practical recognition. Many credit societies are at work in the neighbourhood to help the villagers. The poet is practical in his outlook. He has not the least repugnance to whatever will bring prosperity, health, beauty and joy to the villages of India. He is only against making a fetish of the spinning wheel, the national flag, or any other paraphernalia of mechanical or merely sentimental ritual of Nationalism. He does not dislike flags as such. His village *Brati Balaks* ("Boys with a Self-imposed Duty") have a significant flag of their own.

From Gandhiji's interpretation of *Purna Swaraj* it is clear that the mere absence of external restraints is not synonymous with his idea of freedom. This is true of Tagore's idea of freedom also. Tagore, no doubt, thinks, as other people also generally do, that freedom implies the absence of restraints imposed from without. But this is not enough. It is clear from his writings that there must be inner freedom also, born of enlightenment, self-purification and self-control. Such freedom cannot be attained only by hand-spinning and flag-waving as such.

Whether hand-spinning and hand-weaving alone can solve India's poverty problem or even merely the problem of clothing all her people, need not be discussed here. But assuming that they can, one may observe that, though food and clothing and shelter may suffice for man's animal existence, man does net live by these alone. So the true servants and children of the Motherland are they who help their brethren and sisters to live a full inner and outer life.

It has been objected that the poet has given his opinion more dogmatically and emphatically and in a more unqualified form than was necessary. May be. But the meaning and qualifications were so obvious. Moreover, when slogans like "Spin and win Swaraj" are used, it is not considered necessary to divest them of emphasis, vigour and dogmatism and to qualify them with addenda and ifs and buts.

—

Tagore's visit to Persia Postponed

His Majesty the King of Persia had some time ago invited Rabindranath Tagore to visit Persia. Recently he sent a long telegram repeating the request. The poet, therefore, sent Dr. Ali, one of the officers of Sriniketan, to Bombay to make the necessary arrangements for sailing on the 21st May. But in the meantime he fell ill and the proposed visit had to be abandoned for the present.

It is a matter for rejoicing that the Indian poet's word and work appeal to men of all races, all faiths, all ranks and all kinds of political opinions. For, in the realm of politics, though monarchism and soviet rule are as poles asunder, the poet receives felicitations not only from monarchs but also from Soviet Russia, though when in Moscow he did not conceal his opinion of methods of violence. On the occasion of the poet's 70th birthday Prof. F. N. Petrov, President of the Society for Cultural Relations, U. S. S. R., sent his warmest greetings to

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him, adding: "Dear Poet, I wish you continued happy years of creative work benefiting India and humanity. Cultural workers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic wish all success to your great educational work for renascent India."

—

Preparatory Meeting For Tagore Septuagenary Celebration

That Rabindranath's word and work appeal to men of different races, ranks, faiths and occupations was evident also from the meeting held last month at the Calcutta University Institute to appoint a Committee to make the necessary preparations for celebrating the completion of the 70th year of his life. We do not remember to have ever seen such a large representative gathering of Calcutta citizens, European and Indian.

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, M.A., D. Litt., C.I.E., Bengal's oldest living and still active savant and author, was elected to preside. The Pandit said of the Poet in the course of his speech:

He has tried all phases of Literature—couplets, stanzas, short poems, longer pieces, short stories, longer stories, fables, novels and prose romances, dramas, farces, comedies and tragedies, songs, operas, *kirtans*, *palas*, and last but not least, lyric poems. He has succeeded in every phase of Literature he has touched, but he has succeeded in the last phase of poetry beyond measure. His essays are illuminating, his sarcasms biting, his satires piercing. His estimate of old poets is deeply appreciative, and his grammatical and lexicographical speculations go farther inward than those of most of us. Blessed with noble parentage, blessed with leisure, blessed with competence, blessed with intellectual equipments of a high order and a charming presence, Nature seems to have designed him for the career he has chosen and the mission he has received from Nature, from society, from education and from his early associations. He has acquired fame not only for himself but for his country and his race as well. He has lived as an ideal poet as described by Raja-Sekhara a thousand years ago.

Dr. Haraprasad Sastri added:

He has received his reward. The best reward of a poet is his own appreciation, his own satisfaction and his own complaisance. The world has honoured him; the crowned heads of Europe have given him warm reception; crowds of people have come wherever he has gone, to hear him, to appreciate him, and to admire him. Distant Scandinavia has given him a prize.

"But", the speaker asked, "what have his countrymen done for him?"

They have greedily read his books and received all the benefits of such study; but how have they repaid the benefit?

In ancient India, poets used to be rewarded in a variety of ways. The stories of Kalidas's ambassadorship, and, even of his viceroyalty, are current to the present day. When India was parcelled out into small states, Bhavabhuti was an all-India power. But that was another India. India then had political power, and that makes the case of modern India quite different. Even in the near past, poets are known to have gained as much as six crores of rupees for a single stanza: but these are exceptional instances. The great warrior, organizer and statesman, Shivaji, gave 52 elephants for 52 verses of Bhusana Kavi. Haranath, a wild poet, having squandered away the wealth given to his father by Akbar, gained 10 lakhs from the Raja of Baghelkhand for a single long verse; but outside the gates of the palace, a blind poet presented him with a single short verse, and he got from Haranath a lakh of rupees out of his ten. In modern Rajputana, 'lakh-pasao' is an institution; any poet writing smart verses gets from his Raja a lakh. I know Kaviraja Murardan received two such gifts; his grandfather received three. The 'lakh-pasao' was a good means of rewarding poets.

"But," the Pandit added with regret, "we have no Rajas here in Bengal to give us lakhs"; and asked: "What are we to do to reward great poets or our great poet Rabindranath?" His answer was:

These are democratic times. We should all read his poems. That would be his best reward, economically and intellectually, and, above all, let us show our appreciation by demonstrations like those that are going to be proposed. Let us celebrate his seventieth birth anniversary—a pretty long life in these days of famine and degeneration, with all heartiness.

Mrs. Kamini Ray, the greatest living Bengali poetess, moved the following resolution:

"That this meeting offers its respectful greetings to Rabindranath Tagore and conveys to him its warm felicitations on his completing the seventieth year of his life."

She observed in the course of her speech that

Rabindranath was not only a great poet but a a great national worker and leader who hss been an ideal to youths and a symbol of unity of the East and the West.

In supporting the resolution Mr. Arthur Moore observed that the Poet's writings, "through translations, have made him a great citizen of the world."

On rising to move the following resolution Sir C. V. Raman received an ovation:

"That this meeting is of opinion that the occasion of the Poet completing his seventieth year should be celebrated by his countrymen and all sections of the community in a fitting manner in Calcutta at a convenient time."

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Professor Raman observed in the course of his speech that

he award of the Nobel Prize for Literature generally caused dissatisfaction; for many questioned the justice of the award. It was a difficult task to make satisfactory awards every year for poets; for poets were rarer than scientists and good poets were rarer still. If awards for literature were made every twenty years, preferably once in a century, Rabindranath was certain to be chosen.

Coming to the question of the place where the celebration ought to be held, Prof. Raman humorously drew attention to the largeness and other features of even a preliminary meeting like the one under notice and observed that no smaller place than the *Maidan* would serve the purpose; as

the ceremony should consist of having *darshan* of the Poet; for they would be satisfied with nothing less than personal participation by the Poet in the celebration.

On rising to second the resolution Mr. Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya, the popular Bengali novelist, was the recipient of prolonged cheers. He observed that "It was an impossible task to give a catalogue of Rabindranath's achievements." He was right. For Rabindranath's is a many-sided and towering personality, of which authorship is only one, though a principal element. And even the departments of literature and knowledge which he has touched and adorned would make a pretty long list. In his poem addressed to Victor Hugo, Tennyson called the French author

"Victor in Drama, Victor in Romance,
Cloudweaver of phantasmal hopes and fears,"

"Lord of human tears," "Child-lover," and

"Weird Titan by thy winter weight of years
As yet unbroken, ..."

All these epithets and many more can be rightly applied to Rabindranath Tagore.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya made a practical and quite appropriate suggestion, which is worthy of being given effect to. Said he:

On this occasion they should remember that the two institutions with which Rabindranath was closely associated were *Visva-Bharati* and *Sriniketan*. Many would say that they were mere dreams. It might be so, but they were not dreams of ordinary people but dreams of the world-poet. A fitting celebration of the seventieth birthday anniversary of the poet should be by due recognition by his countrymen of the two institutions which he had founded and with which he had been so closely associated throughout the latter days of his life. It was not impossible that the poet might be nursing a grievance against his countrymen for their comparative failure so far to properly appreciate the utility of those institutions and on his birthday celebration they should do their best to make good their default.

The poet has done what he could to give a tangible shape to his dreams. Their further materialization depends upon the cordial practical co-operation of those in India and abroad who share his ideals.

The Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mayurbhanj, Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, Col. Gidney, Sir J. C. Coyajee and many others also took part in the proceedings.

—

"Abominable Religious Bias"

Under the above heading *The Mussalman* of Calcutta writes:

The "Evening Citizen" of Glasgow had the following in its issue of the 10th November, 1930, with a picture, of course, a fictitious one, of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him):—

We do not think it essential to reproduce the long extract from the Glasgow paper. Our readers may take it for granted that that journal has shown "abominable religious bias."

The Mussalman's comment on the extract is given below:

This is one of the many instances of how Christian writers malign Islam and its Holy Prophet. We would draw the special attention of the reader to the words and sentences italicized by us. Missionary journals are in the habit of misrepresenting Islam in this way. It is a pity that a paper that deals mainly with politics should have such abominable religious bias.

There is no mention in *The Mussalman* of any capital or other punishment inflicted by any Indian or British Mussalman in Great Britain on the editor or publishers of the Glasgow paper for publishing in it "a picture, of course, a fictitious one, of the Holy Prophet" and for displaying "abominable religious bias" in addition. It may be concluded, therefore, that it is not a religious duty of any Musalman to inflict on anybody who does such things any punishment—not in Great Britain in any case. Other alternative conclusions may also be drawn. But we refrain from any speculation, as we do not know what is the teaching or the injunction of the Islamic scriptures on such matters. It is the duty of learned Muslims to enlighten non-Muslims on the subject.

—

So-called "All-Bengal Muslim Conference"

The Mussalman of Calcutta writes:

The Muslim Conference recently held at Calcutta under the presidency of Maulana

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Shaukat Ali is called "All-Bengal Muslim Conference" but it appears that no prominent or representative Mussalman from the Mofassil except the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca appears to have attended it. It is thus evident how the conference was representative of the Mussalmans of Bengal.

—

More Moslem "Delegates" to R. T. C.

The Mussalman writes:

Maulana Shaukat Ali in the course of his speech at the Muslim Conference in Calcutta is reported to have expressed the hope that at the next Round Table Conference "some more Muslim representatives of the advanced school would be included so that our community may have some independent spokesmen also." Evidently Maulana Shaukat Ali refers to the Nationalist Mussalmans when he talks of representatives of the advanced school, which was not represented at the last Round Table Conference. The Moulana Saheb wants that the Muslim community should have some independent spokesmen also at the next Conference. The suggestion is as it should be.

It is, however, amazing to note that the so-called Muslim Youth Conference of Calcutta has passed a resolution urging that the Nationalist Mussalmans should have no representatives at the next Round Table Conference. This only excites our laughter and we do not take it at all seriously.

—

No "Delegates" for Hindu Mahasabha

Government has not yet given the Hindu Mahasabha a single "delegate." Finding perhaps that nobody was interested in seeing that injustice to the Hindus was prevented, Dr. B. S. Moonje, and to some extent Mr. Jayakar and Raja Narendranath also, no doubt, gave the R. T. C. the benefit of the Hindu Mahasabha point of view, but their nomination was in their personal capacities. Dr. Moonje, in fact, declared publicly before starting for England that he was going in his individual capacity. Probably Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has been invited to join the R. T. C., but, as Mahatma Gandhi has said, in his (the Pandit's) individual capacity.

Supposing, however, that *all* the four Hindu gentlemen named above would try to prevent injustice being done to the Hindus, which is doubtful, it is not fair that the Moslems should have so many "representatives" and the Hindus, who are more than thrice their number, should have only four. But if in British official and non-official opinion the Hindus are regarded as a negligible factor, it is their own fault. The Hindus seem to be ashamed of being a majority in India as a whole. Many of them seem to consider it a sin, almost a crime, to be a majority, though they had no hand in becoming such. On the contrary, the social polity of the Hindus has all along been helping to reduce their majority continually.

—

So-called Calcutta Muslim Youth Conference

The Mussalman explains why it has used the epithet "so-called" regarding the Muslim Youth Conference in Calcutta, in the following words:

We have used the epithet "so-called" before the Youth Conference because we find that men of 50 or 60 or over, such as Mr. Abdullah Haroon of Karachi and Moulvi Md. Shafi of Daudnagar, Bihar, seconded or supported resolutions at this Conference. They are neither youths—we do not, of course, know whether the denotation of the word has recently changed—nor are they residents of Calcutta. We do not think that either Karachi or Bihar is within the town of Calcutta or within its suburbs or even within the province of Bengal.

As for some of the contentions of Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, the same paper writes:

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan of Allahabad in his presidential speech at the Youth Conference is reported to have said as follows in favour of communal electorate: "The French Canadians have maintained their communal parties in the parliament of Canada for more than a century and instead of becoming nationalists they have remained communalists throughout the period." But Dr. Shafaat Ahmad conveniently makes no mention of the fact that communal electorate is non-existent there at present. Lord Durham in his report about the efficacy of joint electorate says as follows about Canada:—"The new constitution provided for a common electorate and it is well known that the French and the British in Canada are now on the friendliest terms, which would not have been the case if the cleavage which existed before the grant of Dominion status to that country had been further widened by the creation of separate electorates." Joint electorate may not be a panacea for all ills but its efficacy and potentiality must not be ignored.

—

State's Neglect and Missionary Opportunity

We have nothing to say against those who relieve human misery in any form or remove human ignorance, without any ulterior and lower object. But whatever the foreign Christian missionaries' motives may be in giving medical help, educational facilities and famine relief to such Indians as stand in need of them, the fact cannot be gainsaid that such missionary activities have furthered the cause of Christian proselytization. If in India Government had, from the beginning of British rule here, established a sufficient number of schools

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and colleges, there would not have been either the need or the missionaries' opportunity for establishing educational institutions which have indirectly helped to "convert" many Indians to Christianity. Similarly, if by a consistent and persistent policy of encouraging and building up national industries, including agriculture, and of increasing national efficiency, Government had enabled Indians to remain or become prosperous, there would have been no famines worth the name, and there would not have been any necessity or opportunity for missionaries to "convert" famished men, women and children indirectly through the stomach. Likewise, if from the beginning of British rule, there had been a constant endeavour to train physicians and surgeons by establishing a sufficient number of medical schools and colleges and to open a sufficient number of hospitals, as also to adopt countrywide measures of sanitation—things which are not being done even now, there would not have been any room for Christian missionaries to start medical missions, which help indirectly to "convert" non-Christians.

Theoretically the British Government in India is pledged to observe religious neutrality. But in practice, whatever subsidy is given to missionary educational or other institutions is an indirect help to proselytization and, therefore, a breach of religious neutrality.

Philanthropic work done by missionaries increases the reputation and prestige of Christianity. As a set-off, the neglect of its duty by the Christian Power in India in the educational, sanitary, medical and economic spheres, takes away from the reputation and prestige of Christianity.

—

Mahatmaji's Doctrine of Hindu Surrender

It is a painful necessity to criticize anything that Mahatma Gandhi says or does. For his one aim in life is to promote public good. But we are obliged by a sense of duty to differ from him sometimes.

Recently Mahatmaji has inculcated in *Young India* a doctrine of Hindu surrender in the following words :

"As a Satyagrahi I believe in the absolute efficacy of full surrender. Numerically, the Hindus happen to be a majority. Without reference, therefore, to what the Egyptian majority did, they may give the minorities what they want. But even if the Hindus were a minority, as a Satyagrahi and a Hindu I say, the Hindus would lose nothing in the long run by full surrender."

"The surrender advised by me is not of honour but of earthly goods. There is no loss of honour in surrendering seats, positions or emoluments."

So far as seats, positions or emoluments bring to their holders certain advantages and conveniences, they are undoubtedly worldly objects which may be sacrificed, if necessary, for achieving human freedom or for the attainment of some other higher good. But we doubt if such surrender is either necessary, or whether if made, it would bring national freedom in the widest and deepest sense nearer. But let us now consider the doctrine of surrender, on the lower worldly plane.

—

Surrender of "Earthly Goods"

Taking the entire population of the country as a whole, the number of persons who hold appointments in Government, municipal and other public offices is a comparatively small one. But many a little makes a mickle. The surrender of any kind of occupation cannot but increase unemployment among those who surrender. As the occupations referred to by Mahatmaji are generally those followed by middle-class people, their surrender by Hindus would make the problem of middle-class unemployment acuter among Hindus. This would be the case particularly in Bengal, where chronic unemployment has already led some young men recently to commit suicide. Belonging as we do to this part of India, we are naturally better acquainted with its problems than with those of other parts of the country. The East India Company and its servants at first ruined the indigenous trade and industries of Bengal, as readers of the history of the reign of Nawabs Mir Kasim, etc., know. After that, private British merchants stepped into the field. This led the middle-class people of this province to take to clerkships and other similar "literate" posts, teaching and the profession of the law, etc. Britishers could not and did not occupy the entire field of trade and industry. On account of the incapacity and disinclination of middle-class Bengalis for trade and industries, which were in great part the result of the East India Company's doings in the 18th century and the earlier part of the 19th, they (the Bengalis) could not occupy even this unoccupied field. Hence it has been occupied by Indians from other parts, who are not at all to blame for doing so. This has made

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public posts one of the mainstays of middle-class Bengalis, particularly among the Hindus. For the Hindu Bengalis have for various reasons taken to English education more than Muslim Bengalis. Now, if Hindu Bengalis are to surrender this class of occupations, unemployment among them must inevitably increase. Unemployment leads to moral degradation and crime also. We are entirely in favour of educated Muslim young men getting their share of public posts according to their ability. But we do not think it is right that any group of men should be asked to surrender their claims to such public employments as they are fittest for, because they are Hindus. It is best for men of all faiths to get into office through the door open to talent. It is an unwarranted assumption that Muslim young men cannot get public posts unless by special arrangements and according to a minimum standard of efficiency. In the recent Indian competitive examination for the Indian civil service, out of the eleven candidates occupying the first eleven places in order of merit seven are Muhammadans.

The aspect of middle-class unemployment to which attention has been drawn above may be more conspicuous in Bengal than elsewhere, but nowhere in India is it entirely non-existent.

The word "emolument" covers other earnings than the salaries of salaried men. It applies to the profits or earnings of all professions and occupations. We do not know whether Gandhiji desires Hindu lawyers, Hindu private medical practitioners, Hindu teachers, Hindu traders, etc., also to retire from their occupations and surrender their emoluments in order that Musalmans may take to the professions of those Hindus and have these emoluments.

But we do not wish to lay too much stress on the mere worldly aspect of seats, positions, emoluments, etc., though the preservation of a high standard of morals and moral progress are not unconnected with material well-being. Let us, therefore, pass on to the higher and non-material aspects of seats, positions, etc.

—

Surrender of Duty Growing Out of Capacity

Mahatmaji has advised the Hindus to make a full surrender and assures them that in the long run they would lose nothing by such surrender. We do not think it necessary to consider further whether the Hindus would lose by such surrender. We are more interested in considering whether the country, the nation, as a whole would gain or lose by such surrender.

Just as Abraham Lincoln said, "No nation is good enough to rule another nation," so it may be said with equal truth that no religious community is good enough to rule another religious community or to manage by itself the public affairs of a country inhabited by many religious communities. Hence, it is necessary for the good of the nation as a whole that the affairs of the country should be placed in the hands of the most capable and the most public-spirited persons, chosen jointly from all religious communities and classes by citizens belonging to all these communities and classes. This result cannot be brought about by the full surrender of any community to any other community.

Mahatmaji is perfectly right in saying that there is no loss of honour in surrendering seats, positions or emoluments. But there is loss of usefulness and of the duty and right of serving the country. Whatever the case may be at present, under Swaraj membership of legislatures and other representative bodies and humble and high positions in the public services, will mean opportunities of serving the country in various ways. Emoluments and honours may be given up. But no community or class should deprive itself of the duty, right and opportunity of serving the country.

The number of persons who can do many kinds of work with equal excellence or even tolerably well, is small. Most men can do only one kind of work best. The capacity for doing that kind of work best, comes from natural inclination or aptitude and from knowledge, ability and skill acquired by education, training and practice. This capacity brings with it its corresponding duty. This duty of every individual is his *dharma* in a special sense. No one has a right to shirk or surrender this duty. He may, of course, take to another kind of work for which he is not so fit. But such a course means, not only that he gives up his duty proper or *dharma*, but also that he thereby deprives his country and humanity of the best service which he could have rendered.

We hope to be pardoned for taking an extreme case. Mahatma Gandhi is the

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greatest political leader of the country—the greatest general in its non-violent and non-communal fight for freedom. He is, moreover, a great moral and spiritual teacher and a social reformer—through his journals and in other ways. Out of many kinds of work which he could do, he is best fitted for all these kinds. He has been *called* by God to such work, and so these are literally his vocation. Has anybody any right to ask him, has he himself the right to ask himself to give up this vocation of his, in order that some one belonging to a minority community may do all those kinds of work which he does? Would India and the world be benefited by his giving up such work? As the minority community which is most before the public eye and which Mahatmaji also has most in view is the Muslim community, let us assume that Mahatmaji surrenders in favour of Maulana Shaukat Ali. He is mentioned, as at present he is the foremost Muhammadan leader of the separatist Moslems, whose activities must have played the greatest part in producing in Gandhiji's mind the surrenderist complex. Every one can judge for himself whether the Maulana Saheb will be able to do with equal ability all the kinds of work which Gandhiji does, and teach the world *ahimsa*, *brahmacharya*, non-communalism, etc. as well as Gandhiji has been doing.

From the unpaid, honorary and unselfish work which Gandhiji has been doing to even the highest kind of salaried work, is a big descent. But no salaried work, however humble, can be despised. The work of the judge and the chaukidar, of the professor and the peon, of the governor and the clerk, and so on, should all be considered as necessary for the existence of civilized society. All paid functionaries, from the highest to the lowest, are worthy of respect, if they do their work properly in a spirit of service.

For different kinds of work there are very capable men among all religious communities. As far as can be ascertained, those among them should be chosen for such kinds of work as are best fitted for them, irrespective of caste or creed. If some men are best qualified to do the work of legislators or judges or professors or doctors or engineers or executive officers or policemen or clerks, the administration and the welfare of the public in general will suffer if they are to be called upon to make room for others simply because the former are Hindus. Generally speaking, those who are qualified only to be good judges or professors cannot be as good mechanics, if they are prevented from doing their proper work. How will the country gain by turning a good doctor into an indifferent or bad engineer or grocer or ship-captain or aircraftsman?

We shall touch here on only one communal aspect of Gandhiji's doctrine of surrender for Hindus alone to follow. It is a well-known fact that many persons have changed their faiths for the social and other worldly advantage to be gained thereby. If it is generally understood that Hindus alone are to and will follow the doctrine of surrender inculcated by Mahatma Gandhi and the greatest gainers therefrom are to be the Moslems, politically and economically, then there are likely to be some conversions to Muhammadanism. We know it is theoretically correct and the ideal thing to say that men should not change their religion for worldly reasons. But there have been apostates for worldly reasons among men of all religions. Mahatma Gandhi has objected strongly to the methods of proselytization of Christian missions, because these methods involve the use of worldly advantages. But, quite unintentionally, Mahatmaji's doctrine of surrender for Hindus may lead some of the latter to become Musalmans in order to have the political and economic advantages which the application of the doctrine to practical life will necessarily bring to Muhammadans. For Mahatmaji says that it is the Hindus who are to surrender—no matter whether they are in a majority or in a minority, and it is the Moslems who are to take, no matter whether they are in a majority or in a minority.

Mahatmaji desires the Hindus to surrender to the minorities (in the plural). Let us take a hypothetical case. If two minority communities want 51 and 53 per cent of the seats or the posts respectively, the total would come to 104 per cent, not only leaving nothing for the Hindus but involving the use of an algebraical quantity (—4). Where are these 4 per cent to be got from? We do not put such a question merely in a flippant spirit. If the unjust and illogical demands of

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any community are encouraged, there will not be others wanting to imitate its example.

Principles cannot and should not be surrendered. It is a principle that no one should neglect or give up a duty or a kind of service to the public which he is best qualified to perform. It is another principle that the public work of a country should be carried on by its ablest men, so far as they can be chosen, because that is the only way to make its people healthy, wealthy, enlightened, wise, moral and strong.

It is well known that, even if in a country there be no difference between community and community as regards integrity, ability and spirit of service, absence of competition and of the open door to talent will have a tendency to make even a capable and honest community corrupt and inefficient. It ought to be considered whether Mr. Gandhi's maxim will not make for the absence of competition and of the open door for talent.

As Rabindranath Tagore has observed, yielding to unjust demands and the cry for undue advantages only whets the appetite for more such demands and advantages. We know there is a Pali maxim in the Buddhist *Dhammapada* which teaches :

अक्कोधेन जिने कोधं, असाधुं साधुना जिने ।
जिने कदरियं दानेन, सच्चेन अलिकवादिनं ॥

"Anger should be subdued by the absence of anger, what is wicked by what is good, the avaricious or the miserly by generosity, and liars by truth." There is an exactly corresponding Sanskrit maxim in the Mahabharat. This teaching applies to good and bad men among all sects and communities. The only part of the teaching of which we were reminded by Mahatmaji's doctrine of surrender is "*Jine kadariyam danen.*" But it cannot be said that all members of all minority communities are avaricious or miserly even politically, nor is it the political experience of India that the giving of special privileges and the making of concessions have cured the habit of longing for more. What is a spiritual cure for individuals may not always prove a political remedy.

Let us now conclude this long and unpleasant discussion with some observations which apply particularly to Bengal, as we can speak of Bengal more from personal knowledge than of any other province.

So far as Bengal is concerned, it is the Hindus who have done most for the religious, social, moral, educational, scientific, literary, artistic, industrial, general economic and sanitary progress of the province. In this province, it is the Hindus whose sacrifice, money, time, energy and brains have gone to the greatest extent to the relief of distress irrespective of caste, creed or race, caused by famine, flood, earthquake, epidemics, etc. The Musalman Bengalis are educationally not as advanced as the Hindu Bengalis and the former are not as accustomed to do unpaid public work for the benefit of all communities as the latter.

We do not say all this either to boast, or to hurt the Musalman Bengalis. We say all this to show that the Muslims by themselves, alone or mainly, will not be able to do most efficiently all that requires to be done, in paid and unpaid capacities, for the welfare of Bengal. Hence, the implicit following of Gandhiji's advice will not be productive of the greatest good in Bengal. Whether it will be productive of the greatest good in other provinces and in India as a whole may also be doubted.

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Moslems at R. T. C. and Separate Electorates

In replying to addresses of welcome at Noakhali Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq, one of the Moslem "delegates" to the Round Table Conference, is reported to have stated:

"During the last Round Table Conference, the 16 Moslem delegates were approached by some Britishers, who suggested to the Moslem delegates to declare that they (Muslims) would not accept Dominion Status until and unless Separate Electorate was granted."

We had guessed as much long ago.

—

Federal Structure Committee in September

SIMLA, MAY. 29.

The following communique has been issued :

His Majesty's Government and the Government of India have been discussing the date for the resumption of the Indian Round Table Conference. The choice lay between summoning the Federal Structure Committee to this country at the end of June, which would have involved meetings in August, or postponing the resumption until September. His Majesty's Government were prepared to adopt the first course if all sections found it to be practicable. Enquiries have, however, shown that this alternative was seriously inconvenient to several members of the Committee both at Home and in India. A later date is, therefore, unavoidable, but constitutional advance is a matter of so much moment to India that the

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resumption of the Round Table Conference cannot be postponed beyond the beginning of September 5. His Majesty's Government have, therefore, decided to invite the Federal Structure Committee to reassemble in London, not later than September 5 for the resumption of work at the earliest practicable date thereafter.

"If a communal settlement has been reached in India by that time, the work of the Federal Structure Committee will be greatly facilitated. If not, it will be a matter for consideration whether the Minorities Committee should resume its work about the same time. The question of adding representatives on the Federal Structure Committee is under active consideration.—*Associated Press.*

—

Additional Members for Federal Structure Committee.

It is reported that some more members will be appointed to the Federal Structure Committee and that the names of eight additional members of the Committee were considered at a recent meeting of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Are these additional members already members of the Round Table Conference, or will some new men and women be appointed afresh to the R. T. C. and then also made members of the Federal Structure Committee ?

In any case, it has to be pointed out that the Committee does not possess a single woman member, a single nationalist Muslim member, or a single member who is pledged to support the views of the Hindu Mahasabha.

Apart from the fact that women are citizens as much as men and should be represented in all committees, it is necessary to state that reports are not unoften received from some Provinces and States of the brutal ill-treatment received by women there and of immoral traffic in girls and women carried on in and between States and Provinces. Women, we are sure, would desire special safe-guards to prevent such degradation and atrocities. Of the five members of the Committee who belong to the Indian States Delegation, three are Muslims and two non-Muslims. As among the Indian States non-Muslim States preponderate, this is not a fair proportion.

—

Women Members of R. T. C.

It has been pointed out by progressive women in India that the two women who are members of the R. T. C. cannot be said to represent India's womanhood adequately. They have done good work according to their capacity. But neither of them belongs to the nationalist section of Indian women, and two is a very small number to represent so many millions.

—

Indian States' People and R. T. C.

It is an absurdity and an injustice that the Indian States Delegation at the R. T. C. consists only of some Princes and some officers of some Princes. The States consist of their people and their rulers—of the people in far greater numbers than of their rulers. And the people are more important than the rulers. That point does not require to be argued. Only two relevant facts need be mentioned. One is that the existence of states without any kings or princes is thinkable—in fact at present among the free civilized countries of the world the vast majority are republics without any ruling kings or princes ; but the existence of peopleless states is unthinkable. Such states do not exist and never existed. Another fact is that among the free civilized countries of the world there is not a single one of any importance having the monarchical form of Government which is not a constitutional or limited monarchy. This means that in those countries the will of the people is a factor to be reckoned with.

Hence, an adequate number of representatives of the people of the Indian States should be added at once both to the R. T. C. and its Federal Structure Committee. Some of the princes of these states have seriously made the ridiculous claim that they are the representatives of those states' people ! If they represent their people, their suzerain H. M. King George V, to whom they profess loyalty, also represents the British people. But the British people do not recognize their kings and queens as their representatives. They elect their own representatives from among themselves, for the management of the internal affairs of their country as also to carry on negotiations with foreign peoples.

—

"Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries"

For reviving our indigenous trade and such of the indigenous industries of India as should and can be revived, as well as for starting new industries and making them successful, it is necessary to know

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what forces and factors made for the decline and destruction of trade and industries in the past, so that we may be able to eliminate those obstacles. An account of some of these forces and factors is given in the late Major B. D. Basu's "Ruin of Indian Trade and Industry," mainly from authentic British sources, The first edition of this book having been exhausted, a second edition is expected to be brought out in the course of the first week of the current month. In the new edition some fresh material has been added and the book has been printed in bigger type.

—

Prof. Meghnad Saha on Bangalore Institute of Science.

In noticing in our last issue Prof. Raman's suggestion for the foundation of an institution for carrying on scientific research for solving the scientific problems of India's various industries, we stated our conjecture that probably he had been convinced that the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore had not proved to be the kind of institution he wanted. Further light on the character and achievement of this Institute, proving the correctness of our guess, is thrown by what Prof. Meghnad Saha, F. R. S., said about it to a press interviewer last month. Said he :

It has not served the purpose for which it was called into existence by the late Mr. Tata and Dewan Sir Seshadri. There are many contributory causes but one main reason seems to be its location and its isolation. An Institute of the kind that exists in Bangalore should have been near a great industrial city. For then alone would there have been opportunities for its members and workers to put their theoretical knowledge to practice. As it is, I am certainly aware of the fact that most young men who undergo training there rush up either to Calcutta or to Bombay in search of jobs.

The second reason is that in spite of the fabulous salaries paid to the past and present directors and heads of departments, the institute has not been able, except probably in a few solitary instances, to attract or retain in its service men who can inspire confidence or put life into the work of the Institute. There is no justification for giving a fabulous salary to a director for purely administrative work.

The third reason for the Bangalore Institute being a failure is the method of recruitment to its services. It is very faulty and the salaries paid to the junior staff are very inadequate.

To illustrate and elucidate this last observation of his, Professor Saha proceeded to state :

I will cite to you a parallel case and quote to you some facts and figures. Take the case of the National Physical Laboratory at Teddington near London, one of the biggest and most famous science institutes in Great Britain. Its director gets £1,200 a year and the most junior scientific workers, mostly new recruits, in most cases £240 a year. The ratio thus obtained between the emolument of the director and his lowest paid assistants thus come to about 1:5. But here at Bangalore the director gets a salary of Rs. 3,500 per month which corresponds to about as much as £4,000 per year, whilst his assistants or the research workers get about Rs. 150 per month or £120 a year. The ratio in this case works out to 1:30. You will thus see that out of the income of the Institute a considerable sum is all spent away on its director and the professors and there is no money left for the younger and really promising workers. I feel, so far as this Institute is concerned, there ought to be more research assistants and every one of them ought to be paid much more handsomely so that they can really devote their lives to the problems they set out before themselves to solve. The pay of the higher posts ought to be cut down to the same level as those of the professors in Indian Universities. The directorship, when it next falls vacant, ought to be offered to a man of Sir C. V. Raman's standing.

—

Lord Irwin on Policy of Strong Hand

Lord Irwin made a speech at a luncheon given in honour of himself and Lady Irwin on their return from India. He laid stress in it on the force of the national feeling now working in India and declared that "the advocates of the policy of the strong hand were exponents of the imperial philosophy which was out of date and out of harmony with present-day facts He emphasized that it was only possible to keep a willing and contented India within the empire by agreement."

Lord Irwin referred to the intense desire of India to develop Indian enterprise and made it clear that India's interests must come first with the Government of India.

Lord Irwin insisted that any attempt to reopen the Indian fiscal autonomy convention was doomed to failure and added that it was as impossible for the British permanently to ignore the forces working for the development of Indian industry, as it was for Mr. Gandhi permanently to ignore the working of economic forces. He advised that the vital interests of British trade lay in seeing that there was such political adjustment as would permit commerce to proceed without disturbance.

Dealing with constitutional safe-guards Lord Irwin expressed the strong opinion that Indian opinion was ready to agree to them provided it could be shown that they were

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first and last in India's interests. He believed that if Mr Gandhi came to London he would strain every nerve to secure agreement on these and other matters to be discussed.

Lord Irwin concluded by saying that difficulties were formidable but not insuperable. There was cause for anxiety but there was greater cause for wisdom and courage and no place whatever for pessimistic or "defeatist fears."

—

Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in Calcutta

Last month a session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan was held in Calcutta. The attendance was large, and in addition to those whose mother-tongue is Hindi, who naturally formed the majority of the audience, some Bengalis also attended the meetings. Some Bengalis made speeches also. In other respects, too, this session was successful.

There will be no room for criticism when literate Hindi-speaking people will give practical proof of as much zeal for encouraging Hindi literature and enriching it, as they display in making those speak Hindi whose mother-tongue is not Hindi.

—

Collective Worship for Hindus.

The absence of regular periodical congregational worship among Hindus has been felt to be a source of weakness. Hence, at some sessions of the Hindu Mahasabha, resolutions have been passed in favour of instituting collective worship. It is generally thought that Hindu worship is only solitary and must be so. Of course, some part of every individual's devotions and spiritual endeavours (*sadhana*) must be individualistic and should preferably be gone through in solitude. But collective worship is not antagonistic to the genius of Hinduism. Many verses in support of this view can be quoted from Hindu scriptures. For example, Prof. Dhirendranath Vedantavagis quotes the following from the *Bhagavad Gita* :

मच्चित्ता मद्गतप्राणा बोधयन्तः परस्परम् ।
कथयन्तश्च मां नित्यं तुष्यन्ति च रमन्ति च ॥ 10. 9.

With their minds fixed on Me, with their hearts devoted to Me, enlightening one another, and speaking to one another about Me, they (the wise) are always contented and happy.

The use of the plural number is a clear indication that collective devotions are intended.

Political Prisoners still in Jail

Last month it was stated in the papers that, as the result of inquiries made in different provinces, Mr. Nariman had come to the conclusion that some 1,000 political

John : "I'm beginning to doubt Mr. Gandhi's claims to have this animal under control."
—*The Bulletin* (Glasgow)

prisoners in round numbers were still in jail and that the majority of them belonged to Bengal. It is not known whether the young men in Bengal deprived of their liberty without charge or trial—ordinance prisoners as they are popularly called, were counted by Mr. Nariman among the political prisoners. If they were not, the number of political prisoners in Bengal alone would exceed 1,000. In any case repression has been most ruthless in Bengal.

—

Sarala Devi Chaudhurani at Bengal Women's Congress

The Bengal Women's Congress was a sign of the times, and a welcome sign in many respects. Panditani Sarala Devi Chaudhurani's presidential address, in spite of its querulous tone in some passages against the male sex, contains many truths, unpalatable though they be. Take the following passages for example :

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If economic independence is necessary for any particular being more than another for the good of the nation, it is necessary for the woman. Economic distress is the root cause of a woman's taking up the immoral profession or leading an immoral life. The question of unemployment of women is more serious than the unemployment of men. A woman without economic independence often falls a prey to the lustful designs of man: prostitution is its effect; brothels are its outcome. Therefore in an ideal State there should not be a single unemployed or unprovided woman and, in an ideal society, seduction of woman by man should be severely punishable by law; the betraying man should no longer go scot-free and the betrayed woman bear the brunt of ostracism, not for the benefit of herself, but for safe-guarding the interest of the man whose property she was originally.

The vested interest of man in woman's body and mind receives the rudest shock when any drastic measure is suggested for her emancipation and for the purification of human society. The superiority complex of men has assigned to woman the position of caterer to his lust and pleasure. Even in heaven *Urvashis* and *Rambhas* must await them. It is the worst form of exploitation of women by men, sanctioned by society, armed with the authority of the law and supported by the poets' flights of imagination.

Drink-shops are injurious to men but brothels are the greatest insult to womanhood At both the big gatherings of women held in Lahore last winter, *viz.*, The All-Indian and The All-Asiatic Women's Conferences, without ignoring the claims of drink-prohibition, crusade against brothels was made one of the chief items in their programme.

But the Congress, though recognizing fully the need to prohibit drink, has not cast a side glance even at the evils of retention of houses of ill-fame. When a Government conducted by men fills its coffers by issuing licence for traffic in women and a body like the Indian National Congress piloted by men does not utter a single word of protest against it, it is high time that women bestirred themselves and took concerted action to form a World Democracy as suggested by the Chinese Poet Dr. Lin in whose councils the women will have a major voice to safe-guard the purity and peace of the world.

—

Famine or Scarcity in Bengal

Whether the word famine or the word scarcity is used to denote the kind of economic distress prevalent in east and north Bengal, it makes no difference to the sufferers. Cases of death by starvation have been reported in newspapers. Kind-hearted people have already opened subscription lists and have been giving such relief as they can.

We understand, greater difficulty is being felt in the collection of money for famine relief on the present occasion than on similar occasions in the past. One of the causes of this difficulty is said to be the widespread plunder, incendiarism and bloodshed in the Pabna district, similar occurrences in the Kishorganj sub-division of the Mymensingh district, the looting, arson, etc., which were the order of the day for some days in the town of Dacca and some adjoining villages, and the recent murder of the proprietor and two assistants of a firm of publishers in Calcutta.

When human lives are at stake, people should certainly rise superior to feelings of communal bitterness. And there are men who are living up to this noble ideal. Whether the generality of the people also would be enthusiastic in feeding the mouth which may again bite in future cannot, however, be predicted with any degree of certainty. But all classes of people are capable of understanding and following the precept that the noblest form of revenge is to return good for evil. Those who are fond of acting on policy may be assured that it is also the best policy.

We do not know what relief messures Government have adopted or intend to adopt in the immediate future.

—

The Maharaja of Mahmudabad

By the death of the Maharaja of Mahmudabad the people of India in general and those of U. P. in particular have lost the services of a public-spirited citizen. He was one of the foremost of nationalist Muslims. Some months before the holding of the nationalist Muslim Conference at Lucknow, he along with Syed Sir Ali Imam and others issued a manifesto opposing separatist tendencies. He was practically kept a prisoner in his house for the necessary length of time in order that he might not be able to take part in the demonstrations against the Simon Commission. He took great interest in the Aligarh university.

—

Principal S. C. Shahani

The late Principal S. C. Shahani was one of the leading educationalists, social reformers and nationalists of Sindh. We saw him only twice or thrice, once at Delhi and once or twice at Karachi, and we were impressed with his dignified demeanour and the quiet determination which marked his talk.. Meetings are being held in Sindh to mourn his loss and to commemorate his

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services. Evidently he had a hold on the hearts of a large section of the people of Sindh.

—

Burmese Rebellion

The real causes of the rebellion in Burma cannot be known until it becomes safe for people to speak out. Interested parties try to make people believe that economic depression alone is responsible for it. They have also spread a report that Indians in Burma are being murdered because the Burmese believe them to be exploiters and the causes of their misery. If Indians are being murdered for being rightly or wrongly considered exploiters, it requires some explanation as to why Europeans also are not being murdered owing to the same real or alleged cause. There seems to be some active but secret and organized propaganda against Indians, on account of which large bodies of them are being compelled to flee the country.

Government are trying to crush the Burmese rebellion by force. It is quite practicable for a big empire to suppress such a rebellion in that way. But would it not be humane and necessary to make inquiries and redress the grievances of the Burmese people? Why not try the effect of a solemn promise to do so?

Indian soldiers and Indian money are being used to crush the rebels. But Burma is intended to be separated from India. Why then should not the British Home Government pay for the present expedition? Why not employ British soldiers alone? One can understand two causes of the rebellious Burmans' resentment against Indians: some Indians are the servants of the Government hated by these Burmese, and the soldiers also who are being led against them are Indians. We ask again, therefore, why not use British troops alone against the Burmese?

—

Congress Squabbles in Bengal

There are parties among Congresswalas in other provinces also, *e. g.*, U. P. But fortunately for those provinces there is no big Municipality there like the Calcutta Corporation with the enormous patronage that can be commanded through its bossing. And still more fortunately the contending congress parties in the other provinces have not different organs in the Press to enable them to wash their dirty linen in public.

The Congress party organs in Bengal have long been full of charges, counter-charges, replies, and recriminations. These would make painful reading, and we have long ceased to read them, after sampling a few passages. Both parties pose as the sole proprietors of angelic innocence and truthfulness and patriotism. But an impartial man, if he had the patience to go through all the stuff, would perhaps exclaim, "A plague on both your parties!" It is not possible for mere mortals to arrive at the truth even after wading through so much unsavoury material. So we would not suggest that this should be attempted by anybody.

As reported by Boswell, Dr. Johnson once observed, "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." Every Congressman and every other politically-minded Indian is expected to prove the falsity of this *obiter dictum*.

It is greatly to be regretted that even women have imbibed the poison of partisanship.

—

Bengal's Good Work Eclipsed by Dissensions

On account of these wretched dissensions, Indians outside Bengal have no idea of the valuable work done by women, men and children in Bengal during the period of Satyagraha at the cost of much suffering and sacrifice. Others also, who do not belong to the Congress camp, have been serving the people in various ways. They do not advertise themselves nor are they advertised by others. It is good that it is so, however.

Thus has it come about that, outside Bengal, this province is taken to be synonymous with faction fights.

—

Calcutta University and Sanskrit

The Syndicate of the Calcutta University has, it is said, expressed the view that Sanskrit or some other classical language need not be offered by candidates as one of their subjects for the matriculation examination. It is to be an optional subject. Just now we are concerned only with Sanskrit, not any other classical language.

We are opposed to making it an optional subject, We do not know on what grounds the Syndicate want to make it one.

There is no need to pit science against Sanskrit. As we are concerned with the Calcutta University, we need not now consider whether Indian boys and girls of

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other provinces should know Sanskrit. Bengali boys and girls should know the elements of both Sanskrit and science. If Muslim Bengalis demur to such a recommendation, we will say, Hindu Bengali boys and girls should know Sanskrit, though we are distinctly of opinion that all Bengali children ought to learn it. The Bengali language is more closely related to and dependent upon Sanskrit than many other Indian vernaculars of Sanskritic origin. That may be due to its poverty or its weakness—we need not discuss that question now. We are stating a fact. And that being the fact, no one can have a correct or a thorough knowledge of the Bengali language without knowing some Sanskrit.

In order to enrich Bengali literature, Bengali writers in all departments of thought and knowledge and even sentiment have to coin new words. And these are generally coined from Sanskrit roots. Thus the coining of new Bengali words for enriching Bengali literature requires some knowledge of Sanskrit.

Savages may have no cultural past. But so far as we are concerned, our present culture and civilization, social polity and spirituality have their roots in the past. The living records of that past are partly in Sanskrit and partly in Pali. It is too early for boys and girls of 15 or 16 to determine whether they will or will not make a regular study of these literatures when they grow older. Let them learn the elements of Sanskrit. It will stand them in good stead even if they do not prosecute their studies further. In many or perhaps all of our universities, the matriculates have not got to study geography in their college classes. That does not make the study of geography at school unnecessary. And so likewise with some other objects.

Some say, Sanskrit is not a practical subject, without saying what they mean by practical. To what practical use do most of our school children apply their knowledge of algebra? Is algebra to be made an optional subject for that reason? There are many other subjects studied at school, college and university which most graduates do not put to any practical use. But such studies sharpen the intellect, broaden the mind, and make one a cultured citizen.

Others say, Sanskrit is a difficult subject. "Difficult" is a relative term. Mathematics also is considered difficult by many school children. Is it to be made optional for that reason? Sanskrit appears more difficult than it is, because the right educational method of teaching languages is not used for teaching it.

—

Educational Progress in Bengal

According to the Government report on public instruction in Bengal for the year 1929-30, 5.62 and 5.75 per cent of the total population of Bengal were under instruction in the years 1929 and 1930 respectively. So in one year there has been an increase of ·13 per cent only.

The opinion of the Bengal education department used to be that the population of *school*-going age (not college- or university-going age) was 15 per cent of the total population. We presume, that opinion has not been revised. Though 15 per cent is an under-estimate of the whole population of school-going age, let us assume it to be the correct percentage. In Bengal in 1930, including even college and university students, only 5.75 per cent of the population were under instruction, and there was an increase of only ·13 per cent in one year. Therefore, to reach the figure of 15 per cent, it would take 71 years more at the present rate of progress!

—

General Smuts on Rabindranath Tagore's "The Religion of Man"

"The Religion of Man," by Rabindranath Tagore, comprises the Hibbert Lectures delivered by him in Oxford, at Manchester College, during the month of May 1930, and also contains the gleanings of his thoughts on the same subject from the harvest of many lectures and addresses delivered in different countries of the world over a considerable period of his life. The book has been published both in America and Britain. How it appeals to a soldier and a man of action will appear from the following letter addressed to Mr. C. F. Andrews by General Smuts of South Africa:

UNION PARLIAMENT—SOUTH AFRICA
House of Assembly,
Cape Town,
30 Mar., 1931.

Dear Mr. Andrews,

I herewith return your copy of Tagore's "Religion of Man" for the loan of which I

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thank you. I have read it with deep interest—this great prose poem on God and Man. It is a wonderful blend of Western Science and Eastern Spirituality, and the result is a rare feast for those who care for the spiritual view of the world. It is in every way a fine achievement—perhaps the best work Tagore has yet written.

With all good wishes,
I am,
Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) J. P. Smuts.

—

"The Case for India"

The following extracts from a letter written to the Editor of this *Review* by Dr. Will Durant, author of "The Case for India," will be found interesting:

"Thank you cordially for the March and April issues of THE MODERN REVIEW. It is a magnificent magazine, whose quality indicates that the subjection of India has become a contradiction in terms. I am profoundly grateful to your great poet for condescending to use my little book as the theme of so beautiful a page of prose as he has sent you for your March issue.

"Prof. Sudhindra Bose, of the University of Iowa, asks me to inquire if a reprint of THE CASE FOR INDIA would be permitted in India. If you think so, could you send a word of advice in the matter to my publishers, ...

"Did you receive the copy of my book which I sent to you?"

The reply which we have sent was in the negative.

We have heard that a firm of book-sellers which indented for a very large number of copies of Dr. Will Durant's book has not received the case containing the books.

—

Our Views on Hindustani

It is not with pleasure that we are obliged to revert to the question of Hindustani being made the only language permitted to be used in Congress sessions and at meetings of its committees. We have to do so, because of comments made on our notes on the subject in several newspapers, which we need not notice in detail. It is necessary, however, to notice one or two remarks of *The People* of Lahore. It writes:

"What it [*The Modern Review*] seems to object to is some imaginary attempt to dispense with English."

"Neither Mahatma Gandhi, nor the Congress think of declaring an angry boycott of English that seems to worry the *Modern Review*."

"....our chief objection to the *Modern Review* criticism is that most of it was *needless*."

As what we wrote was with reference to Mahatma Gandhi's intended and announced exclusion of English from future Congress proceedings, the following extract from *Young India*, dated April 9, 1931, page 62, will be our only reply:

It is becoming increasingly difficult year after year to conduct the Congress proceedings or the A. I. C. C. proceedings in English. The majority in the A. I. C. C. do not follow English as well as they can Hindustani. And of those that do, the vast majority demand Hindi. At the open session Sardar Vallabhbhai had difficulty in obtaining a hearing for English speakers. For the next year the people from the South have promised to learn Hindi enough to be able to talk and follow the proceedings in Hindustani. If they will give three hours per day for three months most of them will have no difficulty in gaining a passable knowledge of the language. I hope the friends from the South and Bengal will make the necessary effort and save the nation's time. *At any rate I propose to keep the members to their promise and not heed the demand for English if it is made in spite of the promise not to make it.*

M. K. G.

Particular attention is drawn to the last sentence of the extract, which we have italicized.

—

Hindi in Madras Presidency

Mention has been made in the last issue of this *Review*, page 608, of the laudable efforts made for the spread of a knowledge of Hindi in the Madras Presidency. It has been stated that in twelve years 2½ lakhs of pupils have acquired a working knowledge of the language. According to the census of 1921, there were in that year 37,111,898 persons in Madras above the age of five. At the rate at which knowledge of Hindi has been making progress in that presidency it will require 1,781 (seventeen hundred and eighty-one) years to teach Hindi to these 37,111,898 persons. It is, therefore, necessary to acclerate the rate of progress to a very great extent. The population of the southern presidency has increased during the last ten years. That makes the task of teaching Hindi there still more onerous.

In 1921, there were 3,621,908 literate persons in that presidency. Their number is larger now. But to teach Hindi to even 3,621,908 persons would require 173 (one hundred and seventy-three) years, at the

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rate of progress mentioned above. This fact also shows that that rate of progress should be accelerated.

—

Hindi-speaking Areas and their Leaders

India is a most illiterate country. The British Government should be ashamed of that fact. But the people of India—particularly their leaders, are also to blame. The greater the illiteracy in any region, the greater is the discredit of its leaders. The eagerness of the people and the leaders of Hindi-speaking regions to make other regions vocal in Hindi can be easily understood. But they may be respectfully reminded that Hindi-speaking regions are among the most illiterate in India and that therefore they have duties to their own provinces as well as to Madras.

It is no doubt the duty of the leaders of all linguistic areas to see that their particular regions become literate and educated as speedily as possible. The reason why we draw attention specially to the duty of Hindi-speaking leaders is that their mother-tongue promises to become the national language of India, and therefore they may be expected to set an example to others. In another respect, too, they may be expected to set an example.

A language may be learnt and its literature studied mainly for two reasons: because it is necessary for one's profession or work in life or occasional work; or because it is necessary for cultural purposes. Frequently both these reasons are present. Hindi-speaking leaders may be expected, therefore, to see to it that people whose mother-tongue is not Hindi may feel inclined to read Hindi for both these reasons. Those who assemble at or address Congress gatherings are a very small fraction of the population of India. If to these were added those who under Swaraj would be members of the Swaraj central legislature and those who would be employees of the Swaraj central government, or would practise in the Swaraj supreme court as lawyers, the total number of those who would require to know Hindi for all these reasons combined would still be a very small fraction of our population. But if modern Hindi literature were superior or at any rate equal to every other modern Indian vernacular literature in all respects, people would read it for cultural purposes also. We cannot say from personal knowledge whether modern Hindi literature occupies such a position among the modern vernacular literatures of India. If it does, Hindi-speaking leaders would be expected to enable it to maintain that position; if it does not, they would be expected to devise means to enable it to attain that position. Of course, a literature cannot be made to order. It grows from the intellectual capacity and the heart-affluence of those who use the language in which it is written, and there are various other factors. Some of these are the joy we feel in using our mother-tongue and the love and respect we have for its literature. If we use our mother-tongue in ordinary conversation, in writing letters to our sons and daughters and other relatives and to friends, if we write some books in it, we give proof of such joy and love and respect. We cannot say from personal knowledge how far this is the case in Hindi-speaking regions. Their most highly educated men and women, their intellectuals, their leaders, would be able to say.

To ascertain the linguistic patriotism of any region, the following test may be proposed: "Do its people, including the most intellectual and cultured among them, contribute to or at any rate habitually read its literature?" By literature we specially have in view the body of writings whose value lies in beauty of form or emotional effect, though other kinds of writings are not excluded. Let the inhabitants of the different linguistic regions of India put themselves to this test.

—

Misrepresentation of Subhas Chandra Bose

Rev. John Haynes Holmes, editor-in-chief of *Unity* (Chicago), is a sincere friend of India. Hence, it is most probably due to incorrect information that an editorial note in his paper (April 13) gives a wrong description of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. It is stated there:

"The triumph of Gandhi is now complete. The whole-hearted support of the Karachi Conference, with the capitulation of Subhas Chandra Bose, leader of the violent revolutionary party, has put the Mahatma officially at the forefront of the life of India as the undisputed leader of her people."

It is not correct to describe Mr. Bose as "leader of the violent revolutionary party." What is true is that, when a resolution in favour of Dominion status was moved at the last Calcutta session of the

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Congress, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose moved an amendment declaring complete independence to be the goal of the Indian people.

The use of the word "capitulation" is rather theatrical.

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A New Congress Daily

The *Associated Press* announces that arrangements to start an English daily, to be named "To-day," are being made at Benares. The paper will be published from the Jnan Mandal Press, which owns the Hindi daily *Aj* ("To-day"). Mr. Sriprakasa, a former Congress Secretary and a staunch Congressman, will take charge of the editorship of the paper, the first issue to appear on July 17. The paper will be the organ of the Congress party. This piece of news indirectly supports our contention that English should not be eschewed in Congress proceedings.

In ancient times Benares was a Hindu and a Buddhist centre of intellectual and religious activities. It has continued to be such a Hindu centre to our day. Recently Buddhists also have been trying to be active in Sarnath in its vicinity. Owing to the establishment of the Hindu University, outside this city, it bids fair to be a modern cultural centre also. It is meet, therefore, that it should have an up-to-date daily. The first appearance of the new daily on July 17 will practically synchronize with the opening of the Hindu University after the summer vacation.

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Plantation Labour in India

In India at first only Europeans owned plantations. But gradually Indians also have to some extent invested capital in tea, coffee and rubber plantations. The labour employed in the plantations has been all along Indian. No industry can continue to flourish unless the men, women and children employed in it are healthy, contented and educated. Hence both Indian and European owners of plantations ought to be interested in knowing the conditions under which work is done in them and how these conditions may be improved, so that a healthy, contented and educated labour force may be ensured. Dr. Rajani Kanta Das's latest work, *Plantation Labour in India*,* contains the kind of information and suggestions required by these capitalists, and Government also may find it useful in ascertaining the directions in which new labour legislation ought to be undertaken. For Dr. Das's book is "a study in the rise, growth, condition and problems of the workers employed on various plantations in India, especially on the tea-gardens in Assam." He has stated the main object of his study to be a critical analysis of the work and life of the labourer with a view to ameliorating their condition. He has, therefore, made suggestions for formulating a social policy towards India's vast labour population, of which plantation labour is only a part and upon the moral and material development of which depends India's social progress, to a considerable extent.

The book deals with the rise of plantation workers, plantation legislation, conditions of employment, industrial relations, sanitation and health, hours of work, industrial efficiency, industrial remuneration and standard of living, and concludes with a statement of the outstanding problems and the following observations:

"While the legislative measures and welfare work already referred to might ameliorate the recruiting, working and living conditions, the real solution of the problem lies in elevating the social, political and industrial status of the Indian masses. It is their colossal ignorance, abject poverty and utter helplessness which have made them subject to exploitation. These can be removed only in the following ways: namely, first, the introduction of free and compulsory education, both general and vocational; second, the removal of all barriers to social equality, *e. g.*, the caste system and untouchability; third, the granting of universal suffrage to all men and women; and fourth, the development of industrial enterprise and creation of new industrial opportunities, where men and women, as intelligent, efficient and independent labourers, can find employment and can freely make a favourable bargain for their own welfare as well as that of society, of which they are a part."

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The Question of "Conversion" to Christianity

The Inquirer, a London Christian paper, observes:

All fair-minded persons should realize that Mr. Gandhi only resents—as we should do in a similar position—attempts to "pervert" th faith of a different race, with different religious traditions, by means of medical missions, schools and similar institutions allied to the proselytizing churches. That these missions and schools have done most valuable work in India, and that the country would be infinitely poorer in health and happiness if it had not been done, few people would dream of denying. The point is, however,

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that mixed up with these beneficial activities, there has been in the past a good deal of active and unintelligent propagandism which is naturally not to the liking of all who are brought under its influence.

The use of the word "infinitely" in the above passage is entirely incorrect. The words "most valuable" are also an exaggeration.

The London paper concludes :

From our point of view, at all events, no exception can be taken to the statement made by Mr. Gandhi on this subject. Maintaining that what is wanted is a living friendly contact between the followers of the world's great religions, he says :

"India does not need conversion of the kind I have in mind. Conversion in the sense of self-purification and self-realization is the crying need of the times. That, however, is not what is ever meant by proselytizing. To those who would convert India might not it be said, 'Physician, heal thyself' ?"

If we remember aright, Mr. Gandhi had originally said that, under Swaraj, those foreign missionaries who pursued the wrong method of "conversion" would be asked to withdraw. But, after the loud chorus of protests and criticisms emanating from some Christian missionaries and foreign enemies of Indian self-rule, he appears to have changed his original position. He now states :

"In India under Swaraj I have no doubt that foreign missionaries will be at liberty to do their proselytizing, as I would say, in a wrong way ; but they would be expected to bear with those who, like me, may point out that in their opinion the way is wrong."

We do not think that it would be right or politic to allow foreign missionary organizations to do proselytizing work under the garb of philanthropy. If we are not mistaken, the republic of Turkey does not allow such missionary methods to be pursued in its territory.

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Austro-German Customs Union

Relating to the Austro-German customs union, a message from Geneva, dated May 18, stated that

On the ground that the juridical aspect of the affair was one which particularly concerned the Council, Mr. Henderson opening the meeting of the League Council moved that the protocol for the establishment of the Austro-German Customs Union should be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice for advisory opinion whether the regime established between Germany and Austria on the basis and within the limits of the principles of the protocol of the 19th March, 1931 would be compatible with Article 88 of the Treaty of St. Germain and Article 1 of the protocol of Geneva of the 4th October, 1922. The court will be asked to treat the matter as urgent.

Dr. Schober, Austrian Vice-Chancellor, speaking in English, unreservedly supported Mr. Henderson's proposals while strongly maintaining the legality of Austria's action.

M. Briand supported Mr. Henderson's proposals.

Replying to Mr. Henderson, Dr. Schober gave an assurance that Austria would not proceed with the proposed Union until the court had decided and the League had discussed the decision.

Dr. Curtius and Signor Grandi strongly supported Mr. Henderson's proposal.

The reasons for the customs union between Germany and Austria can be understood by bearing in mind that since the conclusion of the world war there has grown up a system of increasingly high tariffs in nearly all European states, with the addition of a great many new tariff walls owing to the creation of so many new small nations. These are one of the chief obstacles to economic recovery. The Austro-German Customs Union seeks to break down the tariff walls between these two countries. They want to do for themselves what M. Briand wants to do for all Europe by his Pan-European customs union plan. But France and many other anti-Teutonic countries perhaps suspect that this Austro-German customs union is only a cloak for a political union between two German-speaking countries. Hence, as Prof. Sidney B. Fay writes in *Current History*,

"No action by Germany has caused such a flutter for many months in the chancelleries of Europe as the announcement on March 21st of tentative plans for the establishment of a customs union between herself and Austria. It instantly aroused an outburst of emotional excitement in the nationalist press and among many of the leaders in France, Czechoslovakia, Poland and elsewhere. It was charged that the two Central Powers were breaking their treaty obligations, threatening the harmony of Europe and the French Pan-European plan, and endangering the success of Mr. Henderson's efforts to bring about a basis for naval agreement between Italy and France."

We have read all the Articles of the Union. Every care has been taken to allay the suspicions of hostile neighbours. For example, the very first Article runs:

"Absolute independence of both nations shall be preserved as well as strict regard for existing obligations towards third nations. The contract shall serve to initiate a new order in European economic conditions by means of regional treaties.

"Both parties especially declare themselves bound by this contract to negotiate with any other nation desiring to enter into a similar agreement."

What one fails to understand is that, if this customs union is to be considered a preparation for a political union, why M.

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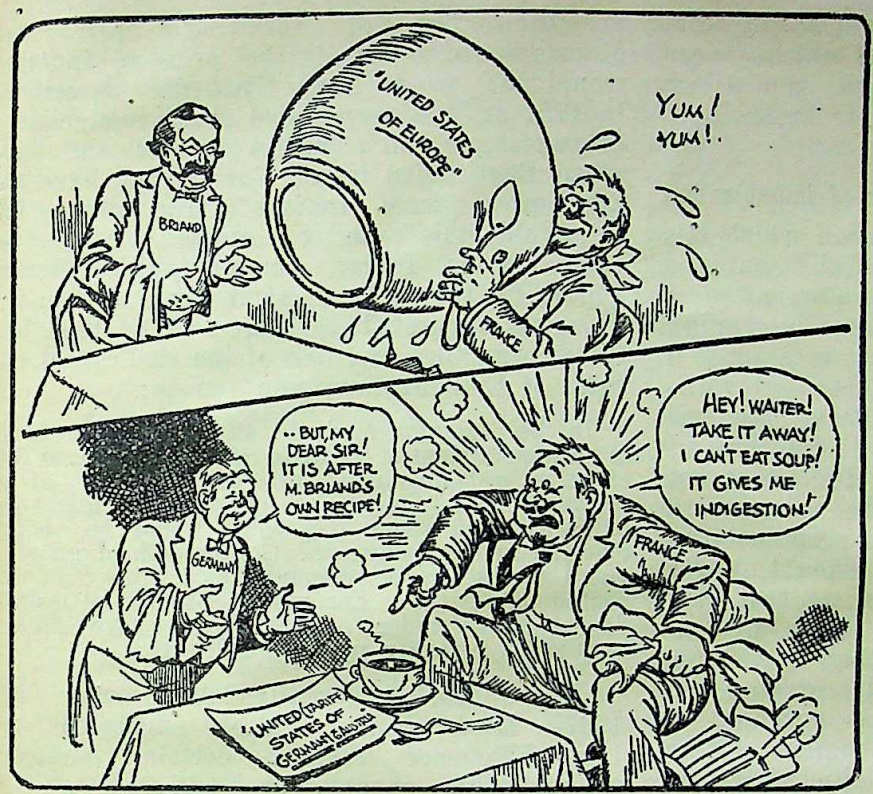

The Austro-German Customs Union
"Swallowing a camel, but straining at a gnat"
—*News Sun* (Kendallville, Ind.)

Briand's Pan-European plan is not to be considered a preparation for a Pan-European political combination as against the rest of the world and therefore a violation of the main principles underlying the League of Nations.

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The Revolution in Spain

Anent the revolution in Spain, *The Christian Register* of Boston writes :

Spain is the only government in Europe which attempted seriously to continue with the pomp and circumstance of monarchy, after the Great War. It was hollow, and the people knew it and were annoyed by it. There is now no real ruling monarch in Europe. Except in remote African and Asiatic fastnesses, among the most backward of tribes, the king business is not taken seriously even as a show and symbol. The thing has gone from the face of the earth.

It is marvellous how the idea against superior rulers is universal. Democracy, a word used loosely to indicate the equal rights of man, has germinated, exploded, and luxuriated over the planet. All the ills we suffer are due to democracy's running wild and getting out of bounds. In every instance we think of, even the dictators who have arisen have done so seriously for the sake of the people, and not in any case to become overlords. The demolition of monarchy and the divine right of kings, or of anyone else apart from the whole population, is the dominating and in fact overwhelming fact of the history we are now making.

The Literary Digest of New York writes as follows on the same topic:

Toddling to the centre of the world stage, the baby Republic of Spain rivets the anxious attention of the nations as he takes his first steps.

But will his toddle develop into a strong, full stride, or will he tumble and bump his head on some of the many rocks that strew his path? Will he, as some fear, sidle off to the sand-pile of Communism? Will he turn into the bad boy of the European neighbourhood?

Whatever he may do, his elders appear hopeful, impressed by his good behaviour thus far. Now that his sore throat is better—the Associated Press tells us that half the people in Spain were unable to speak above a husky whisper after two days of cheering King Alfonso's downfall—the infant has settled down to the business of learning to walk straight.

Less than a week after the republicans staged their bloodless revolution, "a model of moderation," as it is called by Lansing Warren, Madrid correspondent of the New York *Times*, Provisional President Alcala Zamora and his aides were able to point to substantial progress. In Mr. Warren's words :

"The new regime has, without any important opposition, entrenched itself strongly in charge of the government machinery, and has already made progress in dealing with the three greatest problems in view—in the organization of the structure of a republic, in the separation of Church and State, and in satisfying group aspirations within the commonwealth while at the same time preserving its unified entity."

However, the same dispatch hints at possible perils :

"The danger of Communism for the present moment does not seem to be great, but it might be quickly kindled by economic difficulties or by the weakness of those in power."

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Khaddar Message Film Banned !

A telegram from Surat has appeared in the dailies that the talkie film in which Mr. Gandhi figures with his khaddar message has been banned by Government after two days' exhibition at the Lakshmi Cinema! What was illegal in it? Is it unlawful to tell people to produce and use khaddar?

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If any law forbade people not to ply the charka and the hand-loom and not to wear khaddar, the only use to which such a law could be rightly put would be to break it.

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The Commander-in-Chief's Scheme of Indianization

The scheme of Indianization which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief outlined before the Indian Sandhurst Committee at its first sitting on May 25, raises interesting and far-reaching issues. It is in a sense a disavowal of the past policy of the Government. Ever since the Mutiny, it has remained one of the cardinal doctrines of the British military policy in India that not only should Indians never be allowed to occupy positions of power and responsibility in the army, but that they should never also be taken into all its arms, so that they might be able, by themselves alone, to constitute a self-contained fighting formation, capable of taking the field and carrying on a campaign without the co-operation of British troops. A partial abandonment of both these principles is what Sir Philip Chetwode would now suggest. It is true that his proposal would affect only a quarter of the striking force at the disposal of the Government of India, the whole of which, again, comprises less than half of the total strength of the fighting troops maintained by them. And again, the Army Headquarters may have ideas about the time over which the change ought to be spread, which may not at all tally with our own notions of what is necessary and desirable. Yet, when all has been said and done, the fact remains that, for the first time in the history of the Army in India, a suggestion has been put forward whose professed object is to create a recognized combatant force on a purely Indian basis, which might in time replace a force of similar size in the Imperial army. To this embryonic extent at any rate the Commander-in-Chief has advocated a revolutionary departure.

But at the same time, the very important fact should not also be overlooked that this project of confining Indianization within a restricted field, toes the line with previous, one might almost say traditional, policy in another and a very remarkable way. The talk about Indianization is now about sixty years old. From its very inception it was frankly recognized that one of the greatest stumbling-blocks in the way of throwing open the commissioned ranks of the army to Indians would be what Lord Kitchener described in 1907 as "the deep-seated racial repugnance to any step which brings nearer the day when Englishmen in the army may have to take orders from Indians." The only way to avoid this was to create a separate corps for the Indian commissioned officers and to let them have their own way in it. This was suggested as far back as 1868 by Sir George Chesney, one of the earliest advocates of Indianization, who wrote:

> In the beginning no doubt, all that could be done is the appointment of a native, here and there, to the effective establishment of the officers of a regiment; but, in course of time, it might be expected that some regiments would be wholly officered in this way; . . . Let me add, in order to guard against being misunderstood, that it is not contemplated that Europeans should be called upon to serve under natives. To do so would be to create a perfectly needless difficulty."

The idea, apparently, took root. In 1907 Lord Morley also suggested to Lord Kitchener that a certain number of regiments should be officered chiefly by natives. But the most outspoken admission of the difficulty and a suggestion as to the means of getting over it is to be found in a letter of Lord Rawlinson, who wrote before coming out to India in 1920:

> "People here are frightened by this talk of 'Indianization,' and old officers say they won't send their sons out to serve under natives. I agree that the new system must be allowed to take its course, but it will want very careful watching and cannot be hurried. The only way to begin is to have certain regiments with native officers only."

Though the divisional scheme of Indianization of Sir Philip Chetwode is in one respect an advance on previous schemes it cannot be said that it is free from all taint of racial exclusiveness. The cloven hoof is still there, and it is very much to be feared that, if the building up of a purely Indian division is at all undertaken, it will come to be looked upon as a poor relation, as a formation commanded by officers of an inferior caste and inferior professional competence. And this will make it as unpopular as the eight units scheme.

These fears are accentuated when we put side by side the proposal to segregate the officers trained in India in an exclusive corps, with the parallel proposal to give them a lower rate of pay. From the point of view of strict logic there is no reason of

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course why a lower rate of pay justified by a less expensive but not a less rigorous standard of education, should carry with it a label of inferiority. But in practice its effects are absolutely certain to be so. Money enters a good deal into the standard of values of an Englishman. For him are not the beauties of plain living and high thinking. Every Englishman who strives after social recognition displays a luxurious standard of dress, diet, travelling, amusements and personal services, whether he can afford it or no, and the very first thing that a social upstart can do in England is to show by an affectation of luxury that he wants to be classed as a gentleman. To deny the means of indulging in them to an Indian officer will be to draw upon him the condescension, if not actually the contempt, of his English colleagues.

We believe, therefore, that the proposal to confine the Indianization to a particular division and to give officers trained in India a lower rate of pay will be fatal to the sense of equality and comradeship in the commissioned ranks of the Army. The strength of the Field Army in India, in our opinion, exceeds the safe minimum by one, and possibly two, divisions. The military authorities, therefore, will not be absolutely opposed to the prospect of lowering the prestige and also, as they believe and perhaps hope, the professional efficiency, of one of its four divisions, particularly as it will be composed of Indians alone. But every Indian who values the good name of his country and the morale of its army should refuse to consent to the creation of a second Madras Army in which it will not be an honour and a privilege for every Indian or for that matter for every Englishman to serve.

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Will the Scheme be carried out ?

But this is not the most serious objection which could be urged against the scheme of the Commander-in-Chief. A far more important point to consider is its feasibility. It requires very little penetration to see that the scheme, which is acceptable with certain reservations if carried out integrally, will be little more than the unpopular eight units scheme reached after a long detour if it is not. In the existing circumstances the conversion of an Indian division from a mixed to a purely Indian basis will be no easy matter. At present the Indian Army not only does not possess the required number of commissioned officers required for a division, but is not in a position aiso to furnish all the arms which go to constitute it. As at present organized, an Indian infantry division has three battalions of British infantry in the three infantry brigades, two brigades of British field artillery and one British light battery in the divisional artillery, a very large British element in the divisional ammunition column and the divisional Signals, and a proportion of British personnel in all the other divisional troops. Of these, the three battalions of British infantry, the two field artillery brigades and the light battery are units of the British army, while the rest of the British element belongs partly to British service and partly to Indian service. In order, therefore, to bring about the complete Indianization of a division of all arms it will be necessary not only to substitute Indian for the British personnel in the existing Indian units, but also to raise, equip and train new units of arms which the Indian army does not at the moment possess. The most substantial item in this programme will be the creation of at least two purely Indian brigades of field artillery with a divisional ammunition column. This and the other necessary measures will involve cost and departures from policy, the responsibility for which cannot be shouldered by the Army Headquarters alone. To that part of the scheme which concerns policy, the War Office will certainly have a good deal to say, and it is very unlikely that it will consent to the withdrawal of the three British battalions from the division and to the creation of purely Indian brigades of field artillery.

From the point of view of British military interests, the War Office and the Army Headquarters in India are really two facets of an indivisible organization. They are, as one might say, one in heart and soul. But the exigencies of the political game at times compel the two faces of Janus to grimace at each other. The Army Headquarters can, therefore, always count upon the Imperial General Staff to rescue it out of any apparent concessions it finds convenient to make to Indian public opinion.

There are besides the eternal agonies of the impecunious Finance Department. The creation of new arms of the Indian Army will involve cost. It is improbable that the military

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advisers of the Government will consent to the final withdrawal from India of the British units replaced in the division by the Indian for some time to come yet. Their replacement will, therefore, mean additional burden and not a relief for the exchequer. The standing charges of the Army in India are so high that in recent years the military authorities found it impossible to provide for the bare requirements of re-equipment and reorganization without a special grant over and above the sum of about 52 crores of rupees required to meet the established charges. This programme, the military authorities still have on their hands. It will take two years, possibly more, to finish it. And so long as it is not finished, will the military authorities be able to persuade the Finance Department to sanction additional expenditure for the creation of new Indian units ?

The inevitable conclusion to which all these considerations point seems to be unenthusiastic. It seems pretty certain that the only part of the divisional scheme of the Commander-in-Chief which will materialize in actual fact will be the slow Indianization —how slow it is impossible to predict, because there is an *n* factor of uncertainty in it in the shape of the "suitable type" of Indian—of the nine Indian infantry battalions and some other units of the division. The creation of new arms of the Indian Army, which alone would have constituted a new departure, will perhaps not be simultaneously undertaken. Without this essential feature, the divisional scheme, as we have already said, will only be the eight units scheme a little expanded and accelerated, even if as much as that. This is a basis on which, after all that has been claimed and theoretically conceded, no Indian ought even to discuss the concrete application of the principle of Indianization. But then, the question naturally arises, is there any means of escaping from this anticlimax ? This takes us to the closely allied question of the bearing of the work of the Indian Sandhurst Committee on the general problem of Indianization.

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The Indian Sandhurst Committee and Indianization

We have examined the official scheme of Indianization placed before the Indian Sandhurst Committee at some length because it is, to our mind, a very skilful attempt at short-circuiting the discussion about Indianization and confronting us with a *fait accompli*. The Indian Sandhurst Committee, it should be clearly understood, has no right to go into the general question of Indianization. By the terms of the resolution of the Sub-Committee VII of the Round Table Conference as well as by its own terms of reference it is only an expert committee appointed "to work out the details of the establishment of a college in India to train candidates for commissions in all arms of the Indian defence services." The question of the pace, extent and method of Indianization is thus placed outside the scope of its activities. At the same time, it could hardly be expected that the committee would be able even to make a beginning in its specific work without some clear preliminary understanding as to the number of trained Indian officers the college would be called upon to supply. This, unless the total annual requirements of the Indian Army were taken as the basis of discussions, would necessarily depend on the pace and extent of Indianization. In the circumstances, two courses were open to the committee. It could either postpone its work till the wider question was decided by a competent authority, or proceed on what was its only natural and logical basis of deliberations—the total annual requirements of the Indian Army. What has happened in actual fact is, however, quite different. The military authorities have sought to restrict the usefulness of the college by imposing an arbitrary standard of requirements on the committee, and, in doing so, they have adopted as their working hypothesis a plan of Indianization, which, though wholly unacceptable to Indian opinion, it will not be within the competence of the committee to reject.

This is certainly a breach, in spirit, of the promise contained in the report of the defence sub-committee of the Round Table Conference. We refrain from calling it a breach in letter only because the drafting of that report is not of the happiest. As a document binding the Government to any concrete plan of Indianization, it is absolutely inocuus, and it tries, at it seems to us, to reconcile the irreconcilable. It is not in the least surprising, therefore, to discover that on the two essential points which one would naturally expect to find clearly indicated in a document dealing with Indianization—the conditions on which the pace of Indianization depended and the agent who was to

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decide the question—the report is disconcertingly vague. Nevertheless, reading between the lines, one could bring to light some fundamental intentions. The Round Table Conference, it will be recalled, was unable to agree to a unanimous policy regarding the rate of Indianization. But it recommended the immediate setting up of a committee which could settle the details of a training college in India. In doing so, it was not as inconsistent as it may at the first blush seem to be the case. To its mind, there was no necessary connection between the extent of Indianization and the establishment of a training college. It did not mean to restrict the scope of the college by laying down a definite pace of Indianization. On the contrary, what it seems really to have had in mind was that the pace of Indianization should to a very great extent depend upon the success of the college in turning out a sufficient number of trained officers.

This is certainly the intention of paragraph 4 of the report of the defence sub-committee. Now, if this interpretation of the undertaking given at the Round Table Conference be correct, the best way to secure the object in view would be to establish the college on as broad, and not as narrow, a basis as possible. In any case, one can only try to do one of two things at the same time: he can either regulate the pace of Indianization by the success of the college or limit the usefulness of the college by setting the pace. To attempt both simultaneously—that is to say, to make the pace of Indianization dependent on the activities of the college and to restrict the scope of the college by laying down a preconceived rate of Indianization—is, to our mind, to describe a vicious circle at its most vicious.

No less inadmissible is the position taken up by the military authorities in regard to their responsibilities for the policy of Indianization. The defence sub-committee, as has been already pointed out, was unable to arrive at a unanimous decision on the question of the pace. A large section of the sub-committee held the view that it was a technical question in which it was not possible "to lay down any definite rate of Indianization or anything of a precise character that might in any way embarrass those responsible for defence and fetter the judgment or the discretion of the military authorities," while another section was in favour of a strong affirmation to the effect that the complete Indianization of the officers in the Indian Army should take place within a specified period," and believed that "it was not a technical question at all, but involved only practical considerations."

"The difference in these two views being fundamental, the Sub-Committee decided to incorporate these in its report and the Chairman further undertook that, when, in pursuance of the resolutions of this Sub-Committee, expert committees were appointed, these expert committees would as a matter of course take into consideration the proceedings of previous committees and in particular the proceedings of the Military Requirements Committee of 1921 and the Committee on the Indianization of the Indian Army of 1922."

This is a definite promise to set up an expert committee to settle the question of the pace and extent of Indianization. Is the Indian Sandhurst Committee that committee? Apparently, it is not. Will then there be a second committee to decide the wider issue? When will that committee be appointed? Meanwhile, the military authorities have already vindicated the sagacity of Mr. Jinnah by trying to close the question.

It must be admitted that in what they have done they have shown both hard-headedness and capacity for swift decision. It was certainly not the intention of those who advocated the speedy setting up of the Indian Sandhurst Committee, that they should thereby restrict the pace of Indianization and also the usefulness of the college. But the military authorities have taken advantage of the nebulous situation bequeathed by the Round Table Conference, to do both. They have, on the one hand, tried to rush through a concrete plan of Indianization which is utterly unacceptable to Indian opinion, and, along with it, they have tried to restrict the scope of the college by forcing on it a lower standard of requirements derived from that scheme.

It will perhaps be argued that anything the military authorities may get decided by implication before a committee not appointed specially for the purpose, will not be binding on the Government. But this consideration is more legal than practical. It should be borne in mind that the only practical expression, for some years to come yet, of any policy of Indianization will be the military college in India. Once the plans of the college are laid down on a

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restricted basis, all subsequent discussion on Indianization will be reduced to the academic level, for, in that case, it will either have no practical bearing on the scope and size of the college or will involve the revision of the whole work of the present Sandhurst Committee, which it is extremely unlikely that the Government will be prepared to sanction.

In the circumstances, everything depends on the Indian members of the Indian Sandhurst Committee. They must either claim to discuss and settle the wider question of the pace, extent and method of Indianization, in the committee, or refuse to be committed to the official proposals on these points. This will imply no conflict with their duties as members of the Sandhurst Committee, for their specific task is to work out the details of a college in which candidates for commission in all arms of the Indian Army are to be trained and not to decide upon the policy of Indianization. The question whether the candidates trained in the college will be posted to any particular unit or formation or be distributed throughout the army is wholly outside the scope of their activities. With the policy of Indianization they are concerned only so far as it affects the scope of the college, and as regards this, they have only one course marked out for them. They must not agree to any standard short of the total annual requirements of the army. The size of the annual contingent of cadets to be taken from this college into the army is a question with which they need not occupy themselves for the moment. A larger plan can be modified with greater ease than a restricted plan can be enlarged. The task before the Indian Sandhurst Committee is plain. It is to plan a college adequate to meet all the needs of the Indian Army. To accept a lesser standard would only impair the usefulness of its work and perhaps relegate its report to one of the innumerable pigeon-holes of the Secretariat.

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Controversy on Fascism

The good and evil of Fascist rule in Italy continues to be a subject of discussion in the West. Anti-Fascist irreconcilables have had to leave Italy. For the most part they have transferred their activities abroad and established their headquarters in Brussels and Paris. These émigrés are divided into three main schools of political thought—Communists, Democratic Republicans and Democratic Monarchists.

The Foreign Policy Association of America have sent us a Report on Fascist rule in Italy, in which its pros and cons are summarized in two concluding paragraphs. Let us first hear what has been said against it.

The èmigrés charge the Fascists with the suppression of parliamentary government at a time when the latter not only had shown no signs of decadence, but was susceptible of further successful development. The Fascist government, they claim, has completely destroyed the spirit of the Italian constitution, while preserving a semblance of legality.···The anti-Fascists contend that at the present time the country's economic development is hampered by the control exercised by the state over production. They believe that, if order has been restored, it has only been at the expense of individual liberty, and that the government has failed signally to solve the country's economic problems. Finally, they assert that the government has pursued an aggressive foreign policy which has irreparably injured Italy's prestige and credit abroad.

In reply,

The Fascists, for their part, claim that parliamentary government was not an indigenous product, had never taken root in Italy, and had become completely impotent during the post-war years. They believe that a highly centralized government is alone capable of regulating the economic life of a country like Italy, poor in natural resources, and of insuring a just distribution of material goods among a rapidly growing population. The Fascists do not deny the suppression of individual liberty, but contend that they have introduced higher ethical values into Italian life by imposing on all groups of the population a discipline dictated by national, as contrasted with porsonal, interests.···Finally, they claim that the government having re-established internal peace and order, has effected a series of important reforms directed at the development of the country's resources.

In *Current History* for May, Professor Lindsay Rogers of Columbia University points out, however, that

"The pitfall of treating subsequent events as consequences of those which preceded them can hardly be avoided if the results of Fascism are cited to demonstrate the failures of democracy. Is it certain, for example, that the condition of Italy at the present time is immeasurably better than it would have been had parliamentary government not been abandoned? The experience of France, another Latin country, suggests that such an assumption is at least doubtful enough to warrant analysis.

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